

Critical Discourse Analysis Pairing Jokowi-Prabowo in Online Media Tribunews.com

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Abstract

This study aims to describe through the dimensions of critical discourse analysis (AWK) the Teun Van Dijk model on the discourse of a duet of President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) and Prabowo through the online media channel Tribunews.com for the period of June 2021. All data in this study were analyzed using technical methods qualitative. Tribunews.com journalists who were researched in their reports tended to be critical, accompanying the discourse on the Jokowi-Prabowo duet that was previously presented to the public. Criticizing the discourse that is fed with various points of view, as well as wanting to show identity or ideology as a message-feeding medium, without any intervention from any party, including the authorities.

Keywords

Critical discourse analysis; news text; jokowi-prabowo; Tribunews.com



I. Introduction

Development is a systematic and continuous effort made to realize something that is aspired. Development is a change towards improvement. Changes towards improvement require the mobilization of all human resources and reason to realize what is aspired. In addition, development is also very dependent on the availability of natural resource wealth. The availability of natural resources is one of the keys to economic growth in an area. (Shah, M. et al. 2020)

Along with the development of the times, the public has entered into the same community, entered into a network society or a network society. The public, not only as the recipient of the message, but also as a message feeder for discourse, one of which is conveyed through the news text. The rapid flow of information in this digitalization era, accelerates an idea, discourse or idea to the public. Including the text of the message framed by the discourse of the Jokowi-Prabowo duet which was deliberately fed by digital media Tribunews.com. Manuel Castells explained, in the current era of digitalization, various information or texts on ideas are easily conveyed, including political texts. The struggle for power is always determined by the struggle for people's power. By managing the information and communication processes that shape the human mind. (Castells & Cardoso, 2005).

It is a discourse to pair President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) with his former rival during the 2019 presidential election, Prabowo Subianto, who now serves as Minister of Defense (Menhan). Both, discourse as president and vice president. This discourse was disclosed to the public by Mohammad Qodari, a political observer, former Executive Director of the survey institute Indobarometer. Researchers want to explore discourse through news texts in the Tribunews.com media which are conveyed to the public through the Critical Discourse Analysis (AWK) method of the Teun van Dijk model. Is there an element of power in feeding the discourse, and how does Tribunews.com frame the discourse with various points of view. The idea of a Jokowi-Prabowo duet was followed by the establishment of the Jokowi-Prabowo 2024 Community (JokPro 2024).

Discourse is understood as a communication event, namely the embodiment of the individual who is communicating. The language used by the speaker is seen as a manifestation of the speaker's actions (Schiffrin, 2007: 24). (Humaira, 2018). This research focuses on discourse by using a critical discourse point of view. For researchers, one of the characteristics of critically analyzing discourse is analyzing language through a series of discourse texts based on context, intent and purpose. Language that is not only interpreted from the linguistic aspect alone.

Discourse or ideas in the political realm are not taboo in today's digital era. After the collapse of the New Order regime, democracy is growing and developing in this republic. Democracy is seen from the point of view of a political perspective that focuses on the implicit (conceived) or explicit (obvious) values and procedures that are considered important for the health and growth of a particular political system in a democratic context. An important and enduring feature of Indonesian politics is the domination of the president's reasoning. Sukarno and Suharto were strong presidents, although they derived their power from very different political sources. (Baswedan, 2008). Democracy according to Aristotle, through the freedom of every citizen, the state can share power within the state. In politics, there is something called political virtue which means moral excellence (moral excellence). Morals should not be forgotten in politics. (Sudiarja, 2018).

The discourse conveyed through the news text, the researcher understands part of a study in linguistics, part of a pragmatic study (context outside language in speech through text). It is related to the problem being conveyed or the purpose of the speaker. The intent and purpose of the speaker in throwing the discourse is then manifested in the form of language that is strung together through the text. The discourse or text that is fed in the news has a wider position than clauses (a set of words) and sentences, because discourse includes an idea and concept of a text.

Discourse in English is called discourse, which is defined as an expression in a communication interaction. (Rohana & Syamsuddin, 2015). According to the researcher, the news text in framing a discourse usually pays attention to the relationship between sentences which means that the sequence between sentences is maintained. From this point of view, the researcher then examines each text flow through the news on Tribunnews.com critically in feeding the discourse of a duet between Jokowi and Prabowo to the public during the period of June 2021 through the critical discourse analysis knife (AWK) model of Teun van Dijk. Haryatmoko explained, critical discourse analysis (AWK) is a form of critical application. Inspired by Marxism, when highlighting the cultural aspects of social life through language. The Frankfurt School which inspired the idea of criticality. The basic assumptions of AWK are, language is used for various functions and consequences. Can command, influence, manipulate, move groups or persuade. (Haryatmoko, 2019).

