NATIONAL MASS MEDIA PARTIALITY (ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE USE IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE)

Moh. Mukhlas, Ayunda Riska Puspita

mukhlas@iainponorogo.ac.id, puspita@iainponorogo.ac.id
Institut Agama Islam Negeri Ponorogo
Ponorogo, East Java, Indonesia

Abstract: A reliable newspaper should accommodate heterogeneity regarding geographical and psychological readers. The wider the coverage area of a newspaper, the more heterogeneous its readers will be. By putting more concerns on these two dimensions, a newspaper is expected to be in a neutral position. This impartiality or neutrality of the mass media becomes a more intriguing topic when it is associated with the theory arguing that language cannot be neutral since it is a form of social practice, as Halliday has always emphasized. This study aims to describe (1) the use of language (speech acts, speech targets, and speech objectives) in the political discourse contained in the editorials of *Republika* and *Kompas* newspapers and (2) the objectivity of the two newspapers. This study used a qualitative-critical approach. This type of research is descriptive-interpretative research and, more specifically, is a type of critical pragmatic analysis research. The analysis of the use of language in the editorials of Koran *Republika* and *Koran Kompas* shows that the two newspapers have different tendencies due to different ideologies. The vision and history of a newspaper can determine its ideology of a newspaper. *Republika* is more inclined to pair 01 (Joko Widodo-Makruf Amin) and share a similar background related to Islam. *Kompas* is more inclined to pair serial number 02 (Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno), one of whom is not an Islamic figure.

Keywords: mass media partiality, political discourse, critical pragmatics

INTRODUCTION

One of the relevant indicators of a reliable newspaper is objectivity (Sumadiria, 2008). The impartiality of the newspaper further indicates it. To remain impartial towards any group means that the news conveyed is accurate or factual. Objectivity is necessary, considering that newspapers are mass media with a reasonably high level of trust compared to online mass media.

In presenting the news, the geographical and psychological dimensions of the reader matter. A trustworthy newspaper should accommodate heterogeneity in terms of geographical and psychological readers. The wider the coverage area of a newspaper, the more heterogeneous its readers will be. By observing these two dimensions, a newspaper is expected to be neutral. Therefore, the reader determines his opinion after reading the

newspaper, not the newspaper, which directs the opinion and mindset of the community to a particular party.

Such impartiality or neutrality of the mass media becomes interesting when it is associated with the theory stating that language cannot be neutral due to its being a form of social practice, as Halliday emphasizes. On a more concrete level, the language does not contain sentences. Instead, "text" or "discourse," namely the exchange of meaning in an interpersonal context. (Santoso, 2008). The existence of an interpersonal context that affects the use of language might be the blame for the partiality of language. Thus, the author's background will likely affect the use of language in newspapers.

Santoso (2008) also stated that the language would be understood and meaningful when transformed into "discourse ."Language

is essentially a discourse as a system of representation, a way of discussing certain events, experiences, views, and realities of life. Meanwhile, understanding representation, including language representation, must be based on the understanding that the world cannot be represented accurately and objectively because the world is not given, but the effect of how the world is understood from different perspectives. In other words, reality, ideology, and language will form a discourse representing reality in this world.

In addition, language is a tool for rulers to maintain their power. It is a determining factor in everyone's mind, including rulers who can use language as a political communication to maintain their power. With attractive and persuasive language, a ruler can lead people to accept the ideology he adheres to (Nasution, 2007).

Super intensive use of language, including language abuse with its various aspects, is so prominent in the Indonesian political world (Nasution, 2007). The political issue being widely discussed before the national election was related to the candidates who registered for the election. This study focuses on the editorial discourse of the newspapers *Kompas* and *Republika*, which discusses the candidacy of Jokowi-Makruf Amin and Prabwo-Sandi in the 2019 election.

In 2019, before the election, two hashtags were once popular. The first hashtags are #2019gantippresiden and #jokowi2periode. Various mass media reported it with varied language styles. Moments like that time are very appropriate to be used by individuals to represent their chosen presidential and vice-presidential candidates well.

The mass media have become an appropriate means to represent their chosen presidential and vice-presidential candidates well. However, Astari et al. (2021) have argued that the negative side of social media is that hoaxes can spread widely in seconds.

Two of the existing national newspapers with heterogeneous readers, thus their objectivity needs are worth considering, are *Kompas* and *Republika*. The former is the oldest newspaper between the two, first published in 1964 as Bentara Rakyat and changed to *Kompas* in 1965. It was followed by *Republika*, which was first published in 1992.

The number of achievements of a newspaper may also indicate the existence of a good newspaper. It is inseparable from the vision and mission of this company. The vision and mission of this company are to become the most prominent, best, integrated, and spread company in Southeast Asia through knowledge-based business that creates an educated, enlightened society that respects diversity and is prosperous (*Kompas Gramedia*, n.d.). Appreciating diversity and prosperity in each of its publications shows that *Kompas* can be in a neutral position, not taking any sides of any groups. However, a newspaper's partiality toward one group or party can be seen in its reporting.

Contrary to this opinion, quoting Hamad (2004), *Kompas* is more inclined toward Christian ideology. (Hamad, 2004). It has become one of the main attractions for researchers to find out about this condition, but on a different issue, of course, not religious issues.

