



**BIAS AND POWER:
APPRAISAL IN MEDIA DISCOURSE**

THESIS

By

Enike Prasetyo Wati

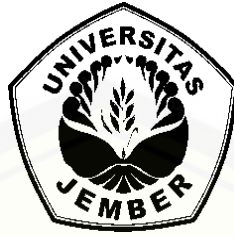
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ENGLISH DEPARTMENT

FACULTY OF LETTERS

JEMBER UNIVERSITY

2015



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presented to the English Department, Faculty of Letters, Jember University
as one of the requirements to get the award of
Sarjana Sastra degree in English study

by

Enike Prasetyo Wati

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DEDICATION

From the sincerity of my heart with love and respect, this thesis is dedicated to:

1. beloved mother, Sri Rahayu Efendi Eunike, who always encourages me in my study mentally and financially;
2. dearest little brother, Andrew Othman Prasetia Efendi, the reason for me to keep fighting;
3. lovely grandfather, Soedijono, and grandmother, Soetini, who pray for me endlessly;
4. beloved man, Yonatan Slamet Purnomo, who always understands me really well;
5. teachers from kindergarten to university;
6. Alma Mater of Faculty of Letters, Jember University.

MOTTO

Yes, they were all astonished and perplexed, saying to one another: “What does this mean?”
(Acts 2:12)^{*)}

^{*)}New World Bible Translation Committee. 2013. *New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures*. New York: Watchtower Bible and Tract Society.

DECLARATION

I hereby state that the thesis entitled **Bias and Power: Appraisal in Media Discourse** is an original piece of writing. I declare that the analysis and the research described in this thesis have never been submitted for any other degree or any publication. I certify to the best of my knowledge that all sources used and any help received in the preparation of this thesis have been acknowledged.

Jember, March 2015

The Writer,

Enike PrasetyoWati
100110101014

APPROVAL SHEET

Approved and received by the Examination Committee of English Department, Faculty of Letters, Jember University.

Jember, March 2015

Examination Committee

Chairman,

Secretary,

Drs. Albert Tallapessy, M.A., Ph.D
NIP. 196304111988021001

Sabta Diana, S.S., M.A.
NIP. 197509192006042001

The Members:

1. Prof. Dr. Samudji, M.A. (.....)
NIP. 194808161976031002
2. Riskia Setiarini, S.S., M.Hum. (.....)
NIP. 197910132005012002

Approved by,
The Dean

(Dr. Hairus Salikin, M.Ed)
NIP. 196310151989021001

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Jember, March 2015

Enike Prasetyo Wati

SUMMARY

Bias and Power: Appraisal in Media Discourse; Enike Prasetyo Wati, 100110101014; 2015: 60 pages; English Department, Faculty of Letters, Jember University.

The objects are articles from *Jakarta Globe* entitled *Personalities Set to Trump Party Loyalties in Indonesian Presidential Election*, *Golkar Riven by Presidential Candidacy*, and *SBY Silence May Speak a Thousand Words* comparing Jokowi-JK to Prabowo-Hatta. The titles seem neutral, while the contents are not. Actually, journalists should be lack of bias. However, in this case, appraisal exists, meaning tendency in publishing, including bias and power. There is a relation between bias and power (Richardson, as cited in Allen, 2012:7). Bias is formed because of power while power is gained to show bias. In fact, material processes are for power necessity; mental process is for expressing bias (Simpson, 2011:452). However, in these articles, journalists offer sources that have power applying verbal processes to indicate bias. This is related to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to see the implicit meaning from the language used.

In sorting the data, purposive sampling has selected the intended things (Mackey and Gass, 2005:122) based on the knowledge about power and bias by Foucault or Fairclough (1989). There are 31 sentences sorted. In processing, the phrases are coded into tabulation in terms of transitivity (Martin *et al.*, 1997) and appraisal (Martin and White, 2005).

From the result, transitivity contributes to the pattern of bias and power. There is an order of mostly used process type. First, in verbal processes, the participants are named speakers with specific identities in politics. Besides, there is a source in real experience as evidence, with valid result. Then, media reports, even, quotes bias opinion. Hence, speakers and symbolic source act as power sources so that we vote

whom they are biased to. Then, material processes prove that what candidates do and what happens are concrete. Thus, these produce power abuse, then, space for bias. Furthermore, based on what are exemplified by relational processes, consisting of attributive and identifying ones, we consider bias and power emerge. Then, behavioral processes, the active version of verbal and mental ones, indicate real productive activities in life. These include perception, cognition, and affection consciousness. Therefore, the ideas have basis. Finally, existential process introduces the reason of supporting to gain power in expressing bias.

Then, we consider writers' evaluation for readers to interpret the news. Related to verbal process, the writers use references called heteroglossia. There is an order of mostly used heteroglossia. First, acknowledges present explicit subjectivity of sources supporting or rejecting utterances. Hence, the writers deliver power sources for readers to follow bias. Moreover, entertains, indicate possibilities. Furthermore, denies introduce alternatives by rejecting something while respecting else. Then, endorses emerge responsible, valid, undeniable, and highly warrantable power sources. Thus, media clearly align the readers to vote whom the power sources are biased to. Additionally, counters represent current idea replacing previous expected one. These invite us to compare the candidates so that bias seems clear. Finally, concurs clearly announce the agreement in terms of bias.

Besides, concerning with attributive process, attitude, consisting of affect, judgement, and appreciation, is included. Affects express the writers' feeling and emotional reaction toward the candidates. Then, judgement and appreciation value and explain candidates' behavior. Besides, attributive processes are also related to graduations, raising or lowering positive and negative degrees by comparison. These contribute to the existence of bias. Hence, instead of accepting the news as what is presented explicitly, we should read it critically to reach the implicit intention from the language used.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
FRONTIEPIECES	i
DEDICATION	iii
MOTTO	iv
DECLARATION	v
APPROVAL SHEET	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
SUMMARY	viii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	x
CHAPTER 1.INTRODUCTION	1
1.1The Background of Study	1
1.2Research Topic	4
1.3Research Problem	5
1.4The Goals of Study	5
1.5Research Questions	5
CHAPTER 2.LITERATURE REVIEW	7
2.1 Previous Research	7
2.2 Theoretical Framework	9
2.2.1 Media Discourse	9
2.2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)	11
2.2.3 Power and Bias	12
2.2.4 Systemic Functional Linguistics	14
2.2.5 Appraisal	19
CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH DESIGNAND METHODOLOGY	23
3.1 The Type of Research	23
3.2 Research Strategy	24

3.3 Data Collection	24
3.4 Data Processing	25
3.5 Data Analysis	25
CHAPTER 4.RESULT AND DISCUSSION	27
4.1 Result	27
4.2Discussion	28
4.2.1 Biased to JokoWidodo-JusufKalla	28
a. “Personalities Set to Trump Party Loyalties in Indonesian Presidential Election”	29
b. “Golkar Riven by Presidential Candidacy”	39
4.2.2 Biased to PrabowoSubianto-HattaRajasa	45
4.3 Analysis of the Result	52
CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION	59
REFERENCES	62
APPENDIX	65

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter contains the explanations of background, problem formulation, purposes, and goals. In this chapter, each of them is delivered explicitly. This guides me to focus on the scope of study.

1.1 The Background of Study

The objects of this thesis are three articles taken from a web site of English language newspaper in Indonesia. This is *The Jakarta Globe*. In fact, according to six sources, Indonesia has several English language newspapers. These six sources are www.onlinenewspapers.com; www.w3newspapers.com; and www.mydestination.com; as well as www.world-newspapers.com; www.bhavesads.com; and jakarta.angloinfo.com. *The Jakarta Globe* is mentioned by three sources. It means that this Indonesian English-language newspaper is the second most prevalent. Hence, *The Jakarta Globe* has been chosen.

These three chosen articles talk about presidential election 2014. Seven from nine political articles in *The Jakarta Globe* highlight presidential election 2014. Thus, this event has been chosen.

The three news articles are at May 21st, 2014. This has been the first day after the registration of two pairs of both presidential and vice presidential candidates. In other words, this has been the first time for Indonesians to decide their next president and the vice.

The three chosen news articles compare Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla to Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa. Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto were

presidential candidates. Then, Jusuf Kalla and Hatta Rajasa were vice presidential candidates. The three chosen news articles are *Personalities Set to Trump Party Loyalties in Indonesian Presidential Election*, *Golkar Riven by Presidential Candidacy*, and *SBY Silence May Speak a Thousand Words*. From the title, they seem neutral while the others are not. Therefore, the rests of these three articles are not chosen.

Moreover, the objects of this research serve as the part of media discourse. O’Keeffe (2006), states,

“Media discourse refers to interactions that take place through a broadcast platform, whether spoken or written, in which the discourse is oriented to a non-present reader, listener, or viewer”.

Then, according to Hornby (1987:107), broadcast means the distribution of content to detached audience by mass communication medium. There is no two ways communication as well as in conversation. The three chosen news articles are written in English language newspaper in Indonesia. Newspaper itself is mass communication media. Thus, these three news articles which are the objects are called media discourse.

Furthermore, media discourse also has context. Context means the words and sentences before and after the particular ones (Halliday and Hasan, 1985:6). In this case, situational context is prominent. Context of situation is the situation in which the text is uttered and expressed. This is the surrounding in which the text is unfolding (Halliday and Hasan, 1985:7). Situational context also means the environment in which text is functioning (Halliday and Hasan, 1985:46). This research explores the context of situation.

Then, according to Halliday and Hasan (1985:12), there are three features of the situational context. They are field, mode, and tenor. The field refers to what is happening and the nature of the social action takes place. Then, the mode discusses what part of the language is playing and what the expectation is to do.

On the other hand, tenor talks about who are taking part, the nature of participants, the status, and roles. These three concepts serve to interpret the social context of a text and the environment in which the meanings are exchanged. However, this research only discusses tenor in depth.

One of the things which the tenor talks is the participant of media discourse. There are several related participants. They are journalist, source, producer, and the readers. In this case, I explore the journalist's point of view. The journalists collect, write, and distribute news and other information. They research, conduct interviews, and report the information to present in sources. Therefore, they truly witness many events.

Actually, the journalists have ethics and standards. Objectivity and a lack of bias are primary concern and importance. They prevent emphasizing stereotypes, partisan viewpoints, and prejudices. However, most of them intentionally adopt a non-objective viewpoint. This has been being more prevalent since the existence of social medias. People comment politics whatever they want to say. Hence, these project extreme bias (Nisbet, 2013:7).

However, in fact, the journalists are still public. They also witness political figures involved in influencing public policy and decision making. They hope implications of change, the development of the goodness. The journalists think that government acts as an indicator of strength determining public's future who has responsibility. Therefore, this is prevalent that the journalists also give the aid and support. In this case, appraisal exists.

Appraisal globally means tendency in publishing. This is to check the writer's point of view (Martin and White, 2005:92). Appraisal is the language of evaluation. This informs an analysis of article sentiment. Consequently, this is used for subjective analysis. Appraisal includes bias and power. Bias means the aid of the journalist and news producer in the selected event and reported story. However, bias is not showed explicitly. Besides, power means the ability to affect

the people (Foucault, 1980:119). Nowadays, as what the news state, in presidential election, every party, either Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla or Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa, tries to seize control in gaining more votes. Moreover, public are more likely to fit into one of the two candidates partners. Here, there is a relation between bias and power (Richardson, as cited in Allen, 2012:7). Bias is formed because of power while power is gained to show the bias. This is what has been observed. This occurrence is explored in this research.

Then, power and bias have been mostly observed in the researches. Based on the research of Junling Wang in 2010 about Barack Obama's two speeches, material processes were mostly used 58% and 62%. This is to arouse the public's confidence toward the president and his government. In other words, this is for power necessity. In fact, the use of mental processes is for expressing bias (Simpson, 2011:452). However, in these three chosen news articles, the journalists offer sources that have power applying verbal processes to indicate the bias.

In addition, if we attend the situational context, its features especially the tenor, and the dominant usage of verbal processes, they are concerned with Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL). This acts as the tool of analysis. SFL does not talk about what we can and cannot say (Martin *et al.*, 1997:1). Besides, the orientation of SFL is social. Again, we need to see situational context, not what utterances are correct or incorrect. Hence, SFL is used in this research.