Research conducted in accordance with study previously who uses the knife of critical discourse analysis (AWK). The findings in this study are supported by similar research by Jiayu Wang which concludes that the basic concepts and dimensions of political communication can be used to use political discourse analysis (PDA). Critical discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse. Language as a form of social practice, aims to investigate how power, ideology, and hegemony are embedded in language. (Wang, 2016). Another research was conducted by Ni Putu and friends. In his journal, the political texts of speeches claiming the victory of the 2019 Presidential Election are critically analyzed through a critical discourse analysis of the Teun van Dijk model. Which concludes, van Dijk's theory. Every news story has a line of opening, main and closing words. The supra structure (schematic) is the author's strategy to

support the general meaning by providing a number of supporting reasons which are arranged in the introduction, body, and closing. (Ni Putu, Putrayasa, & Artika, 2019).

Focused on news text research which fed Tribunnews.com during the period of June 2021, discourse duet Jokowi-

Prabowo, also accompanied by hope, there will be an amendment to the 1945 Constitution, related to the article that regulates the presidential term of office. And the blessing of political parties for this idea. Qodari as a feeder of this discourse was then revealed his line of thought in the form of a news text by the media Tribunnews.com. One of them, through texts found by researchers, if Indonesia is still experiencing the phenomenon of identity politics and echo chambers, the atmosphere of the 2024 presidential election contestation will not be conducive with Jokowi in the 2024 presidential election, Fadli Zon accuses it of being a tactic to tackle” (Lendong, 2021).

Researchers also found that in the period in month June 2021, Tribunnews.com conducted a special discussion about this discourse by making a discussion, themed 'Pros and Cons of the 3rd President and Jokowi Prabowo's Pair'. Three resource persons were presented in the discussion, as well as an opportunity to criticize the discourse presented. Besides M Qodari, the General Chairperson of the DPP was also present

Projo who also serves as Deputy Minister of Villages, Budi Arie Setiadi. Budi Arie. During the 2019 presidential election, Budi Arie was known as one of the hardline figures supporting Jokowi. In the discussion, the Deputy Chairperson of the Gerindra Party DPP, a close person to Prabowo Subianto, Fadli Zon, was also present. The presence of Budi Arie and Fadli Zon, brought together in the discussion room, represented the two forces during the 2019 presidential election, which later emerged with the terms Kecebong and Kampret, pitted against Qodari's argument that the Jokowi-Prabowo duet was discussed. Researchers draw conclusions, this discussion is held as an arena for criticism of the discourse presented and then fed to the public through the news text.

At a time pathetic, media Tribunnews.com was not intervened by any party. The discourse that is fed to the public is then criticized as part of the democratic process that continues to develop in the current era of digitalization.

Tribunnews.com also tried to remind the public of the attitude of President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) who refused to roll out the three-term discourse. Feeding the news entitled, Jokowi Rejects 3 Periods of Presidential Position: 'Those who propose want to slap me in the face and fall. The author considers that democracy in the developing political sphere does not have to be based on initial commitments. Political agreement in the end determines the attitude of a political decision taken. Last minute politics, a term in the political world when determining the attitude to be taken on the discourse being rolled out, including the discourse on the Jokowi-Prabowo duet.

For researchers, the media arena is of course not limited to capital space, but there is also a cultural production that will become a power struggle that can be seen through the language in a news report.

In news texts, both pro and contra when responding to an issue, idea, or idea expressed, can provide a certain assessment of a news report, especially if it is interpreted critically. Focusing on the research conducted, the researcher also found a news text produced by Tribunnews.com in the period of June 2021, criticizing the Qodari discourse, delivered directly by the Deputy Chairperson of Gerindra Fadli Zon, entitled 'Qodari insists on duet Prabowo with Jokowi in the 2024 presidential election, Fadli Zon accusation

It's a tactic. The text through the news submitted by the journalist Tribunnews.com in the first paragraph confirms the reason Qodari has discussed the duet of Jokowi and

Prabowo Subianto. However, the public was then led to follow Fadli Zon's line of argument. He was suspicious of the discourse, it was too early and suspected that the discourse was a tactic to tackle. Perhaps advancing Jokowi-Prabowo is a way to prevent Prabowo from advancing (Nyapres, Ed). We might as well read it. (Tribunnews.com, 2021). In this month period, the researcher also found the text that was presented in critiquing the discourse. In fact, Deputy Village Minister Budi Arie Setiadi, in the news text, journalists from Tribunnews.com arranged the flow of the text, taking issue with the discourse conveyed by Qodari. Budi Arie is a figure who is known to be close to President Jokowi. During the last presidential election, Budi Arie was one of the hard-line volunteers supporting the Jokowi-KH Ma'ruf Amin duo. 'The question is whether the Jokowi-Prabowo idea will benefit the nation, state and people? (Lendong, 2021).

Widiatmoko's research explains that there are two kinds of ways to convey discourse. Either delivered orally or in writing. Researchers understand, oral discourse is a type of discourse that is delivered orally, or directly with verbal language. This type of discourse is often referred to as speech or utterances. In writing, the delivery of content or information is delivered in writing. Intended, so that the writing can be understood and interpreted by the reader. (Widiatmoko, 2015). Qodari conveyed his discourse both orally and in writing which was then fed by Tribunnews.com journalists in the form of news reports to the public.

News, or messages conveyed through the media are reports of events or explanations of events, including discourse. How online media tribunnews.com produces, combines meaning, and message flow through reporting in written discourse, conveying Qodari's ideas or ideas for a duet of Jokowi-Prabowo. Creating a flow between sentences that are interconnected in a news product in feeding discourse to the public.