The second newspaper, *Republika*, tends to focus on Islamic ideology. It is evident from the preset vision. *Republika's* vision is "To be the public daily newspaper, a trusted ummah's newspaper and promote universal values that are cool, tolerant, peaceful, intelligent, and professional." However, it still holds the principles in their involvement in maintaining national unity and the interests of Muslims based on the understanding of *Rahmatan Lil Alamin*, which is mercy for all creatures in the world. It is what becomes the attraction to get new findings on the issue of the presidential election with a different ideology than the first newspaper.

One of the discourses in newspapers is editorial. An Editorial is an article in a newspaper or magazine that expresses the stance of the editor or head of the newspaper or magazine regarding several main issues (*Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa*, 2018). Performing this view, according to Gee (in Sudarsono, 2016), editorial writers have performed three language functions: saying, doing, and being. Through editorial discourse, the mass media says something (saying) and does something (doing) simultaneously. Beyond that, the mass media has also represented itself (self-representation) as a specific party (being) through editorial discourse. Because the editor or principal

wrote it, the opinion of the editor or principal is very thick in editorial writing. Thus, the editorial is the part that shows the ideology of a newspaper.

Mass media discourses (news, headlines, and corners), official speeches, politicians' statements, and so on can potentially become data for "critical pragmatics" studies. Critical pragmatism is a pragmatic and critical discourse analysis study (Subagyo, 2010). Critical discourse analysis can explain the implicit meanings contained in the discourse. The critical nature of linguistic interpretation reveals the motives behind the facts that explain the implicit social meaning (Fowler & Kress, 1979). Therefore, to find out the real importance discourse makers will emphasize, the right approach to analyzing discourse is a critical approach. The critical analysis process will be significantly helped by other linguistic analyses, including pragmatic analysis, which focuses on analyzing the speech partners. With pragmatic analysis, critical studies have more direction and limits.

Several studies on similar topics have been reviewed for this study. First, the research was conducted by Elina Flora in 2014. The research title is the Analysis of News Framing of Indonesian Presidential Candidates 2014-2019 in *Kaltim Post* Newspaper and *Tribun Kaltim*. The findings show that the influence of the media owner has an impact on the alignment of the news between the two media (Flora, 2014). Second, Nurun Hidayati's 2015 research entitled Critical Pragmatic Analysis of News Writers' Partisanship Judging from the News Header "The Tragedy of the Salim Kancil Massacre" in Various Newspapers. The analysis concludes that the bias of the writers of the news headlines is more towards the government camp, while the Salim Kancil camp itself seems to be neglected (Hidayati, 2015). Third, research was conducted by Achmad Khoirul Anam in 2015 entitled News on Alleged Corruption Cases of Suryadharma Ali in *Kompas* and *Sindo* Newspapers (Framing Analysis). The results indicate that *Sindo* publishes less news related to the case than *Kompas* (Anam, 2015). Fourth, Sony Christian Sudarsono's research year entitled "Representation of the *Fajar Nusantara Movement* (GAFATAR) in the Editorial Discourse of *Republika* and *Suara Pembaruan* issued 14 January 2016". The results show that

Republika represented Gafatar as a troubling and misguided group. *Suara Pembaruan*, on the other hand, represents *Gafatar* as a group that has been accused of being radical. These views can be seen using different speech targets and objectives (Sudarsono, 2016). These studies show that each newspaper has a different perspective, thus producing different delivery styles to lead to public opinion. Many factors make each newspaper have a different point of view, so that the partiality of the mass media, one of which is the newspaper, becomes very interesting when analyzed in terms of language.

Based on the explanation above, the issue of the 2019 presidential election is very intriguing to be researched with a critical pragmatic approach. But on the other hand, it is also related to the curiosity of researchers about the quality of objectivity of several giant newspapers in Indonesia in reporting on specific issues. Thus, the researcher aimed to examine the issue of the 2019 presidential election, especially the figures of presidential and vice-presidential candidates, but from the perspective of *Kompas* and *Republika*.

METHOD

This research uses a qualitative-critical approach. Connole, Smith, and Wiseman (see Santoso, 2012) refer to this research term as critical research. Qualitative-critical research comes from critical social sciences; the second comes from positive social sciences (Santoso, 2012). The type of the research is descriptive-interpretative, and more specifically, this belongs to critical pragmatic analysis research. Descriptive research is carried out solely based on existing facts or phenomena that empirically live on the speakers where the recording results are in the form of exposure to the data as it is (Sudaryanto, 1986). A qualitative approach is used to describe, explain, and interpret the discourse practice in the editorials of *Kompas* and *Republika* newspapers.

The data in this study is the use of language elements that indicate the target and purposes of speech. The data source comes from written discourse, whose speech form is not in the form of speech as in spoken discourse but the form of written sentences (Mulyana, 2010). This study's data sources include editorials in two mass media, *Kompas*

and *Republika* printed. Printed mass media seems to be surrounded by the rapid growth of internet-based media. However, the fact is that many newspapers are still alive and well (Pamuji, 2019). The newspapers were published before the 2019 general election (February-April 2019). The editorial chosen as the data source is the editorial that discusses the presidential and vice-presidential candidates, a total of 29 articles from *Republika* and 55 articles from *Kompas*—assuming that this period is the time used as a discourse war for each newspaper with an ideology that leans towards specific presidential candidates.