When we see from the objects which are media discourses, to the occurrence of tendency to one of candidates' partners, this is related to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Therefore, we can occupy a critical stance to media discourse. According to Fairclough (1989:4), the objective of CDA is "a contribution to the general raising of consciousness of exploitative social relations, through focusing upon language". It means that from the language used,

we can explore the social relations. Therefore, this is the approach used in this research.

1.2 Research Topic

In this study, three articles act as the object. The appraisal exists. Linguistically, functional grammar fits more to apply to explore the appraisal. Thus, the existence of the relation between power and bias is checked. Then, transitivity is utilized to see the patterns.

1.3 Research Problem

Public hope everything related to the journalist is neutral. This is what the ethics and standards in journalism say. In fact, as what has been written above, the journalists use the power of governments to show the bias. They are not objective. Now they are subjective. Besides, fact proves that material processes express power while mental ones indicate bias. However, verbal processes are dominant in these articles. In this case, the patterns constructing the relation between bias and the power are seen.

1.4 The Goals of Study

This research is to resolve the problem as wise words say “Knowing the problem is half of the solution”. This is worth-studying since this will be a good contribution especially for the English Department students at the seventh semester majoring in linguistics taking Discourse Analysis subject in order that:

- a. We see the implicit meaning from the language used,

- b. And consider potential of lexicogrammatical patterns usage to contribute the relation of power and bias.

1.5 Research Questions

These questions act as the key to the research. The research questions come from the articles in the process of reading. These are in the form of explanatory questions. Then, the research questions are:

- a. How is the transitivity used to aim to the pattern of bias and power by journalists?
- b. What is the real evaluation of the writers for the readers to interpret the three chosen news articles?

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter discusses important information of the sources. The presented sources are the most relevant ones. This provides a handy guide to the research topic. Hence, comprehending the knowledge is essential.

2.1 Previous Research

Collecting both the available opinion and the theory related to the problem to discuss is a must. Then, the most relevant theory to solve the problem has to be compared and chosen. Hence, knowing both the goodness and the weakness of the theories is an obligation. Thus, these are the previous researches in the last five years concerned with the problem to discuss and the theoretical framework.

Firstly, in 2013, Matthew Evans has written *'The Author and the Princess'—An Example of Critical Discourse Analysis*. He has analyzed articles on the nineteenth of February 2013 from two British newspapers. One has been published in the tabloid *The Daily Mail* while the other has been in *The Independent*. Previously, novelist Hilary Mantel has given a speech for a *London Review of Books* lecture at the British Museum on the fourth of February. In her *Royal Bodies* lecture, Mantel has told the nature of British monarchy, Kate Middleton's role as the wife of the heir to the throne, and media's treatment of Middleton. Later, newspapers have reported comments about Middleton and her portrayal in the press. However, several reports have focused on unfavourable things which Mantel has told about Middleton. Thus, outrage has existed. The controversy in these two articles has been biased against Mantel.

In his analysis, formal grammar acts as the tool. Matthew Evans has utilized naming to see the contents of noun phrases. The naming of Hilary Mantel and Kate Middleton indicates to whom the readers had to sympathise. *The Daily Mail* has named Mantel by surname while Middleton by forename to make the readers feel closer. Besides, *The Independent* has added the title 'Ms' to Mantel with certain connotation. Then, the negative adjectives and verbs have referred to Mantel. Additionally, creative oppositions have been played. Both subjects have been placed nearby among sentences while describing each action. Propositions as contrasting have been also used. Finally, *The Mail* has quoted Mantel's direct speech frequently. However, the articles have showed the kinds of Middleton's acts. This means that Middleton has been more acceptable.

Furthermore, in 2012, Minavere vera Bardici has written *A Discourse Analysis of the Media Representation of Social Media for Social Change – the Case of Egyptian Revolution and Political Change*. She has analyzed social media technologies such as *Facebook, Twitter, and Youtube*. She has proved that power is productive and it has constitutive force. These have emerged transformation in human and social communication. The result has been dynamics for public mobilization. She has looked for the practices of power as the force, rhetoric, and framing. She has also quoted credible sources as the proofs.

Again, both researches, Evans' and vera Bardici's, are related to Discourse Analysis. However, the applied linguistic tools are different as well as the context of the objects. Thus, in this study, I have payed more attention to the grammatical phenomena. This contributes to the pattern constructing the relation between the power and bias. Then, transitivity and the development of it, appraisal framework, are used to see the pattern.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Theoretical framework is a collection of interrelated concepts. This guides the research. The framework subchapter discusses how every concept relates to this research.

2.2.1 Media Discourse

Media discourse means either spoken or written interactions leaned for non-present reader, listener, and viewer. This is what O'Keeffe (2006) stated. Media discourse has three characteristics. First, this is public. Many analysts are

interested in the discourse. Hence, they supervise. Then, media discourse is manufactured. Thus, we need to see how the discourse has been done in either literal sense of what goes into its making or ideological level. Thirdly, media discourse is on record. This refers to the online availability of media especially newspapers.

Furthermore, media discourse is analyzed because of curiosity. This happens since language is manipulated to twist reality to build particular meaning. In fact, journalists should use objective language to be as neutral as possible.

In addition, Fairclough claims that,

“Communication in the mass media must consider the economics and politics of the mass media: the nature of the market which the mass media are operating within, and their relationship to the state” (1995a:36).

The economics of media is important in determining practices observed and produced texts (Fairclough, 1995a:40). This aspect decides what news is selected and how the news is published. Hence, this is related to the ownership of media. Then, concerned with the politics, media is in the work of power and the elite. Media discourse “contributes to reproducing social relations of domination and exploitation” (Fairclough, 1995a:44). This means that the people who have interests eager to own the public’s consent by persuasion through media discourse. For example, as what has been prevalent at presidential election 2014 campaign, the candidates have persuaded Indonesians as many as possible to choose them. They have made advertisements in television concluding media discourse.

However, there are two more aspects of media discourse. They are access to the media and practices of media text production and consumption. The people who have access to the media implicate the place of media discourse in society. Fairclough argues, “Media output is very much under professional and

institutional control” (1995a:40). The agents are the people who have every form of economic and political power.

Then, production involves gathering, selecting, writing, and editing news. Selecting determines what to publish. This involves choosing the sources of information. They are the people interviewed and then quoted. Journalists rely on a limited officials and sources which have contacts. Sometimes, ordinary people are used as sources provided that they “speak about their personal experience rather than expressing opinions on an issue” (Fairclough, 1995a:49). Otherwise, consumption means the readers read and comprehend media discourse.

Concerned with this research, the concept of media discourse is for comprehending that as what has been stated in the introduction of the first chapter, the objects of this research belong to media discourse. The three chosen news articles are written in English language newspapers in Indonesia. Then, according to Hornby (1987:107), broadcast means the distribution of content to detached audience by mass communication medium. The audience of newspaper is not present. Newspaper itself is mass communication media. Thus, these three news articles which are the objects are called media discourse. These media discourses have been analyzed by applying Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

2.2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

According to van Dijk (as cited in Sheyholislami, No Year:1), CDA studies and analyzes texts to reveal the sources of power, dominance, inequality, and bias. This examines how these sources are maintained in specific social and political context. In addition, Fairclough asserts that CDA is

“discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such

practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relation of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony” (1995b:135).

This means that CDA makes transparent the relation between discourse structures and social practices. Based on the principle of CDA, linguistic features and structures are purposeful. Hence, CDA assumes that the addresser chooses vocabulary and grammar.

Then, Fairclough describes the objective of CDA approach as “a contribution to the general raising of consciousness of exploitative social relations, through focusing upon language” (1989:4). This makes us aware of “what is, how it has come to be, and what it might become” (Chuliaraki and Fairclough, as cited in Sheyholislami, No Year:6). These act as “models” which “control how people act, speak or write, or how they understand the social practices of others” (van Dijk, as cited in Sheyholislami, No Year:4).

Related to the research, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) serves as the approach used. By applying this, power, dominance, inequality, and bias found in the three chosen news articles are revealed.

2.2.3 Power and Bias

Language of a writing explaining an event is a kind of “social practice” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997) and interaction focusing on the “context” (Wodak, 2001:1). The interacting people are on the real social situation to solve the “social problems” as “in the production of power abuse or domination” (van Dijk in Wodak, 2001:96). However, language is often used on non-normal condition. There is a relation between language and social elements including “productive activity, social relations, social identities, and consciousness” (Fairclough in Wodak, 2001:122). Hence, Wodak said that there are “the relationship between

language and society, and the relationship between analysis and the practices analyzed” (1997:173).

Furthermore, language has an ideational function, which is to represent the experience and the world. Related to what is attended, language constructs the status and identity of the writer and the reader. Fairclough stated that the written events are the mirror of the writer’s social position, behalf, and purpose (1995b:103). This means that there may be a manipulation in term of bias because of the power.

As what has been stated, language concludes the writer and the reader. Globally, the readers belong to public. In terms of media, the power generates from either media with public or with parties dominating politics. Often, the writer draws two sides in conflict including the activities and interaction with the society. The writers push an issue or aspect in order that their view is accepted by the public. Opinion, behavior, and other information are used. Hence, appropriate with what Fairclough said, seeing “what is going on, who are involved, what relationships are at the issue, and what is the role of language in what is going on” is important (1989:147-148). Additionally, the “content” related to the knowledge of “what is said” and “what is done” has to be attended. Besides, the “social relation” and the “subjects” or “positions people can occupy” related to social identities also have to be seen (Fairclough, 1989:43).

Moreover, one of the dominant subjects in terms of power is government. The governments act as figure obtaining the power. They know various facts since managing energy, ability, and the life of society. They have right to tell them and choose an event to do for the public. However, they also limit and forbid. The effect of the power is resulting in a real production involving the individuals and the knowledge. Thus, the important thing is that they have to be responsible for the anomaly of power practice.

However, according to Foucault,

“What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it does not only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression” (1980:119).

This means that power is productive and constraining. This has constitutive force. Power operates at all levels of society. Furthermore, Fairclough adds,

“power relations are always relation of struggle, using the term in a technical sense to refer to the process whereby social grouping with different interests engage with one another” (1989:34).

This means that power is shown by one who is stronger towards the weaker one in controlling thought and act.

Then, concerned with bias, there is a relation between power and bias. Richardson states,

“The second ‘face’ of power therefore brings in the notion of the ‘mobilization of bias’ into the definition of power, and critiques how those who benefit from the rules of the game are placed in a preferred position to defend and promote their vested interest” (as cited in Allen, 2012:7).

Someone practices the power towards the other for fighting the other’s behalf. Then, critical sight of the power contributes bias practice. In other words, power provides space for the bias. This creates particular way of viewing and representing the political reality. When we talk about bias, we offend the purpose and the priority. The bias declines objectivity. This does not act neutral. Again, media has power. This contributes the aid or even attack aiming to the particular political party and candidate. For sure, the writer may have something to gain

personally from delivering the message containing bias. Therefore, the writer selects the sources supporting the argument.

Related to this analysis, the three chosen news articles contain the relation between power and bias which are the situational contexts. This occurrence is what has been observed. The analysis shows in-depth understanding of what does not exist explicitly. This research utilizes Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) as the tool.

2.2.4 Systemic Functional Linguistics

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) has constructed Systemic Functional Linguistics. This is a way of looking at grammar in terms of how grammar is used. Hence, the orientation is social (Martin *et al.*, 1997:1). This means that SFL does not offend what utterances are correct and incorrect.

In SFL, a text can be understood by the three of the metafunctions. They are textual, interpersonal, and ideational functions. Textual function is used in “clause as message and structure” (Martin *et al.*, 1997:21). In terms of SFL, Theme belongs to this function. On the other hand, interpersonal function acts in “clause as exchange” (Martin *et al.*, 1997:57). Mood acts as the interpersonal function. Then, ideational function is in “clause as representation” (Martin *et al.*, 1997:100). This is in the form of transitivity.