The data in this research was retrieved by observing the use of language. As stated by Sudaryanto that in this technique, the researcher does not participate in speech activities; he only acts as an observer of every utterance uttered by the speaker and the interlocutor (Sudaryanto, 1993). In this study, the researcher applied the observation method by reading editorials or opinions in *Kompas* and *Republika* newspapers. Furthermore, note-taking techniques are used to collect data by recording the results of observation to data on a data card (Kesuma, 2007). For example, after reading the editorial in *Kompas* and *Republika* newspapers, the researcher noted the relevant sentences indicating the presence of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

The discourse in the two newspapers was analyzed using a critical pragmatic approach. Data analysis is a critical pragmatic approach that uses pragmatic and critical approaches. The critical pragmatic analysis starts from pragmatic analysis and is followed by critical studies (Subagyo, 2010). The method used in this analysis is the pragmatic equivalent method, a method whose determining tool is the speech partner (Sudaryanto, 1993). Researchers position themselves as speech recipients who interpret discourse about presidential and vice-presidential candidates in *Kompas* and *Republika* newspapers.

The first practice of using a critical pragmatic approach is identifying speech targets and objectives in editorial discourses about presidential and vice-presidential candidates in *Kompas* and *Republika*. The general target of speech, namely the reader, is usually not mentioned or only referred to by the word community or 'our/us' pronoun.

Instead, specific speech targets are identified by reading certain parties mentioned in the discourse. Meanwhile, the purpose of speech is determined by reading the speech acts performed by *Kompas* and *Republika* in the editorial discourse about the presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Later, according to Kompas and Republika, the results were interpreted as a representation of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Mass media such as newspapers, especially in this study *Republika* and *Kompas*, are the media editors use to convey their ideology. Fowler said, "What is being claimed about news can equally be claimed about any representative discourse. Anything said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position: language is not a clear window but a refracting, structuring medium (1996)." Therefore, what is being conveyed in the newspaper shows the editor's ideology because language is the suitable medium to convey that ideology and lead public opinion to agree with him.

The ideology of a newspaper will represent what it writes in an editorial. This study discusses the ideological relationship between *Republika* and *Kompas* newspapers, representing pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates in their respective editorial columns. The ideology of a newspaper can be seen from the vision it carries, the history behind which the newspaper was founded, and the biography of the chief editor.

The term editorial in each news has a difference—*Republika* calls it *Tajuk*, while *Kompas* calls it *Tajuk Rencana*. Editorial is the editor's mind that can determine the editor's ideology. Through the editorial, the inclination of the editors toward the presidential and vice-presidential candidates, who are running for the presidential election, is reflected.

One of the analyses that can be used to determine the partiality of the editor is to analyze the target speech in the editorial letter. The target of speech indicates to whom the editor of the newspaper wrote the editorial or editorial speaking. Speech targets can be analyzed by identifying the editor's purpose of communicating. The purpose of the speech, on the other hand, can be identified through the speech acts used. Searle (in Santoso, 2012)

divides illocutionary speech acts into the assertive, directive, expressive, commissive, and declarative. Each speech act has a purpose and a description of the form of the act as follows. Assertive speech acts aim to bind the speaker to the truth of what he said with its form: stating, reporting, showing, and mentioning. The directive speech act aims to make the speech partner perform the actions mentioned in the utterance in the form of ordering, pleading, demanding, suggesting, and challenging. Expressive speech acts aim to interpret their utterances as evaluations of the things mentioned in the utterances: praising, thanking, criticizing, and complaining. Commissive speech acts aim to bind the speaker to carry out what is stated in his utterance, with the form of his utterance being to promise, swear, and threaten. Finally, speakers do non-declaration speeches to create specific new things in their form: decide, cancel, forbid, allow, and apologize.

Representation of the Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates in the *Tajuk* of *Republika*

Republika is one of the national newspapers that carry the vision of "Modern, Moderate, Muslim, National, and People ."*Republika*'s mission is as a new society newspaper that is advanced, intelligent, and civilized.

The establishment of *Republika* originated from the ideas and aspirations of the Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals Association (ICMI), which was formed on 5 December 1990. ICMI has a program spread throughout Indonesia, namely the 5Q's improvement program: Quality of Faith, Quality of Life, Quality of Work, Quality of Work, and Quality of Thought. In realizing these goals and ideals, ICMI, together with several governments and community figures, formed a foundation called Abdi Bangsa, led by B.J. Habibie. The *Abdi Bangsa* Foundation was formed on 17 August 1992, which later developed three main programs, one of which was the publication of *Republika* on 19 December 1992. The name *Republika* Newspaper was an idea from former President Soeharto.

The vision and history of the founding of *Republika* can be used as a reference in which direction this newspaper will take sides. From its vision and background, *Republika* is highly related to Islamic values. *Republika* is also related to previous presidents, namely Soeharto and B.J. Habibie. Through its vision and history, it is suspected that *Republika* will partially lean towards one of the partners associated with an Islamic political party.

Based on the analysis that has been done on the speech acts contained in the *Tajuk Republika*, it is known that the editor aims to communicate with readers in general. In addition, the target of speech in *Tajuk Republika* is the candidates for the presidential and vice-presidential candidates and all parties involved in the implementation of the election. Table 1 presents speech targets, speech acts, and speech objectives in *Tajuk Republika*.

Table 1. Speech Targets, Speech Acts, and Objectives

No.	Speech Targets	Speech Acts	Objectives
1.	Readers	Assertive	Report, state, and indicate
2.	Presidential Candidates	Directive	Challenge Demand Direct
		Assertive Expressive	State Criticize Compliment
3.	Readers and presidential candidates	Commissive	Threaten
4.	All parties involved in the election	Directive	Direct

The data below analyzes assertive speech acts written by *Republika* in communicating with readers.

[1] Pada debat yang hanya akan diikuti oleh capres nomor urut 01 Joko Widodo dan capres nomor urut 02 Prabowo Subianto itu secara khusus akan membahas lima isu krusial, yakni infrastruktur, lingkungan hidup, pangan, sumber daya alam, dan energi. (Republika, 16 February 2019)

Data [1] is used by the editors to convey information related to issues to be discussed in the second round of the debates, namely infrastructure, environment, food, natural resources, and energy. In addition, the editors mentioned the two pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates simultaneously

and side by side, neither of which was favored or belittled.

In communicating with readers in general, *Republika* tends to use monotonous speech acts. Only assertive speech acts were found in *Republika*'s communication with readers. Assertive speech act delivered by *Republika* aims to report, state, and show. The replica conveys information about the two pairs of presidential candidates to readers, which tends to be in one or different sentences but the same discussion. However, different data were found when *Republika* discussed the case of the CEO of *Bukalapak*, which caused netizens to buzz because he called the "new president ."*Republika* shows the positive attitudes that Jokowi has taken in dealing with and responding to these problems. Although only one data was found, this data indicates *Republika*'s alignment with this pair.

The data below is an analysis of speech acts used by *Republika* in communicating with both candidates.

[2] Saatnya caleg dan capres–cawapres beradu program dan gagasan untuk membangun bangsa Indonesia lima tahun medatang. (Republika, 25 March 2019)

Data [2] also shows the challenges presented by the editors to the president-vice candidates. The editors said it was time for the presidential and vice-presidential candidates to compete on programs and ideas to build the Indonesian nation in the next five years. From the directive speech acts that aim to challenge, the editors show his impartiality to both candidates. They tend to be neutral by challenging both instead of one whom they might favor

less.

The editors aimed to challenge, demand, and order through directive speech acts. *Republika* seems to be more daring than readers of both candidates. While to its readers, *Republika* writes smoother because it does not convey varied speech acts. Although *Republika* challenged, demanded, and ordered, the sentences used were classified as soft because they were not conveyed explicitly. It is in line with *Republika*'s vision which says that "... put forward composure in universal values ...". In using directive speech acts, *Republika* challenges, demands, and orders both pairs of candidates simultaneously and equally. It shows that *Republika*'s neutrality does not

highlight one of the pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

The editors of *Republika* used less assertive speech acts to communicate with the two presidential candidates. There seem to be more objectives the editors wished to convey to the candidates than only conveying information. The following presents data containing assertive speech acts submitted by the editors to the two pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

[3] Terkait isu pangan, kedua kandidat tentu akan dihadapkan pada adu program untuk menciptakan Indonesia yang memiliki berdaulat secara pangan. (Republika, 16 February 2019)

Data [3] contains the editors' statement stating that the two candidates had to face a program competition to create an Indonesia that has food sovereignty. This editorial statement shows that the editors desire to inform and remind the two pairs to create a food-sovereign Indonesia. All the assertive statements submitted by the editors show the editor's partiality to one of the pairs of candidates.

Republika editors also use expressive speech acts to communicate with the presidential candidates. They aim to criticize and praise the two pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates through expressive speech acts. One data was found from the Tajuk *Republika*, which was aimed at criticizing. The data is shown in data number [4] below.

[4] Saat itu, debat kandidat presiden dan wakil presiden RI berlangsung di luar ekspektasi publik karena dinilai masih miskin substansi. (Republika, 16 February 2019)

Data [4] shows the criticism submitted by the editors to both candidates. The editor summed up the debate was still lacking in substance. The editors openly refer to the word "poor"; this straightforward and firm word shows the editors' impartiality towards one party. They did not directly mention the two presidential candidates. Instead, they mentioned the debate. It shows that the editors evaluate the debate, including the two pairs.

Only one expressive speech act aims to praise identified from the data. *Republika*'s editors used expressive speech acts to praise the two pairs of presidential and vice-

presidential candidates. It is shown in the data below.

> [5] Kita tentu perlu memberi apresiasi bagi dua pasangan capres dan cawapres yang telah memulai rapat terbukanya. (Republika, 25 March 2019)

Data [5] shows the editors' praise for the two pairs of candidates. In addition, the editors extended their appreciation to the pairs for starting their open meetings.

In their expressive speech acts, no partiality was detected in any of the pairs of candidates. On the contrary, the editors criticized both partners simultaneously. Likewise, when praising, both are praised at the same time.