Firstly, Theme means the point of departure (Martin *et al.*, 1997:21-26). This acts as the beginning of a clause. Topical Theme can be in the form of participant, circumstance, and the process. There are two kinds of topical Theme. They are marked topical Theme and the unmarked one. Unless it is the subject of the clause, then it is marked topical Theme. Besides, the finite, wh-element, vocative, adjunct, belong to interpersonal Theme. Then, Textual Theme includes

structural conjunction, relative, conjunctive, and continuative. The examples are provided below.

Table 2.1 Forms of Theme

Zahra Theme: topical (participant), unmarked	is sick. Rheme
In 1992, Theme: topical (circumstance), marked	I was born. Rheme
Asked Theme: topical (process), marked Theme: interpersonal, finite	Zaza, "Are you crazy?" Rheme
What Theme: interpersonal, wh-element	are you doing? Rheme
Dita, Theme: interpersonal, vocative	I want to tell you something. Rheme
Probably, Theme: interpersonal, adjunct	I will not go there. Rheme
I miss you, but Theme: textual, structural conjunction	I hate you. Rheme
We met Fida, who Theme: textual, relative	is linguistic student. Rheme
Moreover, Theme: textual, conjunctive	grammar is important. Rheme
Well, Theme: textual, continuative	you win. Rheme

Moreover, Mood realizes an interactive move. This talks about the role of the speaker. He gives or demands information, goods, and services. Giving is in the form of either offer or statement. However, demanding means command and question. In addition, offer and command are called “proposal”. On the other hand, statement and question are called “proposition” (Martin *et al.* 1997:57). Mood includes Mood itself and modality. Mood itself consists of subject and finite. Mood is in the form of either indicative or imperative. Indicative means declarative and interrogative. Besides, modality is named modal Adjunct as in Table 2.2. This is realized by either prepositional or adverbial phrase.

Table 2.2 Mood

I	have	already	eaten.
Subject	Finite Mood	Adjunct	Predicator Residue

However, only transitivity is utilized for the analysis. This belongs to the experiential mode of ideational metafunction. This is to construe what is going on. Moreover, clause as representation means that the clause construes a configuration of process, participants involved in it and any attendant circumstances (Halliday, 2004:169). Process type and circumstantiation are the two major systems. Process type refers to events. A figure is divided into figure of happening, doing, sensing, saying, being, or having. All of them construe the world of experience into a manageable set of process types (Halliday, 2004:170). The type of the process involves six processes, which are material, mental, and relational as the main ones, and verbal, behavioral, and existential as the rest of the processes.

First, material clauses are to show the action of doing and happening (Halliday, 2004:179). Through this method, we will know who is doing what. We can get the “Actor”, the process, and the processed one. The processed one is

named “Goal” (Martin *et al.*, 1997:103). This is participant impacted by an action. However, there are still more participants. They are “Beneficiary”, benefiting from the action, and “Range”, specifying the scope of event. Then, Beneficiary has two types. A recipient is marked by ‘to’ while client is by ‘for’. The table below is the illustration.

Table 2.3 Material sentence

Actor	Material process	Goal	Beneficiary		Range
			Recipient	Client	
I	gave	a toy	to my brother.		
She	cooked	fried rice		for her son.	
A boy	is climbing				the mountain.

The second process, mental clause, focuses on our experience of the world as our consciousness (Halliday, 2004:197). Thus, mental clauses can be represented from the process of thinking or sensing. These include perception, cognition, and affection processes. The participant sensing is “Senser” while “Phenomenon” is sensed as in the following table (Martin *et al.*, 1997:105).

Table 2.4 Mental sentence

I	like	you	so much.
Senser	Mental process	Phenomenon	Manner circumstance

Moreover, relational clauses are divided into two relational entities, which characterize and identify one another (Halliday, 2004:210). Hence, attributive clause has “Carrier” and “Attribute” whereas identifying one is with “Token” and “Value” (Martin *et al.*, 1997:106). Identifying clause is reversible while attributive one is not. However, there are still possessive and circumstantial relational clauses as in the table below.

Table 2.5 Relational sentences

I	am	smart.
Carrier	Relational process: attributive	Attribute

The singer of “All of Me”	is	John Legend.
Value	Relational process: identifying	Token

I	have	lots of balls.
Carrier/Possessor	Relational process: attributive, possessive	Attribute/Possession

The books	surround	Emi.
Token	Relational process: identifying, circumstantial	Value

There are still more rests of processes. Verbal clause contributes to the building of narration by dialog texts. Verbal clauses represent “processes of saying” (Martin *et al.*, 1997:108). Then, “a verbal projection is a locution (and so can be quoted)” (Martin *et al.*, 1997:120). The example is ‘She said she was sick’. From the text, we can get “Sayer” who is quoting or reporting. What is quoted and reported is named “Verbiage”. There is also “Receiver” as the addressee (Martin *et al.*, 1997:108). The table below shows the example.

Table 2.6 Verbal sentence

Laras	tells	me	a story.
Sayer	Verbal process	Receiver	Verbiage

Otherwise, behavioral process is between material and mental or verbal one. An active version of activity exists. “Behaver” is the participant. Finally, there is only one participant in existential clause. This is “Existent” which is introduced (Martin *et al.*, 1997:109). In fact, there are still four additional agents. They are “Initiator”, “Inducer”, “Assigner”, and “Attributor” (Martin *et al.*, 1997:110). Here are the examples of behavioral and existential processes.

Table 2.7 Behavioral and existential sentences

I	listen to	the music.
Behaver	Behavioral process	
There	is	a book on the table.
	Existential process	Existent Location circumstance

As what has been written in the background of study, Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) acts as the tool of analysis. Again, SFL does not talk about what we can and cannot say (Martin *et al.*, 1997:1). Besides, the orientation of SFL is social. In this case, situational context needs to be seen, not what utterances are correct or incorrect. Hence, SFL is used in this research. SFL keeps developing so that this offends appraisal framework.

2.2.5 Appraisal

Appraisal is the expansion of SFL especially of interpersonal meaning. This framework allows the discourse analysis from the view point of the evaluative language. Appraisal theory discusses how the writers see the particular authorial identities and how they express their attitude. Besides, this is concerned with how the authors place themselves with potential respondents. The appraisal theory is related to the concept of “stance” (Martin and White, 2005:40). In other words, the writers encode their point of view when they write everything (Martin and White, 2005:92). The evaluative language forming a stance comes from the writer’s attitude expressed either explicitly or implicitly. Hence, this is subjective analysis. The aim is the writer.

Furthermore, the appraisal framework has a structure recognizing the expressions of attitude. This includes three main resources. They are “attitude”, “engagement”, and “graduation”. The first main resource, attitude, sees how

someone expresses state. It means feelings, emotional reactions, judgments of behavior, and evaluations of things (Martin and White, 2005:35). This has three resources. The first is “affect” expressing emotional states and responses. This is illustrated as if ‘I am’. Affect itself is still divided based on the role, vibe, state, direction, grade, intention (for instance, ‘feared’), and also concern. Based on the role, affect can act as quality (‘a happy girl’), process, and comment (‘proudly’). However, based on the concern, affect is related to happiness (‘rejoice’), security (‘assert’), and satisfaction (‘reward’) (Martin and White, 2005:46-49).

Then, the second resource of attitude is “judgement” expressing norms described as ‘he is’. This aims to the behavior of the people. Hence, the author can applaud. This is called reproach. Judgement can be in the form of esteem (‘powerful’) or sanction (‘honest’) (Martin and White, 2005:53). The third is “appreciation” expressing tastes aesthetic likes or dislikes and evaluating things. Thus, this is portrayed as ‘it is’. Appreciation is divided based on reaction (‘fine’), composition (‘simple’), and valuation (‘deep’) (Martin and White, 2005:56).

Moreover, engagement identifies “the particular dialogic positioning” related to the given meanings (Martin and White, 2005:97). This is about the positioning of someone with respect to the others. This also describes what is at chance when one particular meaning is in use. Point of view and resources emerge towards the others’ opinions. In other words, every side has responses to one another. Engagement includes either retrospective or prospective. Retrospective means acknowledge and agree or disagree, whereas prospective shows anticipative and counter response. It consists of two different resources. They are “monoglossia”, which does not have references to other viewpoints, and “heteroglossia”, with references to other viewpoints. For example, there is a use of “according to”, direct sentence, “convince that”, “confirm that”, and the others. When the reference exists, there will be contraction or expansion (Martin and White, 2005:102). Contraction refers to disclaim (‘never’) and proclaim

(‘indeed’) whereas expansion includes entertain (‘perhaps’) and attribute (‘the report states’) (Martin and White, 2005:104, 111, 117).

Finally, graduation is concerned with “grading phenomena whereby feelings are amplified and categories blurred” (Martin and White, 2005:35). This explains how language amplifies or lessens the attitude and engagement. In the case of attitude, graduation conveys greater or lesser degree of positivity or negativity. Meanwhile, related to engagement, graduation expresses utterance conviction. Graduation is divided into two resources. They are “force” and “focus” (Martin and White, 2005:137). Force acts as adjustment of the degree of evaluation. This is concerned with intensity, quantity, and temporality. Force has “raise”, such as “better, best, yes, really big”, and “lower”, such as “a bit, a little, somewhat”. Besides, force is still divided based on quantification and intensification (Martin and White, 2005:140). Quantification is related to number (‘many’), mass (‘small’), and extent. Extent itself can be in the form of proximity (‘recent arrival’) and distribution (‘wide-spread hostility’). Each of these two things is concerned with space and time.

Then, focus is used in the non-gradable context. This has “the effect of adjusting the strength of boundaries between categories, constructing core and peripheral types of things” (Martin and White, 2005:37). Focus consists of “sharpen” as well as “all alone”, and “soften”, for example, “sort of”, “kind of”, “somewhat like”, and so on. To more comprehend the appraisal framework, the figure of this framework has been provided in Figure 2.1.

Related to this analysis, appraisal exists in these three chosen news articles. This is to check the writer’s point of view. The occurrence of appraisal is explored in this research.



CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

According to Hornby, method means “orderliness, way of doing something” (1987:533). When we talk about method, we offend how to choose “the participants” and “how treatment is to be administered” (Mackey and Gass, 2005:40). The participants here refer to the data itself. Then, methodology is “science or study of method”, or “set of methods used in working at something” (Hornby, 1987:533). Hence, this third chapter discusses the order of several steps in doing the research. This chapter elaborates research type and strategy as well as data collection, processing, and analysis.

3.1 The Type of Research

In this study, qualitative type of research has been conducted. As what the name is, this relates to quality. This means that in-depth and rich data related to the structure, pattern, and how something is have to be provided (Litosseliti, 2010:52). When structure and pattern are offended, the regular way something is organized has to be explored. Therefore, we have to be really closed to the data.

Moreover, qualitative research is a kind of inductive research (Litosseliti, 2010:52). The inductive research means “method of reasoning which obtains or discovers general laws from particular facts or examples”. This enables “production of facts to prove a general statement” (Hornby, 1987:434). In other words, this research goes from specific things to general ones.

Additionally, qualitative research is based on interpretation. This concludes explanation making clear the meaning of something. Besides, the

orientation of qualitative type of research is discovery. This means that finally we are brought into clearly understood things. Therefore, qualitative research is practiced.

3.2 Research Strategy

Strategy aims to the plan to accomplish the goals over a period of time. This research conducts documentary as the strategy. According to McCulloh, documentary research means that the data collected is from documentary sources such as papers, newspapers, and so on (as cited in Marlangen, 2014:24). Documentary sources can be in the form of either printed or soft file. In doing this research, several articles, books, and journals are very helpful. Documentary as the strategy allows providing detailed descriptions of language use in a specific setting in the three chosen news articles. The focus is on the grammatical features. They are participants and the processes. This strategy enables me to see the linguistic accuracy for the grammatical forms (Mackey and Gass, 2005:171).

3.3 Data Collection

The objects have been gotten from the website of a newspaper, *The Jakarta Globe*. In the process of reading news emerging at May 21st, 2014 addressing presidential election 2014, there are several news articles which seem neutral in terms of the titles. However, when the stories are checked, they are not neutral. They contain power and bias as the situational contexts. For instance, the power may held through group charisma and moral persuasion especially religion as what Foucoult says (1980:119). Hence, knowing who have published them is important. Then, additional information on the producers is also needed.