The Editors of *Republika* communicate with readers and both pairs of presidential candidates using commissive speech acts. Unfortunately, only one data was found that used the commissive speech act. Through this commissive speech acts, the editors aim to threaten readers and both pairs in a very gentle and indirect manner. The following is the data showing the commissive speech act delivered by the editors.

> [6] Alangkah berbahayannya bila masing-masing kita, dan pasangan capres yang bertarung sudah tidak mempercayai hasil kerja penyelenggara pemilu (Republika, 09 April 2019)

Data [6] shows the threats to readers and the two presidential candidates. The editors stated how dangerous it would be if each of us, and the running presidential candidates, stopped trusting the work of the election committee. The editors ask the readers and the two presidential candidates to trust the election committee. Otherwise, it may cause instability to the election because they will not in the results, whereas the results of the election will be the votes of the Indonesian people. This danger shows a firm threat from the editors, but the way it is conveyed is very gentle because it uses the word "how" for how dangerous means supposition.

To all parties involved in the election, the editor used a directive speech act that aims to order. Unfortunately, only one data shows this speech, as presented in the following.

> [7] Karena itu, kita mendesak semua pihak yang terlibat pemilu: Komisi Pemilihan Umum (KPU), Badan Pengawas Pemilu (Bawaslu), partai politik peserta pemilu, calon legislatif peserta pemilu, calon

presiden wakil presiden peserta pemilu ikut aktif untuk menyukseskan hajatan massa yang mahapenting ini. (Republika, 19 March 2019)

The data [7] shows the advice from the editors to all parties involved in the election. They urge all parties involved in the election to participate in this essential mass celebration 's success actively.

The editors do not indicate partiality to any pair of candidates through this directive speech act. On the contrary, the editors remain neutral so that all parties involved in the election are encouraged.

Republika's vision and history greatly influenced the writings produced by its editors. The newspaper puts forward the values of tolerance, peace, composure, and maintaining unity as stated in its vision. It is evidenced by the fact that most of the sentences that *Republika* delivered were not provocative. *On the contrary, Republika* chooses explicit sentences to convey criticism, demands, and so on. Although allegedly siding with the Jokowi-Makruf Amin pair, *Republika* did not show it much to the public. *Republika* tends to display neutral data to maintain the unity of Indonesia.

Representation of the Presidential Candidates in the *Tajuk Rencana* of *Kompas* Newspaper

Kompas Newspaper is a national newspaper that claims to uphold humanist and democratic values. The vision of *Kompas* is "to become an institution that provides enlightenment for the development of a democratic and dignified Indonesian society, and upholds human principles and values ."*Kompas* was born on 28 June 1965, founded on the initiative of Catholic figures with the motto 'The Mandate of the People's Conscience.'

Tajuk Rencana, written by the editors of *Kompas*, aims to communicate with readers in general. In addition, the speech targets in this editorial are candidates for president-vice president and, at the same time, also to the media and all parties involved in the implementation of the election. The following are the objectives of the speech contained in *Kompas.*

In communicating with readers, *Kompas*' editors use various speech acts. These varied speech acts can lead to varied speech

objectives. The speech acts targeting the reader found in the editorial of *Kompas* include assertive, expressive, and directive speech acts. The following is a table of speech targets, speech acts, and speech objectives in *Tajuk Rencana* of *Kompas*.

Table 2. Speech Targets, Speech Acts, and Objectives of *Tajuk Rencana Kompas*

No.	Speech Targets	Speech Acts	Speech Objectives
1.	Readers	Assertive	Report
			State
		Expressive	Praise
		Directive	Suggest
2.	Presidential Candidates	Directive	Suggest
		Assertive	State
		Expressive	Criticize
		Commissive	Threaten
3.	Media	Assertive	State
4.	All involved parties in the election	Directive	Suggest

The following is an analysis of data showing the assertive speech acts used by *Kompas* in communicating with readers for the objective of reporting.

[8] Baik calon presiden Joko widodo maupun calon presiden Prabowo Subianto telah menyampaiakn visi mereka di bidang energi, infrastuktur, sumber daya alam, dan lingkungan hidup. (Kompas, 19 February 2019)

Data [8] shows reports submitted by editors stating that both presidential candidates, Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto, have conveyed their visions for energy, infrastructure, natural resources, and the environment. Through this data, the editors remain impartial.

Through assertive speech acts, the editors aim to communicate to the reader without showing their partiality to one of the pairs of presidential candidates. They convey some information to invite the public, readers, in particular, to create peaceful elections.

The expressive speech acts found in the editorial of *Kompas* are expressive speech acts that aim to praise, through which the editors delivered several sentences praising Prabowo Subianto. On the other hand, no praise was found for Joko Widodo. Instead, one more sentence was found praising the two pairs in the same sentence. The following data shows the expressive speech acts aimed at praising.

[9] Pengakuan positif Prabowo terhadap capaian presiden Jokowi juga harus diapresiasi. (Kompas, 19 February 2019)

Data [9] shows the editors' praise for Prabowo, which states that the editor of Prabowo's positive acknowledgment of Jokowi's presidential achievements must also be appreciated. The editors showed a positive attitude towards Prabowo, but no praise was shown for Jokowi. The editors want to convey to the readers' positive information about one of the presidential candidates, namely Prabowo.

[10] Kita apresiasi kedua calon wakil presiden yang menyampaikan pandangan masing-masing tentang riset pada debat yang berlangsung Minggu (17/03/2019) malam. (Kompas, 19 March 2019)

Data [10] shows the editors' praise for Prabowo again. The editors appreciate that the two pairs of candidates expressed their respective views on research in the debate on Sunday (17/03/2019) night. However, this data indicates a more neutral stance because both are praised simultaneously. The editors communicate with the reader through this speech act without showing his side.

There is only one directive speech act that aims to suggest. Therefore, the editors advise readers to identify the presidential and vice-presidential candidates. The following data shows the directive speech acts that aim to suggest.

[11] Butuh penelusuran lebih jauh, sejauh mana para kandidat atau partai politik itu punya komitmen antikorupsi, komitmen pada hak asasi manusia, komitmen pada orang kecil, komitmen pada kemajemukan dan toleransi, dan punyakomitmen besar pada eksistensi pada Negara bangsa dan komitmen pada ideologi Negara Pancasila serta punya kehendak besar untuk mengupayakan hadirnya ksejahteraan bersama. (Kompas, 6 March 2019)

Data [11] shows suggestions made by editors to readers in general. The editors suggested that further investigation is needed to what extent these candidates or political parties have an anti-corruption commitment, a commitment to human rights, a commitment to small people, a commitment to pluralism and tolerance, and a solid commitment to the existence of the nation-state and a commitment to ideology. Pancasila state has a tremendous

will to strive for the presence of common prosperity. Unfortunately, this data does not show the candidates' editorial side.

In communicating with *Kompas* readers, they used more variety of speech acts. *Kompas* uses assertive, expressive, and directive speech acts. *Kompas* has not yet shown alignment with one pair through assertive speech acts. Through this expressive speech act of praise, the editors express his tendency toward Prabowo. It is shown by the praise extended to Prabowo, not to Jokowi. Through directive speech acts, *Kompas* does not show its partiality to anyone, even Prabowo, who has been praised through expressive speech acts.

In communicating with presidential candidates, the editors use expressive, directive, commissive, and assertive speech acts. Each speech act has a different objective. For example, in *Kompas*, one sentence was found criticizing the two vice-presidential candidates. As a result, the editor criticized the two vice-presidential candidates, as seen in the data below.

[12] Ma'ruf Amin dan Sandiaga Uno belum cukup memberikan solusi untuk menjawab tantangan ketenagakerjaan. (Kompas, 20 March 2019)

Data [12] shows the criticisms submitted by the editors to the candidates simultaneously. The editors mentioned Ma'ruf Amin and Sandiaga Uno for being less contributive to providing enough solutions to address employment challenges. It shows *Kompas*' impartiality in the election.

Through directive speech acts, *Kompas* communicated with the two candidates to suggest, challenge and plead. In the following, data containing directive speech acts are presented.

[13] Dua puluh lima hari tersisa dikurangi masa tenang tiga hari, harus dimanfaatkan kontestan dan tim suksesnya untuk meraih dukungan publik, khususnya yang masih gamang, mempersolid dukungan bagi orang yang sudah menentukan pilihan, dan menggoyang dukungan pemilih dari pihak lawan. (Kompas, 21 March 2019).

Data [13] shows the suggestions by the editors to both presidential candidates. The editors suggested that the two presidential candidates take advantage of the remaining days before the election for public support, significantly those still uncertain, solidify support for those who have already made their choice, and shake up voter support from the opposing party.

The editors also use commissive speech acts in communicating with the presidential candidates. The commissive speech acts used by the editors threaten the two presidential candidates so as not to commit fraud in the election process through the commissive speech acts presented below.

[14] Pasangan calon presiden-calon wakil presiden tak otomatis bisa memonopoli kebenaran data karena data itu akan dicek dengan data lain. (Kompas, 21 February 2019)

Data [14] shows the threats to the two presidential candidates. It is written that the pairs of candidates failed to monopolize the validity of the data automatically. As a result, the data about the election will be synchronized with other data.

In communicating with the presidential candidates, the editors also use assertive speech acts, as shown below.

[15] Mulai Minggu, 14 April 2019, hingga Selasa, 16 April 2019, adalah masa tenang yang diartikan tidak boleh ada aktivitas kampanye, penyebaran visi-misi, ataupun aktivitas politik untuk membujuk pemilih memilih calon tertentu. (Kompas, 15 April 2019)

In data [15], the editors report a three-day quiet period, meaning there should be no campaign activities, dissemination of vision-mission, or political activities to persuade voters to choose specific candidates.

The editors communicate with both pairs of candidates using expressive, directive, commissive, and assertive speech acts. The expressive speech acts criticize the two vice-presidential candidates during the debate. In the directive speech act, *Kompas* does not indicate its partiality to any of the pairs. Also, through the commissive speech acts, the editors remain impartial. The same thing also happened to the assertive speech acts that did not carry the editors' interest in favor of any pair.