After selecting the articles, not all sentences are explored. Thus, in sorting the data, purposive sampling has been conducted. Purposive sampling means selecting the intended things to be representative based on particular knowledge to elicit the data (Mackey and Gass, 2005:122). In this research, the sentences containing bias and power serve as the representatives. Therefore, the knowledge about power and bias by either Foucault or Fairclough (1989) is really needed.

From the result of sorting, there are three articles taken from *The Jakarta Globe*. Then, 13 sentences from “Personalities Set to Trump Party Loyalties in Indonesian Presidential Election”, 11 sentences from “Golkar Riven by Presidential Candidacy”, and 7 sentences from “SBY Silence May Speak a Thousand Words” have to be analyzed. There are 31 sentences sorted from this newspaper.

3.4 Data Processing

In processing the data, coding has to be done. Sentences reflecting the power and bias have been sorted. Then, the clauses have to be attended. Narrower, the focus is on the words use. The words are coded into tabulation as what are the examples in Chapter 2. Hence, taking a closer look at every naming in terms of transitivity by Martin *et al.* (1997) and appraisal by Martin and White (2005) is needed.

3.5 Data Analysis

After processing the data, there are several steps needed in the analysis. They are:

- a. Identifying the participants

In these three chosen articles, several experts and credible sources are used by media. They are related very much to the main participants compared. Here, whom the experts and credible sources are biased to can be identified. Thus, the relationship between language and the identity of the users has to be revealed by analysis. This enables us to see what the speakers gain personally from delivering the message. First, this analysis learns how specific actors construct the argument. Then, how the argument fits into context is analyzed. In doing so, how the context informs the argument is revealed.

b. Interpreting

What is also important is interpreting the data. ‘What do they all mean?’ is the helpful question. In interpreting, all of the results have to be tied together. This contributes to the explanation. Then, combining the knowledge of grammatical features and my own opinion helps in term of interpretation.

c. Making conclusion

After revealing all possibilities about the research, making conclusion is the final. The statement of conclusion is expressed by evidence. Eventually, the goals of the research can be achieved.

CHAPTER 4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This chapter shows that the use of references or verbal processes gives rise to the implication that media also has power sources to lean toward a side of two pairs of candidates of president and the vice. The discussion in this chapter is divided into three subchapters. The first subchapter confirms the result of data processing. This presents the final data after being sorted based on the emergence of words or phrases expressing bias and power and coded in terms of transitivity and appraisal. Then, the second is data analysis. This explains the process of uncovering the hidden proposition of the data. Finally, the last subchapter provides the discussion of the result of data analysis. Wholly, this chapter demonstrates the elaboration of how the hidden propositions are regarded as an abuse of language in the form of bias and power.

4.1 Result

The theoretical framework of second chapter provides two domains used in this research to detect the implicit bias and power. They are transitivity by Martin *et al.* (1997) and appraisal by Martin and White (2005). These two domains are identified by the existence of verbal processes and words or phrases illustrating bias and power.

By identifying such words or phrases, the mostly used process type is verbal process before attributive relational one. There are 13 verbal processes in *Personalities Set to Trump Party Loyalties in Indonesian Presidential Election*, and 7 in *Golkar Riven by Presidential Candidacy*. However, 5 verbal processes in

SBY Silence May Speak a Thousand Words place the third order of mostly used processes after material and identifying relational ones. To be more detail, there are 58 words or phrases showing bias and power in the first news article, 36 in the second, and 37 in the third chosen news article.

The whole references and coded words or phrases give rise to the implicit opinion of the propensity of media to a side of two pairs of candidates of president and the vice by using power sources. The following subchapter presents the process of uncovering the hidden proposition of the data.

4.2 Discussion

This subchapter is for revealing the hidden proposition of the leaning of media to a side of two pairs of candidates of president and the vice. This implicit insight is derived lexically from the emergence of words showing bias and power and also verbal processes indicating the existence of the sources. Hence, to get this hidden opinion, the interpretation of the sentence is done by identifying the participants. They act as the power sources. Here, we see whom the credible sources are biased to. There are also certain words or phrases to comprehend the meaning beyond them.

Besides, a more specific topic of the articles is required. Thus, the analysis of the implicit meaning is divided into two prominent topics. They are *Biased to Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla* and *Biased to Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa*. Both present what makes the journalists and other participants support a side of two candidate pairs.

4.2.1 Biased to Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla

From these three chosen news articles, two articles are biased to Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla. They are “Personalities Set to Trump Party Loyalties in Indonesian Presidential Election” and “Golkar Riven by Presidential Candidacy”. Thus, these two sections peel in-depth each of both articles.

a. “Personalities Set to Trump Party Loyalties in Indonesian Presidential Election”

This section is presented to show the process of uncovering the implicit bias to Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla. The words expressing bias and power are found in 13 sentences. The process of uncovering the implicitness is done by identifying the involved participants acting as the power sources. Here, we see the credible sources are biased to Jokowi-JK. Besides, comprehending the meaning of certain words or phrases is also important. Tables below contain the words and phrases expressing bias and power.

Table 4.1 Appraisal in clause line 1-2

Although	Prabowo Subianto’s chance to <u>win</u> ...	seems	better	on paper with the backing of his coalition,
	Carrier	Process: Attributive	Attribute	Circumstance
Counter	Confidence, Entertain		Quality	

As the initial word of the first sentence, Hotman and Ezra, the writers of this article, write ‘although’. It means that there are at least two “counter expectations” (Martin and White, 2005:97). The first one is the first clause following ‘although’. This first clause has ‘seems’, meaning that there is a “possible position” (Martin and White, 2005:98). This is that Prabowo Subianto may ‘win’. The word ‘win’ belongs to “security” which “covers our feeling of peace ... in relation to our environs, including of course the people sharing them

with us” (Martin and White, 2005:49). Prabowo and his supporters feel peaceful. ‘The backing of his coalition’ is the environ making them peaceful. Then, the comparative ‘better’ is used for “relative scaling with respect to intensity” (Martin and White, 2005:142). The intensity is in the form of his coalition.

However, clauses below show whom the writers are actually biased to.

Table 4.2 Appraisal in clauses line 2-3

analysts	have warned	that it	may not be	that easy	to defeat rival Joko Widodo.
Sayer	Process: Verbal Endorse	Carrier	Process: Attributive Deny	Attribute Complexity	Matter

This clause is the second expectation. It is “reliable” since generating from analysts’ voice. Hence, “endorse” exists to “proclaim” (Martin and White, 2005:98). Then, “deny” is applied as the analysts “reject” that defeating Joko Widodo is easy (Martin and White, 2005:97). In other words, what the journalists intend is that defeating Joko Widodo is “hard to follow” (Martin and White, 2005:56). In doing so, Hotman and Ezra are biased to Joko Widodo. To strengthen this proposition, they employ analysts as the power source. Even, their writing about what analysts have warned is in the form of indirect or reported speech. This case enables Hotman and Ezra to elaborate their opinion and the analysts’.

Next sentence is sentence line 8-9.

Table 4.3 Appraisal in sentence line 8-9

But	analysts	say	presidential elections	are not	the same	as legislative elections
	Sayer	Process:	Carrier	Process:	Attribute	Circumstance

Counter	Verbal Acknowledge	Attributive Deny	Balance
where voters pick	their candidates	based on	what they represent. political party
Behaver	Process: Behavioral	Goal	Actor Process: Material

Hotman and Ezra start the third sentence with ‘but’. This means that there are two counter expectations. Then, ‘analysts say’ proves “the subjectivity of an external voice” (Martin and White, 2005:98). This is analysts’ voice acting as the power source. According to the analysts, presidential election and legislative one do not “hang together” (Martin and White, 2005:56). Thus, both ‘are not the same’. The analysts reject that as in legislative election, the voters of presidential election also pick candidates based on political party. When talking about electing based on political party, the choice is Prabowo-Hatta. Since the presidential election is not the same as legislative one, it means that the analysts are not inclined toward Prabowo-Hatta. This is on the first “contrary position” (Martin and White, 2005:97).

Then, Table 4.4 below delivers the second contrary position.

Table 4.4 Appraisal in sentence line 10-11

The presidential election	is	more	about competition of personalities	a rather than ...,	they say.
Token	Process: Identifying	Quality	Value	Matter	Sayer Process: Verbal Acknowledge

The difference between presidential election and legislative one is explained by this sentence. The word ‘more’ is used. “Scaling with respect to intensity is

realized via comparative” (Martin and White, 2005:142). The intended intensity is of the personalities of the candidates. Again, this is from the analysts which ‘they’ refers to. It means that they are biased to Joko Widodo because of the ‘personalities’.

Sentence line 17-20 contains a more specific power source.

Table 4.5 Appraisal in sentence line 17-20

Political analyst Andrinof Chaniago	said
Sayer	Process: Verbal
Acknowledge	

even though ...	the Prabowo ...	<u>has secured</u>	nearly 50 percent ...	and that it	could grow	by ... 10.7 percent
Counter	Actor	Process: Material Confidence	Goal Number	Actor	Process: Material Entertain	Number

if	the ... Party	... decided to ...,	it	would not be	easy	to defeat the Joko-Kalla coalition.
Behaver	Process: Behavioral	Carrier	Process: Attributive Deny	Attribute Complexity	Matter	

This time, Hotman and Ezra point a political analyst named Andrinof Chaniago. He acts as a more specific analyst as the power source for saying something bias. Again, by writing ‘even though’, Hotman and Ezra intend that there are two counter expectations. The first is the “confidence” of Prabowo-Hatta coalition securing half support, even there is a “possible position” of the support

growth (Martin and White, 2005:50, 98). ‘Nearly 50 percent support’ and ‘another 10.7 percent’ belong to “number mode of quantification graduating with respect to imprecise reckoning of number” (Martin and White, 2005:150). Besides, as the third clause of the first sentence of this news article, the rejection, that defeating Joko Widodo is easy, acts as the second counter expectation.

Even, the sentence below insists.

Table 4.6 Appraisal in sentence line 22-24

There is almost no correlation between ...,”	Andrinof said in
Process: Existential Deny, Process	Sayer Process: Verbal Acknowledge

The use of ‘almost’ indicates “the assessment of degree of intensity of process” (Martin and White, 2005:141). The word ‘almost’ in this sentence is for “up-scaling of verbal process” (Martin and White, 2005:142). This word affirms that Andrinof rejects the existence of ‘correlation between parliamentary support and the presidential and regional elections’. In other words, Andrinof takes side to Joko Widodo since Prabowo has more parliamentary support.

Furthermore, the table below proves the elaboration of two specific power sources.

Table 4.7 Appraisal in sentence line 25-27

Heri Budianto, an analyst of ...,	corroborated	Andrinof’s opinion, saying
Behaver Capacity	Process: Behavioral Confidence	Sayer Process: Verbal Acknowledge

this	will be	the same	as	where	a	would play	the
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election			...	presid ential figure	biggest factor.
Carrier	Process: Attributive Entertain	Attribute Balance		Behav er	Process: Behavioral Entertain Quality

Again, Hotman and Ezra spot a more specific analyst as the other power source. The analyst is Heri Budiarto from Political Communication Institute. For sure, he is “capable” in terms of politics (Martin and White, 2005:53). He is “balanced” with Andrinof Chaniago (Martin and White, 2005:56). They treat a possibility of this presidential election ‘the same as the 2004 and 2009 elections’. The similarity is that the most important thing is presidential figure. In the final clause of this sentence, presidential figure is stated as ‘the biggest factor’. In this case, “relative scaling with respect to intensity is realised via superlative” (Martin and White, 2005:142). By offending presidential figure as the biggest factor, Hotman and Ezra, the journalists, employ two capable analysts as the power sources to express the bias to Joko Widodo.

Then, the sentence below emerges the comparison.

Table 4.8 Appraisal in sentence line 28-29

Heri	said	that support from political parties		is	important
Sayer	Process: Verbal Acknowledge	Carrier		Process: Attributive	Attribute Quality
but	it	will not be	the main attraction		for voters.
	Token	Process: Identifying	Value		Angle
Counter		Deny	Quality		

Heri Budianto, an analyst of the Political Communication Institute, admits that political parties support is indeed important. The word ‘important’ belongs to “valuation which is related to cognition (our considered opinions)” (Martin and White, 2005:57). Actually, Heri has such opinion because of considering the importance of earning political parties support. However, he compares the importance with the grade position from the “angle” of the voters (Martin *et al.*, 1997:104).

In addition, Martin and White note, “there is no separate lexical form conveying the sense of up-scaling or down-scaling” (2005:143). Then, “degree of intensity is conveyed as individual terms in a sequence of semantically related terms” (2005:144). If we see the final clause of the sentence in this table, the sequence is ‘the main attraction’. This phrase belongs to “infusion mode of intensification” (Martin and White, 2005:143). By attending this note, the word ‘main’ is a single term conveying the meaning of up-scaling sense. This is the most spotted word. Then, ‘attraction’ is the semantically related term. This is the grade position of political parties support from the angle of the voters. In this case, Heri Budianto “denies” the possibility that political parties support becomes ‘the main attraction for voters’ (Martin and White, 2005:97). Still, he supports Joko Widodo.

Moreover, there is also conditional sentence about the advantage of political parties support.

Table 4.9 Appraisal in sentence line 32-34

He	said	support from political parties	would be	helpful
Sayer	Process: Verbal	Carrier	Process: Attributive	Attribute
Acknowledge			Entertain	Valuation
if	their	political	were	able
				to work effectively to bring in

machines			the masses
Carrier	Process: Attributive	Attribute	
		Capacity	
and if	the parties	had	loyal supporters.
	Carrier Tenacity	Process: Attributive	Attribute

Again, according to Heri’s voice, there is a possible position that political parties support is helpful. The word ‘helpful’ means that support from political parties is “worthwhile” indeed (Martin and White, 2005:56). This enables Prabowo Subianto and Hatta Rajasa win the presidential election. However, this sentence is conditional one since there is ‘if’. This means that Heri will agree his individual subjectivity only if ‘political machines’ are “capable” in ‘bringing in the masses’ (Martin and White, 2005:53). Even, Heri only refers to specific kind of supporters. He said ‘loyal supporters’. This means that Heri only refers to supporters who are “dependable” (Martin and White, 2005:53). In this case, Heri Budianto is still a power source leaning toward Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla.

Now, the writers of the news articles dig the power source’s opinion.

Table 4.10 Appraisal in sentence line 41

“My prediction	is	that election	the 2014	will not follow	party lines,”	he said.
Token	Process: Identifying Entertain	Actor	Process: Material Deny	Goal	Sayer	Process: Verbal Acknowledge

This time, Hotman and Ezra employ Heri Budianto’s voice by applying direct speech. They stress that Heri has an “individual subjectivity” (Martin and White, 2005:98). Heri denies that this presidential election will last based on party lines.

This means that Heri is still sure of Joko Widodo’s chance to win the presidential election.

Amazingly, the journalists employ one more specific power source as in the following table.

Table 4.11 Appraisal in sentence line 42-44

Dian Permata, a senior researcher from the Founding Father House (FFH),						said	
Sayer				Process: Verbal			
Acknowledge							
a survey conducted in March	showed	that	40.74 percent respondents	would choose	their presidential and vice presidential candidates	based on their capabilities.	
Sayer	Process: Verbal	Behaver	Process: Behavioral			Manner	
Endorse		Number	Entertain				

Now, Hotman and Ezra present the other “subjectivity of an external voice” (Martin and White, 2005:98). This power source is ‘Dian Permata, a senior researcher from the Founding Father House (FFH)’. Besides, there is another else reference. This is ‘a survey conducted in March’. Hence, whatever this survey showed is “highly warrantable, valid, and reliable” (Martin and White, 2005:98). Even, this survey showed precise reckoning of number. Thus, these two points, a senior researcher from FFH and precise reckoning of a conducted survey, act as the power sources to express the bias to Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla.

Then, the writers present the weakness of the rival, Prabowo-Hatta.

Table 4.12 Appraisal in sentence line 51-52

Andrinof	said	that the Prabowo-Hatta coalition	was not	one based on ideology
Sayer	Process: Verbal Acknowledge	Token	Process: Identifying Deny	Value
but	that it	was built	on personal and political ambitions and interests.	
Counter		Process: Behavioral		Location Negative

Again, Hotman and Ezra employ subjectivity of Andrinof’s voice. He rejects that Prabowo-Hatta coalition is ‘based on ideology’. Hence, the word ‘but’ is used. In doing so, Andrinof replies by delivering counter expectation that Prabowo-Hatta coalition ‘was built on personal and political ambitions and interests’. This time, Andrinof has “bad vibe” by stating this phrase. Such kind of feeling is “popularly construed by the culture as negative vibe”, meaning that Prabowo-Hatta coalition is “better avoided” (Martin and White, 2005:46). For sure, the journalists employing Andrinof’s voice support Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla.

Besides, there is another else bad thing of the rival.

Table 4.13 Appraisal in sentence line 57-58

ABR’s aim	was	to forge a coalition	that would assure	him and his party	of a powerful position.
Token	Process: Identifying	Value	Process: Material	Goal	Contingency
			Entertain, Confidence		Valuation

This sentence acts as the proof for the assertion in the previous table. ABR is Aburizal Bakri, the Golkar chairman. He thoroughly support Gerindra’s chief

patron, Prabowo. It is possible that Prabowo-Hatta coalition assures ABR and his party. ABR has “confidence” in this field, thus, he “feels of peace” (Martin and White, 2005:49, 50). He considers that Prabowo-Hatta coalition can give him and his party ‘a powerful position’. This is what Indonesians should avoid according to Andrinof.

Even, there is an example of action toward the rival as in the following table.

Table 4.14 Appraisal in sentence line 60-61

I	think	this	was	the factor
Senser	Process: Mental Entertain	Process: Identifying	Token	

that	made	bu Mega	reject ..., ”	Andrinof	said.
Actor	Process: Material	Goal	Manner	Sayer	Process: Verbal
		Surprise	Acknowledge		

Andrinof has individual subjectivity. Occasionally, ‘bu Mega rejects ABR’s overtures’. This is “insecurity covering feeling of anxiety in relation to environ” (Martin and White, 2005:49). Bu Mega does not want to work with ABR. This is such a “surprise” (Martin and White, 2005:50). In this case, Hotman and Ezra employ Bu Mega as the power source in supporting Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla.

b. “Golkar Riven by Presidential Candidacy”

This section is presented to show the process of uncovering the implicit bias to Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla again. The words expressing bias and power are

found in 11 sentences. Tables below contain the words and phrases expressing bias to Jokowi-JK and concluded participants as the power sources.

Table 4.15 Appraisal in sentence line 1-3

Though	the Golkar Party	has given	its support	official	to presidential hopeful Prabowo ...,
	Actor	Process: Material		Goal	Location
Counter			Sharpen		Normality
	several of its members	have expressed	doubt		over the alliance.
	Sayer	Process: Verbal	Verbiage		Location
	Number, Endorse				

Jakarta Globe starts the news with the word ‘though’. This means that two “contrary positions” are presented (Martin and White, 2005:97). The fact that the Golkar Party has given its official support to Prabowo Subianto and Hatta Radjasa is on the first position.

Furthermore, Martin and White say, “sharpening ... indicates maximal investment ... in the value position (either negative of positive)” (2005:139). Besides, it is “to strongly align the reader into the value position being advanced” (Martin and White, 2005:139). In this case, the phrase ‘its official support’ reflects sharpening. What Jakarta Globe uses this phrase is to signify high negative value towards the support from the Golkar Party. Jakarta Globe wants the readers think that if the Golkar Party has given the support to Prabowo-Hatta officially, there would be no betrayers.

However, Jakarta Globe delivers something “odd” as the “counter expectation” for this first fact (Martin and White, 2005:97). This odd fact is that

several of the Golkar Party’s members are doubtful of the alliance. The word ‘several’ is “number mode of quantification” to “graduate with respect to imprecise reckoning of number” (Martin and White, 2005:150). Even though ‘several’ means indefinite calculation, this is enough to prove that they betray because of the goodness of the rival, Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla. They “proclaim” doubt over Prabowo-Hatta (Martin and White, 2005:98).

Then, the first power source is performed.

Table 4.16 Appraisal in sentence line 4-6

Deputy head of Golkar’s advisory council Luhut Panjaitan	spoke out	on Tuesday,	extending favor to Widodo Jusuf Kalla	his Joko and	by praising the PDI-P candidate’s cooperative coalition.
Sayer	Process: Verbal	Location	Matter		Manner
	Capacity, Endorse				Pleasure, Balance

In this sentence, Jakarta Globe introduces the first power source. He is Luhut Panjaitan, deputy head of Golkar’s advisory council. Anyhow, whatever he states will be considered by all of Golkar’s members. Therefore, he is one of the “capable” persons in his party (Martin and White, 2005:53). He extended his favor to Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla. This means that he “proclaims” his support towards them in presidential election (Martin and White, 2005:98).

Then, he praised the PDI-P candidate’s coalition. According to Martin and White, “satisfaction deals with our feelings of achievement ... in relation to the activities” (2005:50). The word ‘praising’ belongs to “pleasure”, a part of “satisfaction” (Martin and White, 2005:51). Luhut Panjaitan feels achieving Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla. He sees whatever their activities are. Even, whatever the

coalition does also “hangs together” (Martin and White, 2005:56). The coalition is ‘cooperative’. These make him satisfied of Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla.

This time, Luhut Panjaitan explains more about Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla’s coalition.

Table 4.17 Appraisal in sentence line 6-7

He	referred to	Joko’s coalition	as <u>small</u> <u>but preferable</u> the opposition’s,	which he said	was	based on power sharing.
Sayer	Process : Verbal	Verbiage	Manner	Sayer, Process: Verbal	Process : Identifying	Value
	Endorse		Mass, Counter, Normality	Acknowledge		

Again, Luhut Panjaitan, deputy head of Golkar’s advisory council, proclaims something about Jokowi-JK’s coalition. He said Joko’s coalition is ‘small’. This is “mass mode of quantification”. This “graduates with respect to imprecise reckonings of mass or presence” (Martin and White, 2005:150). What mass or presence means is the number of parties supporting Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla. The mass of Joko’s coalition is fewer indeed than Prabowo’s one. However,

Luhut replies this fact by delivering a counter expectation. This is that Joko’s coalition is more ‘preferable’, this is “special” (Martin and White, 2005:53). According to “subjectivity of Luhut’s voice”, the coalition ‘was built based on power sharing’ (Martin and White, 2005:98). Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla regard whomever the same. Hence, Luhut said that their coalition is preferable.

In addition, Luhut stresses something about the presidential election.

Table 4.18 Appraisal in sentence line 8-9

“We all	understand
Senser	Process: Mental
Sharpen	

That a president and vice president	are chosen by the people, not parties,	no matter	how big	the coalition	is.	
	Process: Behavioral	Behaver	Matter	Attribute	Carrier	Process: Attributive
			Deny	Mass		

Now, Luhut offends ‘we all’. He strongly “aligns” us as the reader (Martin and White, 2005:139). For sure, he intends to all Indonesians as the voters. He extremely “denies” that president and the vice are chosen by parties (Martin and White, 2005:97), also the matter of ‘how big the coalition is’. The number of parties supporting a side of presidential and vice presidential candidates does not matter in the election. Thus, this means that Luhut is oblique to Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla.

Moreover, Jakarta Globe employs more power sources as what Table 4.20 shows.

Table 4.19 Appraisal in sentence line 11-14

Other Golkar members who	declined	to chairman Aburizal Bakrie's lead in supporting the Prabowo- Hatta ticket	follow include	head of the party's national office Agus Gumiwang Kartasasmita, member of its national research division Indra J Piliang and House members Meutya Hafid and Poempida Hidayatullah.
	Process: Behavioral Surprise	Matter Capacity	Process: Identifying	Token 3 Capacities

In fact, there is not only Luhut Panjaitan who prefers Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla. There is “surprise” (Martin and White, 2005:50). This is that there are several members who decline supporting Prabowo-Hatta. In doing so, they do not follow Aburizal Bakrie. In fact, he is a chairman of the lead, the most capable person in Prabowo-Hatta’s coalition. The members declining ABR’s lead are Agus Gumiwang Kartasasmita, Indra J. Piliang, Meutya Hafid, and Poempida Hidayatullah. In order, they are head of the party’s national office, member of its national research division and House members. Now, we can imagine. If several capable persons decline the chairman’s lead, there must be other members following them, especially those who are common people.