When communicating with the media, the editors use assertive speech acts that aim to state. It shows information so that the media does not overdo it in reporting campaign times, as shown in the data [16] below.

[16] Dari sisi media, pemberitaan hanya tertuju pada calon persiden. (Kompas, 15 April 2019)

Data [16] shows the editors' statements to the media. It is stated that the news was only focused on presidential candidates. It resulted in the people's euphoria only being focused on the presidential election, even though there was a choice of legislative candidates.

With the media, the editors communicate using assertive speech acts that aim to state. When communicating with the media, they urge the media not to overdo election problems and support the successful organization of elections.

The speech act used by the editors of *Kompas* in communicating with all parties involved in the election is a directive speech act that aims to suggest, as shown in the data below.

[17] Presiden, sebagai kepala negara, DPR, KPU, dan Bawaslu sebenarnya bisa duduk bersama membahas masalah itu. (Kompas, 27 February 2019)

Data [17] shows the suggestion addressed to all parties involved in the election to discuss the problems. The editors stated that the president, as head of state, the People's Representative Council (DPR), General Election Commissions (KPU), and Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu) could discuss the issue.

[18] Duduk bersama antara presiden sebagai kepala negara, KPU, dan DPR yang merupakan representasi partai politik itu diperlukan agar semua pihak punya pemahaman yang sama, mengetahui masalah, dan mencari solusi bersama. (Kompas, 27 February 2019)

Data [18] shows that the editors suggest the President, General Election Commissions (KPU), and People's Representative Council (DPR) as representatives of political parties.

[19] Semua pihak harus ikut mendorong agar warga negara Indonesia menggunakan hak pilihnya, memilih presiden dan anggota DPR 2019-2024.(Kompas, 4 April 2019)

Data [19] shows that the editors recommend all parties to participate in encouraging the Indonesian people to exercise their right to vote, electing the president and members of the DPR for 2019-2024.

Impartiality of Republika and *Kompas*

Based on the data explanation above, there are differences in the vision and history of the founding of *Republika* and *Kompas* Newspapers. In addition, there are striking ideological differences between the history and vision of *Republika* and *Kompas*'s founding. *Republika* has an Islamic ideology, and *Kompas* has a Catholic ideology. Even though they declare tolerance or democracy, history still leads them to one side.

Althusser (1971) develops an ideological theory that is free from mere causal relations with the basis of the economic practice of society and redefines it as an array of practical tools that spreads in all directions without stopping. His thesis is that 'ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence.' Therefore, ideology is more participation of all social classes, not simply a set of ideas imposed by one class on another social class.

Discussing newspapers cannot be separated from ideology. This strategy does not solely aim to communicate the news content but to influence the view of the public/readers (Degaf et al., 2019). The media invite them to think and make specific prejudice, not the others. Althusser's concept of ideology implies that "anyone cannot be separated from ideology ."In fact, "the basic human character is an ideological beast ."It is as if the essence of man is an ideology-based creature. It is as if ideology is the air where humans breathe to live their lives. Such ideology influences what one conveys to the public, as indicated by *Republika* and *Kompas* newspapers.

Linking back to the argument that language cannot be neutral, anyone who uses language must carry particular interests. Based on the analysis that has been done previously, these two newspapers have different tendencies. *Republika* is more inclined to pair 01, which shares a similar history related to Islam. At the same time, *Kompas* is more inclined to pair number 02 (Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno), one of whom is not an Islamic figure.

Research on these two mass media has also been carried out to analyze the tendency of reporting on issues related to religious ideology. These studies are an analysis of the news (1) the nomination of Basuki Tjahaya

Purnama as governor in the 2017 regional head election (Kusumadewi, 2017); (2) the case of destruction of the Musala in North Minahasa (Muthaqin et al., 2021); (3) the war between Israel and Lebanon (Muslim, 2013); and (4) President and Vice President 2019-2024 Period 10 August-16 August 2018 (Hakim, 2019). The results of this study indicate that *Kompas* is more neutral in responding to these problems, while *Republika* tends to lean towards those who share the same ideology.

This research reinforces the statements in previous research that ideology can influence mass media's partiality. The mass media's partiality is expressed in the news with their respective styles to build public opinion.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the analysis, it can be concluded that there is no neutral newspaper. These two newspapers have different partialities, influenced by their different ideologies. The vision and history of a newspaper can determine its ideology of a newspaper.

Republika leans more to pair 01 due to their similar history relating to "Islam." On the other hand, Kompas is more inclined to the counterpart that political parties do not embellish with Islamic nuances. But, again, this is due to different ideologies.

The results of this study provide a new perspective on viewing the phenomenon of media bias. If so far, the media's partiality is seen from one determinant, namely ideology, the results of this research show that within that ideology, there is a history, vision, and religious background that influence the mass media's partiality.

This research is still limited and requires a broader and deeper study. In addition, this research is limited to the sample used because it only takes samples from editorials within three months (February-April). Future researchers can analyze the entirety, not only limited to editorials, to find out more about the partiality of newspapers. This study also cannot be generalized due to the limitations of the data analyzed.

REFERENCES

Althusser, L. & Ben Brewster (Penj.). (1971). *Ideologi and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)*.