Even, the politician respects them.

Table 4.20 Appraisal in sentence line 15-16

Poempida	said	he's	proud	of Golkar members
Sayer	Process: Verbal Acknowledge	Process: Attributive	Attribute Pleasure	

who are not afraid to make their own by thinking decisions rationally.
Process: Attribute Matter Manner
Attributive Quality Comment

Poempida has good feeling towards the betrayers. He himself betrayed. He also saw those who declined ABR’s lead. He achieves them. They are qualified participants since they ‘are not afraid’. Poempida also “comments” the way they think (Martin and White, 2005:46). This is “desiderative” that they think ‘rationally’ (Martin and White, 2005:46).

Moreover, they are brave with reasons.

Table 4.21 Appraisal in sentence line 17-19

There ’s no reason to fire Jokowi-JK supporters [from Golkar].
Process: Existent Matter Location
Existential Deny

Even one of Golkar’s founding fathers, Suhardiman, supports them.
Behaver Process: Behavioral
Number, Capacity

Will he be fired too?”	Poempida asked.
Process: Material Entertain	Sayer Process: Verbal Acknowledge

Poempida “rejects” the existence of ‘reason to fire Jokowi-JK supporters from Golkar (Martin and White, 2005:97). Anyhow, Golkar party still needs them as the members. To be more interesting, Jakarta Globe adds one more power source. He is Suhardiman, one of Golkar’s founding fathers. In doing so, what

Suhardiman decides must be considered by all members of Golkar party. Poempida uses his logic by querying. He is sure that it is not “possible” that Suhardiman is fired too (Martin and White, 2005:98).

Still feeling not enough, Jakarta Globe employs two more power sources.

Table 4.22 Appraisal in sentence line 27-28, 31

He added	that he sees	the deviating members	as mature individuals	able to make rational decisions.
Process: Verbal	Senser	Process :	Phenomenon	Role Contingency
Acknowledge		Mental		2 Positives

“Differences	are	normal.
Carrier	Process: Attributive	Attribute Complexity

The first sentence refers to subjectivity of Tantowi Yahya’s voice. He is Golkar deputy secretary general. According to him, the deviating members are ‘mature and able to make rational decision’. This phrase contains “the feeling popularly construed by the culture as positive good vibe” (Martin and White, 2005:46). Additionally, the second sentence is from Bambang Soesatyo. He is deputy treasurer. According to him, being different, which means that supporting Jokowi-JK, is not “hard to follow” (Martin and White, 2005:56).

4.2.2 Biased to Prabowo Subianto – Hatta Rajasa

From these three chosen news articles, only one article is biased to Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Radjasa. This is *SBY Silence May Speak a Thousand Words*. Thus, this section peels in-depth the article. This is presented to show the process of uncovering the implicit bias to Prabowo-Hatta. The words expressing

bias and power are found in 7 sentences. Again, the process of uncovering the implicitness is done by identifying the involved participants acting as the power sources. Here, we see the credible sources are biased to Prabowo-Hatta. Besides, comprehending the meaning of certain words or phrases is also important. Tables below help us understand the implicit bias to Prabowo-Hatta.

Table 4.23 Appraisal in sentence line 20-22, 33-34

It's		a simple numbers game:	
Process: Identifying	Value	Complexity	
Prabowo Subianto, ...	is backed by a five-party coalition	that will control a combined 292 seats, or 52 percent,	with the new House goes into session.
Process: Behavioral	Behavior Number	Actor Process: Material Entertain	Goal Actor Process: Material Balance, Number
Joko, favorite win,	the is backed to by four parties	that will have 207 seats, or 37 percent.	
Capacity	Process: Behavioral	Behavior Number	Carrier Process: Attributive Entertain Number

Talking about House majority, Jakarta Globe writes these three sentences. For sure, Jakarta Globe differentiates Prabowo Subianto from Joko Widodo.

According to Jakarta Globe’s “perception”, it is not “hard to follow” the numbers game (Martin and White, 2005:56, 57). First, Jakarta Globe explains Prabowo’s coalition. “Number mode of quantification” is used to “graduate to precise reckoning” of his coalition (Martin and White, 2005:150). Prabowo’s coalition consists of five parties while Jokowi only has four. If every member “hangs together” with the coalition they prefer, the “possibility” is that Jokowi’s coalition controls 207 seats while 292 for Prabowo’s (Martin and White, 2005:56, 98). In percentage, Prabowo achieves 52% votes while Joko Widodo has 37%. Actually, many Indonesians regard Jokowi as “capable” person to be president (Martin and White, 2005:53). By writing ‘it’s a simple numbers game’ and ‘Joko, the favorite to win’, Jakarta Globe is sentiment to Jokowi. In other words, Jakarta Globe prefers Prabowo.

Even, Jakarta Globe offends Joko Widodo’s coalition as what Table 4.25 shows.

Table 4.24 Appraisal in sentence line 34-35

Even if	the bloc	managed to poach	the support of all the Golkar legislators,	that	would only give	it	a very narrow majority of 53 percent.
	Actor	Process: Material	Goal Sharpen		Process: Material Entertain, Propriety	Recipient	Quality, Number

By writing this sentence, Jakarta Globe teases Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla. The first clause proves that Jakarta Globe maximizes negative value towards Jokowi. Jakarta Globe “strongly aligns the readers into the negative value position” (Martin and White, 2005:139). Even though Jokowi’s coalition plunders the support from all of Golkar’s members, the possibility is that the result does not go

“far beyond reproach” (Martin and White, 2005:53). It can be 53% indeed. However, there is the phrase ‘a very narrow majority’. This phrase has “pre-modification of an adjective” (Martin and White, 2005:141). The word ‘majority’ is closed to “superlative” (Martin and White, 2005:142). This is for ”up-scaling” (Martin and White, 2005:141). These three points, pre-modification of an adjective, superlative, and up-scaling, indicate the existence of “the assessment of degree of intensity of quality” (Martin and White, 2005:141). Thus, Jakarta Globe is disposed toward Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Radjasa.

Jakarta Globe is certain of the support from several closed power sources.

Table 4.25 Appraisal in sentence line 42-45

Since	Prabowo	announced	last week	that he	would pick	Hatta Rajasa of ...	as his running mate,
	Sayer	Process: Verbal			Process: Behavioral		Role
		Endorse			Entertain		

the speculation	was	t h a t	Yudho yono,	whose ...	is married to	Hatta 's ...,	would naturally lead	the Democrats	i n t o ...
Token	Process : Identifying		Actor		Process: Material		Process: Material	Goal	
	Entertain		Capacity	Capacit y		Capacit y	Entertain , Concur		

Prabowo Subianto “proclaimed” that his vice president is Hatta Radjasa (Martin and White, 2005:98). For sure, Indonesians know that Hatta’s daughter is married to Yudhoyono’s youngest son. Therefore, it is possible that Yudhoyono

leads Democrat’s members to support Prabowo-Hatta. He is one of “capable” person for Prabowo’s coalition (Martin and White, 2005:53). Automatically, their family members also vote for Prabowo-Hatta. This is “plausible” (Martin and White, 2005:98).

This time, Jakarta Globe employs one more power source.

Table 4.26 Appraisal in sentence line 53-55

Zulkifli Hasan, a senior PAN member and the forestry minister in Yudhoyo no’s cabinet,	said s e p a r a t e l y	that was it “just a matter of time”	b the e Demo f crats o r e	declare d support for Prabowo.			
Sayer	Process : Verbal	Tok en	Process : Identify ing Propriety	Value	Sayer	Process : Verbal	Verbiage
Capacity, Acknowledge					Endorse		

Jakarta Globe adds a power source. He is a senior PAN member and the forestry minister in Yudhoyono’s cabinet. His name is Zulkifli Hasan. According to “the subjectivity of his voice”, the Democrats definitely declares their support for Prabowo (Martin and White, 2005:98). It was not at that time indeed, yet, it would not be far from the time when Prabowo declared Hatta as his running mate.

Then, there is more reason why Zulkifli Hasan is certain of the support from Yudhoyono for Prabowo.

Table 4.27 Appraisal in sentence line 58-60

He		added		the fact		that		
Sayer		Process:Verbal		Verbiage		Acknowledge		
Hatta,	was	on	was	the	b i	would	t the	would be
Yudho		the		decidi	e t	ensure	h prog
yono's		tic		ng	c		a rams	
longti		ket		factor	a		t ...	
me					u			
right-					s			
hand					e			
man,								
who	Token	Process	Process	Value		Process:	Goal	Process:
	:	:	:			Material		Material
	Identify	Identify	Identify					
	ing	ing	ing					
Capaci				Sharp		Entertain,		Entertain
ty				en		Confiden		
						ce		

According to Zulkifli Hasan, Hatta is ‘the deciding factor’. In this case, Zulkifli indicates that Hatta has positive value. He is ‘Yudhoyono’s longtime right-hand man’. This means that Hatta is capable, including in being the vice president. It is very possible that Yudhoyono votes for Prabowo-Hatta. Yudhoyono has “confidence” that Hatta certainly continues Yudhoyono’s programs (Martin and White, 2005:50).

This time, the following table delivers a sentence that Jakarta Globe makes sure the existence of power sources who are biased to Prabowo-Hatta.

Table 4.28 Appraisal in sentence line 80-82

But	those two factors”	“can give	the public	the idea	that SBY and the Democrats’ neutrality	is really a show of support for Prabowo,”
—	Sunday’s statement, followed by Monday’s late-night meeting	—	—	—	—	—
	Actor	Process: Material	Recipient	Goal	Token	Process : Identifying Concur
Counter	Number	Entertain				

Djayadi Sayer	told	the Jakarta Globe	on Tuesday.
	Process: Verbal Acknowledge	Recipient	

There is one more power source supporting Prabowo-Hatta. He is Djayadi Hanan, the researcher director at Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting. Early, he admits indeed that he has not known yet for sure whether Yudhoyono is secretly in support of Prabowo. However, he adds by saying the word ‘but’. This means that he delivers a “counter expectation” (Martin and White, 2005:97). At least, he presents two proofs. The first is Yudhoyono’s announcement on Sunday, in May 18th, 2014. He said that ‘his Democratic Party would not endorse any of the two candidates running in the July 9 presidential election’. The second proof

is ‘Monday’s late-night meeting’. This meeting ‘talks that Yudhoyono had laid down conditions for pledging his party’s support for Prabowo’. Hence, it is possible that public think that SBY and Democrat support Prabowo-Hatta. This is plausible.

4.3 Analysis of the Result

In our life, we may choose how to describe every occurrence by words. For instance, we want to describe sleep quality of someone. The first person may say ‘she sleeps tight’ while the other says ‘she is such a dead person’. In fact, both utterances are similar. They intend that she is sound asleep. This fits with what Martin *et al.* note that “the system of transitivity belongs to the experiential metafunction and is the overall grammatical resource for construing goings on” (1997:100).

Related to transitivity, as what has been written in theoretical framework, process type is one of major systems. This is “the resource for sorting out our experience of all kinds of events” (Martin *et al.*, 1997:102). Therefore, the table below presents the reckoning of process types in the three chosen news articles.

Table 4.29 the reckoning of process types

Process type	In article		
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd
attributive	9	4	1
verbal	13	7	5
behavioral	6	3	3
material	6	2	9
identifying	6	2	6
existential	1	1	0
mental	1	2	0
Total	42	21	24

Based on the result of data processing, in two first articles by Jakarta Globe leaning towards Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla, *Personalities Set to Trump*

Party Loyalties in Indonesian Presidential Election and *Golkar Riven by Presidential Candidacy*, there is similar pattern in terms of process type. The mostly used process type is verbal. From 42 clauses, the first article has 13 verbal processes, while the second one has 7 verbal processes from 21 clauses. They are processes of saying as in Table 4.3 for example, asking as in Table 4.21, showing in Table 4.11, and many others.

For verbal process, the participant must be “a human or human-like speaker” (Martin *et al.*, 1997:108). In this first two news articles and the third one, Jakarta Globe do not only mention one speaker. There are several analysts “who are involved” (Fairclough, 1989:147). Even, Jakarta Globe introduces the names of the “subjects” (Fairclough, 1989:147). For instance, Andrinof Chaniago in Table 4.5, Heri Budianto in Table 4.7, Dian Permata in Table 4.11, and still many others. More specifically, Jakarta Globe mentions what their identities are in detail. They are an analyst of the Political Communication Institute (Table 4.7), a senior researcher from the Founding Father House (Table 4.11), as well as deputy head of Golkar’s advisory council (Table 4.16). There are still many other explanations about what they are. In doing so, Jakarta Globe employs many capable persons in the scope of politics for informing.

Beside human speaker, the participant of verbal process can be “symbolic source” (Martin *et al.*, 1997:108). Jakarta Globe mentions ‘a survey conducted in March’ as in Table 4.11. Since this is a real experience, there is no doubt that the result is valid and reliable. This conducted survey acts as the evidence. Hence, this is to strengthen what Jakarta Globe intends.

Then, “the content of saying is a separate clause ... quoting or reporting what was said” (Martin *et al.*, 1997:108). For instance, as in Table 4.2, Jakarta Globe reports that analysts said that ‘it may not be that easy to defeat rival Joko Widodo’. At least, Table 4.4 and Table 4.5 deliver the “reported clauses” (Martin *et al.*, 1997:108). Furthermore, Table 4.6 provides “quoted clause” from what

Andrinof said, that is ‘there is almost no correlation between parliamentary support and the presidential and regional elections’ (Martin *et al.*, 1997:108). These reported and quoted clauses are the opinion of the subjects related to the two candidates pairs.

Then, “Receiver” is “the addressee of a speech interaction” (Martin *et al.*, 1997:108). Based on Table 4.28, specifically the phrase ‘told the Jakarta Globe’, the speakers interact with the journalists each other. Then, the journalists of Jakarta Globe write in the form of news articles. In doing so, Jakarta Globe interacts with the future readers. Finally, they can distribute news and other information to us as the readers of those news articles.

In this case, Jakarta Globe is biased to Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla. By utilizing the “position” (Fairclough, 1995a:103) of several capable persons and the product (Fairclough in Wodak, 2001:122), Jakarta Globe has power. The “purpose” is that we have the same opinion as Jakarta Globe (Fairclough, 1995a:103). This proves that Jakarta Globe shows bias to Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla by wielding the power of several qualified persons in politics.

Then, related to verbal process, the table below delivers the reckoning of heteroglossia, the usage of references.

Table 4.30 the reckoning of heteroglossia

Naming	In article		
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd
Counter	5	2	0
Entertain	9	1	9
Endorse	2	3	2
Deny	7	2	0
Acknowledge	11	5	3
Concur	0	0	2
Total	34	13	17
Total of words expressing bias power	58	36	37

These six terms in the table belong to heteroglossia. Heteroglossia positions utterance as if in dialog and respects other's point of view as the resource. For instance is the sentence in Table 4.1. If in dialogue, the first participants say, "Prabowo Subianto's chance to win the presidential election is better on paper with the backing of his coalition". Even, many people may say, "It is easy to defeat rival Joko Widodo". However, according to the analysts, "It may not be easy to defeat rival Joko Widodo". Furthermore, Hotman and Ezra as the journalists, disclaim the first and second assessments. Therefore, they write, "Although it seems like that, analysts have warned that it may not be that easy to defeat rival Joko Widodo".

From what they say, we know whom they are biased to. The first two assessments prove that the speakers are biased to Prabowo Subianto and Hatta Radjasa. On the contrary, the next two assessments show that the speakers are biased to Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla. Moreover, by writing 'analysts have warned', there is a usage of other's sight as a source. Even, the content is highly warrantable since it is from capable persons. In doing so, this produces power or domination. They are parties dominating politics, while media supports them. The purpose is to invite the other people especially common ones to follow what they state.

When we pay attention to Table 4.30, there is similar pattern in terms of the usage of kinds of heteroglossia. In the first and second articles, the first mostly used one is acknowledge. In doing so, Jakarta Globe presents "the subjectivity of external voice" (Martin and White, 2005:98). Besides, acknowledge emerges the "indicators elsewhere in the text that the writer/speaker more globally supports or rejects the value position being advanced" (Martin and White, 2005:112). This "grounds the viewpoint conveyed by the proposition in an explicit subjectivity" (Martin and White, 2005:113). Thus, it is proved that power enables "the mobilization of bias" (Richardson, as cited in Allen, 2012:7).

However, when we pay attention to the third news article leaning toward Prabowo-Hatta, entertain is mostly applied, for instance, in Table 4.23. This kind of heteroglossia indicates one of several possible positions (Martin and White, 2005:104). Entertain deals with “modals of probability” (Martin and White, 2005:104). Thus, this raises the possibility. This is the way Jakarta Globe expresses the bias to Prabowo-Hatta.

Then, endorse places the next mostly applied heteroglossia. This refers to external sources which are “correct, valid, undeniable or otherwise maximally warrantable” (Martin and White, 2005:126). Endorse “takes over responsibility for the proposition, or at least shares responsibility for it with the cited source” (Martin and White, 2005:127). In doing so, Jakarta Globe overtly align us as the readers into what it intends, that we should vote whom the power sources are biased to.

Moreover, deny is for “introducing the alternative positive position” (Martin and White, 2005:118). Hence, this rejects something while acknowledging something else. Deny “indicates a disalignment with some third party” (Martin and White, 2005:119). For example, based on Table 4.3, many people think that Prabowo-Hatta will win the presidential election because of the good result of parties coalition in the legislative one. However, Jakarta Globe denies. Hence, the third party emerges, saying that presidential election more considers the personalities. Deny enables us against what the first party assumes. However, there is no deny in the third news article. This means that the journalists acknowledge what people assume about Prabowo-Hatta. In other words, they are biased to Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Radjasa.

The next heteroglossia is counter. This represents current proposition after “replacing” previous expected one as in Table 4.1 (Martin and White, 2005:120). This “projects ... particular beliefs or expectation” (Martin and White, 2005:121). However, again, the third news article does not apply this kind of heteroglossia.

For sure, Jakarta Globe does not deliver two different expectations to us. This means that we should be biased to Prabowo-Hatta without comparing them to other candidates.

Finally, *concur* is only wielded twice by Jakarta Globe and only in the final news article. This “overtly announces the addresser as agreeing with, or having the same knowledge as” many people (Martin and White, 2005:122). For instance, as in Table 4.25, that ‘Yudhoyono would naturally lead the Democrats into Prabowo’s camp’. In doing so, Jakarta Globe presents “shared belief as universally, or at least as very widely” (Martin and White, 2005:124).

Furthermore, verbal process is closed to behavioral one. Behavior consists of mental and verbal. Behavioral type is the “active version of verbal and mental processes” (Martin *et al.*, 1997:109). This is real in the form of productive activity in social life as in Table 4.7. Then, since mental process is concluded, the participants must be conscious in terms of “perception, cognition, and affection” (Martin *et al.*, 1997:109). Hence, the idea has basis though Jakarta Globe does not apply in the third news article.

In addition, material processes are the mostly used type in the third article entitled *SBY Silence May Speak a Thousand Words* which is biased to Prabowo Subianto and Hatta Radjasa. This type proves that what someone does and what is happening are concrete. For instance, as in Table 4.5, ‘Prabowo-Hatta coalition has secured nearly 50 percent support’. The “Actor, the one doing”, is Prabowo Hatta coalition while the “Goal, participant impacted”, is 50% support (Martin *et al.*, 1997:103). 50% support exists because of the doing. In this case, what Prabowo-Hatta do allows “the production of power abuse or domination” (van Dijk in Wodak, 2001:96). Their “productive activities” brings their “identities” (Fairclough in Wodak, 2001:122). Finally, based on the data, Foucault’s utterance, “what makes power holds good ... is ... that it ... produces things” is proved (1980:119). Then, power provides space for the bias.

Besides, the second mostly applied type is attributive. This type describes more about the presidential elections, candidates' victory, support from political party, and analyst' view about idea difference, as in Table 4.1. Then, related to appraisal, this attributive relational process is concerned with attitude, including affect, judgement, and appreciation. As what has been written in theoretical framework, affect describes 'I am'. This expresses our feeling, mood, and emotional reaction, for sure, toward the candidates of presidential election. Besides, judgement states the norm of behavior of the candidates, while appreciation evaluates since explaining 'it is' as in Table 4.1. Then, attributive relational process is also related to graduation. This grades either raising or lowering the degree of either positive or negative (Martin and White, 2005). For instance, as in Table 4.1, comparative degree 'better' is used to explain Prabowo-Hatta's chance to win. However, what Jakarta Globe intends is that Prabowo-Hatta could win only because of the high number of their coalition. In doing so, Jakarta Globe lowers the negative degree of Jokowi-JK. In other words, Jakarta Globe raises Jokowi-JK's positive degree in winning the presidential election because of their good personalities, not only the number of coalition. Thus, many people would vote Jokowi-JK since their personalities satisfy the public in terms of governing. Hence, this proves what Foucault states, that "what makes power hold good ... is ... it induces pleasure" (Foucault, 1980:119). Then, this pleasure causes bias.

Then, identifying is other type of relational process. Not too different from attributive one, identifying relational process exemplifies presidential election, political parties support, ideas of several qualified persons, and the coalition. For instance, as in Table 4.4, the explanation about presidential election, 'more about a competition of personalities', enables us to see the existence of bias toward Jokowi-JK.

However, existential process is the most rarely used process type. Even no one is in the third news article. This process introduces the inexistence of correlation between elections (Table 4.6) and the reason of supporting candidates (Table 4.21). Since there is no correlation between parliamentary support and presidential election, Jakarta Globe still supports Jokowi-JK. Then, ‘no reason to fire Jokowi-JK’s supporters’ allows them to gain the power. Hence, the result of this analysis proves the existence of the relation between bias and power (Richardson, as cited in Allen, 2012:7). Bias is formed because of power while power is gained to express the bias.

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION

The main problem discussed in this study is the opinion about the implicit subjectivity of media, in this case, Jakarta Globe, toward the two candidates pairs in presidential election 2014. Actually, according to ethic and standard in journalism, the journalists should be neutral. However, in fact, they are biased to one pair because of its power. Then, they gain the power from the sources to express the bias. The main goal of this research is to comprehend the implicit meaning of the news articles. In doing so, the readers can interpret the news clearly and unambiguously. In order to reach the goal, two questions have been designed. Thus, this chapter elaborates the answers to the questions.

The first research question is to comprehend the contribution of transitivity to the pattern of bias and power. Wholly, there is an order of the mostly used process type. The first is verbal process, process of saying. The main participants mentioned by media are many speakers completed with the names and specific identities in politics. Besides, there is a source in the form of real experience acting as the evidence, whose the result is valid. Then, media reports, even, quotes the bias opinion of the participants. Finally, we, the readers, act as the receiver of information from media. Hence, it is concluded that these human speakers and the symbolic source act as the power sources. The purpose is that we also vote one pair whom the speakers are biased to.

Then, the second mostly used process type is material process. This proves that what the candidates do and what happens are concrete. Thus, material processes produce power abuse. Then, power provides space for the bias. Furthermore, relational processes, consisting of both attributive and identifying

ones, place the third order. This type of process describes more about everything related to presidential election 2014, including the candidates, support, as well as ideas of qualified persons. Hence, based on what is exemplified, we consider the emergence of bias and power. Then, the next order is behavioral process, the active version of verbal and mental processes. This type of process indicates real productive activities in social life. Besides, this includes perception, cognition, and affection consciousness. Therefore, by wielding behavioral process, the ideas intending bias and power have basis. Finally, the existential process introduces the reason of supporting candidates to gain the power in expressing the bias.

Then, the second question is about the writers' evaluation for the readers to interpret the news articles. Related to verbal process, the first mostly used process type, the writers of the news articles use references called heteroglossia. This functions positioning utterances as if in dialog and respect others' point of view as the sources. The same as process type, there is an order of mostly used heteroglossia. The first is acknowledge. This presents the explicit subjectivity of the sources supporting or rejecting utterances. Hence, the writers deliver power sources for the readers to follow the bias.