Anam, A. K. (2015). *Pemberitaan Dugaan Kasus Korupsi Suryadharma Ali dalam Surat Kabar Harian Kompas dan Sindo (Analisi Framing)*. Universitas Islam Negeri Walisongo Semarang.

Astari, R., Mukhlis, A., & Faturrahman, M. I. (2021). *Critical Discourse Analysis of The News of COVID-19 Corpse Snatcing Patient in The I-News*. *16*(2), 175–186.

Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa. (2018). *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia Versi V Daring*. Kemendikbud RI.

Degaf, A., Wijana, I., & Poedjosoedarmo, S. (2019). Textual analysis on celebrity news in the online media. *LiNGUA: Jurnal Ilmu Bahasa Dan Sastra*, *14*(2), 249–260.

Flora, E. (2014). Analisis Framing Berita Calon Presiden RI 2014- 2019 pada Surat Kabar Kaltim Post dan Tribun Kaltim. *e-Journal Ilmu Komunikasi*, *2*(3), 347–356. https://doi.org/0000- 0000

Fowler, R., & Kress, G. (1979). Critical Linguistics. Dalam *Language and Control*. Routledge.

Hakim, A. R. (2019). *Keberpihakan Media Menjelang Pilpres 2019 : Analisis Framing Pemberitaan Pencalonan Presiden dan Wakil Presiden 2019-2024 Pada Surat Kabar Harian Kompas, Jawa Pos dan Republika Periode 10 Agustus-16 Agustus 2018*. Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

Hamad, I. (2004). Konstruksi Realitas Politik dalam Media Massa (Studi Pesan Politik dalam Media Cetak pada masa Pemilu 1999). *Makara (Sosial Humaniora)*, *8*(1), 21–33.

Hidayati, N. (2015). Analisis Pragmatik Kritis Keberpihakan Penulis Berita Dilihat Dari Tajuk Berita "Tragedi Pembantaian Salim Kancil" di Berbagai Surat Kabar. *Kajian Pragmatik dalam Berbagai Bidang*, 228–232.

Kesuma, T. M. J. (2007). *Pengantar (Metode) Penelitian Bahasa*. Carasvatibooks.

Kompas Gramedia. (t.t.). *Visi dan Misi Kompas Gramedia*. Diambil 9 September 2018, dari www.*Kompas*gramedia.com/about-kg/vision-mission-values

Kusumadewi, S. L. (2017). *Kecenderungan Pemberitaan pada Harian Kompas dan Republika Terhadap Pencalonan Basuki Tjahaja Purnama Sebagai Gubernur DKI Jakarta pada Pilkada 2017*. Universitas Diponegoro Semarang.

Mulyana. (2010). *Kajian Wacana: Teori, Metode, dan Aplikasi Prinsip-Prinsipa*. Tiara Wacana.

Muslim. (2013). Konstruksi Media Tentang Serangan Israel Terhadap Lebanon. *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi Dan Media*, *17*(1), 75–92. https://jurnal.kominfo.go.id/index.php/jskm/article/download/170104/117

Muthaqin, F., Syam, H. M., & Wahyuni, P. (2021). Ideologi Media dan Framing Pada Pemberitaan Perusakan Rumah Ibadah di *Kompas* dan *Republika*. *Jurnal Peurawi: Media Kajian Komunikasi Islam*, *4*(2), 63. https://doi.org/10.22373/jp.v4i2.10821

Nasution, Z. (2007). *Bahasa sebagai Alat Komunikasi Politik dalam Rangka Mempertahankan Kekuasaan*. *01*(03), 445–464.

Pamuji, E. (2019). Media Cetak vs Media Online (Perspektif Manajemen dan Bisnis Media Massa). In *Unitomo Press*. Unitomo Press. http://repository.unitomo.ac.id/2594/1/buku MEDIA CETAK VS MEDIA ONLINE %281%29.pdf

Roger Fowler. (1996). *Language in The News: Discourse and Ideology in The Press*. Roudledge.

Santoso, A. (2008). *Jejak Haliday dalam Linguistik Kritis dan Analisis Wacana Kritis*. *36*(1), 1–15.

Santoso, A. (2012). *Studi Bahasa Kritis: Menguak Bahasa Membongkar Kuasa*. Mandar Maju.

Subagyo, P. A. (2010). *Pragmatik Kritis: Paduan Pragmatik dan Analisis Wacana Kritis*. Linguistik Indonesia Tahun ke-28.

Sudarsono, S. C. (2016). Representasi Gerakan Fajar Nusantara (GAFATAR) dalam Wacana Editorial *Republika* dan Suara Pembaruan Edisi 14 Januari 2016. *Kolita 14 (Konferensi Linguistik Tahunan Atma Jaya 14)*, 15–19.

Sudaryanto. (1986). *Metode Linguistik: Bagian Pertama Ke Arah Memahami Metode Linguistik*. UGM Press.

Sudaryanto. (1993). *Metode dan Aneka Teknik Analisis Bahasa: Pengantar Penelitian Wahana secara Linguistik*. Duta Wacana University Press.

Sumadiria, As. H. (2008). *Jurnalistik Indonesia: Menulis Berita dan Feature (Panduan Praktis Jurnalis Profesional)*. Alfabeta.