Moreover, entertain places the next order. This indicates possibilities. This is the way media expresses bias. Furthermore, deny is the third mostly used heteroglossia. This introduces the alternatives by rejecting something while respecting one else. Then, endorse places the fourth order. This emerges responsible, valid, undeniable, and highly warrantable power sources. In doing so, media clearly align the readers to vote whom the power sources are biased to. Additionally, counter is in the fifth order. This represents current idea replacing previous expected one. Counter invites us to compare the candidates so that our bias seems clear. Finally, concur places the last order this clearly announces the agreement in terms of bias.

Besides, concerning with attributive relational process, the third mostly used process type, attitude is included. This consists of affect, judgement, and appreciation. Affect expresses the writers' feeling, mood, and emotional reaction toward the candidates of presidential election 2014. Then, judgement and appreciation value and explains candidates' behavior. Besides, attributive relational process is also related to graduation. This either raises or lowers both positive and negative degrees by comparison. This contributes to the existence of bias.

Since the two questions have been answered, the problem discussed in this thesis has been solved. The answers of the two questions conclude all the process in this research. Instead of accepting the information of the news as what is presented explicitly, the readers should read it critically to reach the implicit intention from the language used.

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APPENDIX

Personalities Set to Trump Party Loyalties in Indonesian Presidential Election

By Hotman Siregar & Ezra Sihite on 09:49 pm May 21, 2014

Jakarta. Although Prabowo Subianto's chance to win the presidential election seems better on paper with the backing of his coalition, analysts have warned that it may not be that easy to defeat rival Joko Widodo

The coalition between Prabowo's Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra), Hatta Rajasa's National Mandate Party (PAN), the United Development Party (PPP), the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), and Golkar Party gained a combined 48.5 percent of the votes in the legislative election .

But analysts say presidential elections are not the same as legislative elections where voters pick their candidates based on what political party they represent.

The presidential election is more about a competition of personalities rather than a competition of political parties, they say.

Joko Widodo, the presidential candidate for the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) — who is running with former vice president and former Golkar chairman Jusuf Kalla — only has around about 40 percent of the votes with support of the PDI-P, the National Democratic Party (Nasdem), the National Awakening Party (PKB) and the People's Conscience Party (Hanura).

Political analyst Andrinof Chaniago said even though the Prabowo-Hatta coalition has secured nearly 50 percent support and that it could grow by another 10.7 percent if the Democratic Party decided to join them, it would not be easy to defeat the Joko-Kalla coalition.

“Regional and presidential elections are more about individuals and their ability to project themselves to a larger audience. There is almost no correlation between parliamentary support and the presidential and regional elections,” Andrinof said in Jakarta on Tuesday.

Heri Budianto, an analyst of the Political Communication Institute, corroborated Andrinof's opinion, saying this election will be the same as the 2004 and 2009 elections where a presidential figure would play the biggest factor.

Heri said that support from political parties is important but it will not be the main attraction for voters.

“The presidential election will mostly be affected by the individual being put forward for election,” Heri said.

He said support from political parties would be helpful if their political machines were able to work effectively to bring in the masses and if the parties had loyal supporters.

The political analyst cited PKS as the party that has loyal supporters and that may contribute to Prabowo’s presidential chances.

“If a party is successful in getting its core support out on election day then they can make a difference,” Heri said.

He said he did not feel there would be much difference in the final numbers this year compared to the last two elections.

“My prediction is that the 2014 election will not follow party lines,” he said.

Dian Permata, a senior researcher from the Founding Father House (FFH), said a survey conducted in March showed that 40.74 percent of respondents would choose their presidential and vice presidential candidates based on their capabilities.

The respondents indicated that they would also take into consideration factors such as candidates’ personalities, vision, mission, work programs and their track records. Some voters could also take the religious and ethnic backgrounds of the candidates into consideration.

“This means it can be harder to predict just which way voters will go when they enter the polling booth,” Dian said.

Andrinof said that the Prabowo-Hatta coalition was not one based on ideology but that it was built on personal and political ambitions and interests.

He cited Golkar chairman Aburizal Bakri as an example. When ABR, as he is known, went from PDI-P chairwoman Megawati Sukarnoputri to the Democratic Party chairman Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Gerindra’s chief patron Prabowo, he was not offering a shared vision of how to run the country.

ABR’s aim was to forge a coalition that would assure him and his party of a powerful position.

“Ibu Megawati does not want to work with a politician who lacks a firm position on key political issues. Bu Mega is consistent about her principle and is not pragmatic. I think this was the factor that made Bu Mega reject ABR’s overtures,” Andrinof said.

Yudhoyono, he added, initially planned to form a new coalition axis with Golkar but the Democratic Party’s national leaders meeting concluded that party members were

unwilling to form a new grouping or to support the two-coalition axis formed by PDI-P and Gerindra. Democrats wanted to stay neutral.

Despite saying that it will stay neutral, analysts believe the Democratic Party will eventually throw its support behind the Prabowo-Hatta bid given that Yudhoyono and Hatta are in-laws and that Prabowo has also often praised Yudhoyono's success in maintaining economic growth.

"Pak SBY played it beautifully in the coalition game. By refusing to be drawn into either of the emerging coalitions, he stayed in the background and reduced ARB's chances of a presidential bid of his own," Andrinof said.

Golkar Riven by Presidential Candidacy

By Jakarta Globe on 05:26 pm May 21, 2014

Jakarta. Though the Golkar Party has given its official support to presidential hopeful Prabowo Subianto and running mate Hatta Radjasa, several of its members have expressed doubt over the alliance.

Deputy head of Golkar's advisory council Luhut Panjaitan spoke out on Tuesday, extending his favor to Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla by praising the PDI-P candidate's cooperative coalition. He referred to Joko's coalition as small but preferable the opposition's, which he said was based on power sharing.

"We all understand that a president and vice president are chosen by the people, not parties, no matter how big the coalition is. Those parties will only fight for ministerial positions and other roles that hold power," he said on Tuesday.

Other Golkar members who declined to follow chairman Aburizal Bakrie's lead in supporting the Prabowo-Hatta ticket include head of the party's national office Agus Gumiwang Kartasasmita, member of its national research division Indra J Piliang and House members Meutya Hafid and Poempida Hidayatullah.

Poempida said he's proud of Golkar members who are not afraid to make their own decisions by thinking rationally.

"If it continues like this, we can see there's hope for Golkar in the future. There's no reason to fire Jokowi-JK supporters [from Golkar]. Even one of Golkar's founding fathers, Suhardiman, supports them. Will he be fired too?" Poempida asked.

Golkar deputy secretary general Tantowi Yahya said such a split in opinions was not a rare occurrence in Golkar.

"It's not the first time this has happened; look at the 2004 elections," he said, referring to the year Golongan Karya members chose to nominate retired army

general Wiranto as president. The top position ultimately went to Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and running mate Jusuf Kalla, which according to Tantowi, was partly due to votes cast by Golkar politicians supporting the pair.

He added that he sees the deviating members as mature individuals able to make rational decisions.

“They know what the party would do regarding their choices,” he said.

Deputy treasurer Bambang Soesatyo expressed a similar sentiment.

“Differences are normal. It’s politics,” he argued. “We hope the party will act wisely regarding this [difference of opinion].”

If Aburizal had been nominated as Joko’s running mate, he added, Golkar would not be dealing with a split.

SBY Silence May Speak a Thousand Words

By Jakarta Globe on 11:00 am May 21, 2014

In 2003, Indonesia’s chief security minister said he would not run for president the following year, amid mounting calls for him to do so. Come 2004, the man dubbed “the thinking general” ran — and won.

Fast-forward 10 years, and President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono is once again at the heart of a political melee, with parties, observers and the media scrutinizing his statements for what really matters: the things that go unsaid.

Yudhoyono announced on Sunday that his Democratic Party would not endorse any of the two candidates running in the July 9 presidential election, but — crucially — did not say that the party would retreat into the opposition for the next five years.

The Democrats won 61 seats at the 560-seat House of Representatives in the legislative election — a far cry from the 148 seats it has controlled since the 2009 poll.

But the party is in an unusual position: while having too few votes to nominate its own presidential candidate, it has just enough seats at the House to make it a valuable partner for the eventual winner of the presidential election.

That, says Dian Permata, a senior researcher at the Founding Father House, a think tank, ensures that the Democrats will still be a part of the government, no matter who becomes president.

“Whoever wins, you can bet that SBY will be part of that winning team.”

House majority

It's a simple numbers game: Prabowo Subianto, the candidate from the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra) is backed by a five-party coalition that will control a combined 292 seats, or 52 percent, when the new House goes into session.

That should theoretically give a Prabowo administration the backing needed to push policies and legislation through the House.

But the support of the most powerful party in that coalition, the Golkar Party with 91 seats, is almost certain to be split, given that a Golkar stalwart and former chairman, Jusuf Kalla, is the vice presidential candidate to Prabowo's rival, Joko Widodo of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, or PDI-P.

"Don't forget, he's got a long history with the Golkar faithful in eastern Indonesia, and he was also the party chairman," says Agung Laksono, a Golkar deputy chairman and deputy speaker of the House. "This is the one thing that's splitting Golkar, and it's something that we need to address within the party."

Joko, the favorite to win, is backed by four parties that will have 207 seats, or 37 percent. Even if the bloc managed to poach the support of all the Golkar legislators, that would only give it a very narrow majority of 53 percent.

That, says Dian, is what makes the Democrats — and their 61 seats — a hot property right now, and their chairman, Yudhoyono, a sought-after "kingmaker."

Leaning toward Prabowo

Joko and Prabowo have met one-on-one with Yudhoyono on two separate occasions before they declared their respective running mates, when both blocs were still circling for coalition partners; and on Monday night, after declaring his bid, Prabowo met with the president again at the latter's home in Cikeas, West Java.

Since Prabowo announced last week that he would pick Hatta Rajasa of the National Mandate Party (PAN) as his running mate, the speculation was that Yudhoyono, whose youngest son is married to Hatta's daughter, would naturally lead the Democrats into Prabowo's camp.

There were signs of exactly that after Monday night's meeting, but also talk that Yudhoyono had laid down conditions for pledging his party's support for Prabowo.

"I'm optimistic that the Democrats will vote for Prabowo," Hatta told reporters on Tuesday.

He indicated that the support would come at the House level, given that the Democrats were not in the official coalition set to register Prabowo as a presidential candidate on Tuesday.

Zulkifli Hasan, a senior PAN member and the forestry minister in Yudhoyono's cabinet, said separately that it was "just a matter of time" before the Democrats declared their support for Prabowo.

"The Democrats are going to come with the rest of us," he said after Monday's meeting, as quoted by Tempo.

He added the fact that Hatta, Yudhoyono's longtime right-hand man, was on the ticket was the deciding factor because it would ensure that the programs begun in the Yudhoyono administration would be continued.

For his part, Prabowo said only that the meeting was a positive one and that "God willing, the Democrats will want to join."

Syarief Hasan, the Democrats' executive chairman, said the party would "very much support" Prabowo and Hatta if their platform and programs were in line with that of the current administration.

Reading between the lines

Observers say Yudhoyono's explicit declaration on Sunday that the Democrats would not join either of the two coalitions is yet another of his Delphic statements.

The coalitions, they argue, are only really needed to meet the presidential threshold of 25 percent of votes necessary to nominate a candidate.

Both the PDI-P and Gerindra have amassed enough partners to be able to do that, so for the Democrats to join before the registration deadline will be meaningless.

Yudhoyono's statement, then, doesn't obviate the possibility that the Democrats will side with one or another candidate after the registration — in the crucial campaign period when the party's extensive grassroots base and well-oiled campaign machinery will be of huge importance to the chosen candidate.

"So even with Yudhoyono taking this ostensibly neutral stance, you can still read a lot into it, especially in the current conditions," says Djayadi Hanan, the research director at Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting.

"We don't yet know for sure whether Yudhoyono is secretly in support of Prabowo. But those two factors" — Sunday's statement, followed by Monday's late-night meeting — "can give the public the idea that SBY and the Democrats' neutrality is really a show of support for Prabowo," Djayadi told the Jakarta Globe on Tuesday.

For an incumbent who is unable to seek re-election, Yudhoyono has suddenly become one of the most important figures in the election.

Ten years on, it appears, the general is still thinking.