II. Review of Literature

2.1 Tribune Network

This research is focused on reporting the discourse on the duet of Jokowi-Prabowo to the public through tribunnews.com. Media Tribunnews.com is part of the Tribun Network under the auspices of the Kompas Gramedia Group. Kompas Gramedia (KG), one of the largest companies in Indonesia, was founded on June 28, 1965 by PK Ojong and Jacob Oetama. Now, having 150 brands of print, electronic, and broadcast media, making Kompas Gramedia one of the largest media companies in Indonesia. Headquartered in Jakarta, now the tribune has approximately 53 online media, spread across Indonesia. The spirit of being one of the media, becomes a medium for accelerating digital transformation from the west to the east of Indonesia through the Tribun Network.

After the discourse on the duet of Jokowi-Prabowo was fed to the public, feedback or various responses were then raised by various perspectives by tribunnews.com journalists through the news. There are those who agree, firmly express their disapproval, there are also those who take a wait and see attitude. The attitude of waiting for the latest political developments. Politics is flexible, it cannot be calculated with exact science. Researchers interpret politics as a last minute attitude. Politics will usually be determined at the end, in a mutually agreed agreement. Almost all mainstream media also participate in framing this discourse from various perspectives.

One of them is the line of affirmation through the packaged news text, which reminds President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) of the consistent attitude of rejecting the three-term proposal more than once. Including responses from political elites confirming Jokowi's statement. Kompas.com, one of which was instrumental in baiting President

Jokowi's attitude, as well as reminding him of the discourse that was conveyed. In the middle of the news, a presidential quote was fed, "If someone proposes it, there are three (motives) in my opinion, they want to slap me in the face, want to look for my face, or want to plunge me. That's all," said Jokowi in the news entitled Proposing President of Three Periods Called Wanting slap in the face

Jokowi, this is the Response of the 2024 Jokpro Community. (Kompas.com, 2021). However, the Kompas.com media, researchers think, lacks in depth and provides various perspectives on this discourse to the public, in contrast to what was done by Tribunnews.com.

2.2 Critical Paradigm

One of the characteristics of the critical paradigm, is always suspicious in a situation. Or suspicious when the discourse through the text of the news that is conveyed to the public. The media in producing texts through news, for the public or the recipients of the text must be understood from a certain point of view. So that every text or news that is conveyed can be understood how the production process and understanding of the overall social structure by the public. The critical paradigm becomes a foothold for the public, including researchers, as well as a different force when controlling the communication process, in the form of news coverage by the media. Associated with the research conducted, how the media

Tribunnews.com controls every discourse conveyed in every news report. Including how to criticize the discourse through the text of the news that was conveyed earlier.

Research purposes

This research aims to reveal how Tribunnews.com framed the discourse of uniting Jokowi and Prabowo to become the number one and second people in this republic which was conveyed through the news text. Is there an element of power intervention in it, or is the discourse conveyed deliberately conveyed to the public, at the same time accompanied by criticism from various parties. Through Teun van Dijk's critical discourse analysis knife. The Tribun Network, through tribunnews.com, has become a target for messages or discourses to combine Jokowi and Prabowo as president and vice president to reach the public.

In order to build a democracy, freedom of expression. The main principle of a democracy is that the people are free to express their aspirations in political and social policies. This principle becomes the starting point in exercising a democracy in a country. (Pureklolon T, 2019).

2.3 Model Teun van Dijk

Van Dijk said, AWK aims to analyze any discourse that is conveyed to the public, including through critical reporting. Be it discourse about politics, race, gender, social issues and others. Research on discourse is not enough just to be based on text analysis alone. The text is only the result of a production practice which must also be observed. (Eriyanto, 2001). Critical discourse analysis is a process (decomposition) to provide an explanation of a text (social reality) that is willing or being studied by a person or dominant group whose tendency has a certain goal to obtain what is desired.

(Humaira, 2018). The researcher agrees with van Dijk's argument that the text is not something that appears suddenly from the sky. And not a vacuum that stands alone. The text is formed in a discourse practice, a discourse practice.

Texts have social, political, cognitive, moral and material impacts or consequences. (Haryatmoko, 2019). Following van Dijk's line of thought, regarding several steps in the

AWK approach. The text consists of several structures, each of which supports each other, then is divided into three levels. Among other things, macro structure, superstructure and micro structure. Macro or macrostructure is a text that can be seen from the general topic or theme of a discourse in a news report. The second is the super structure, or Superstructure, which relates to the framework or text which is then fully structured in every sentence in the news that is fed to the public. The last is the micro structure or or microstructure. A discourse that can be observed from a small part of a text. Namely words, sentences, propositions, clauses, paraphases and pictures. (Eriyanto, 2001).

Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis is often interpreted by other researchers as social cognition approach techniques. Researchers have explained before, that the presence of text does not just exist, or is born in a vacuum. Sobur explained that van Dijk's explanation was not only analyzing text in the form of discourse. But how then the text is produced in a news and then fed to the public. The dimension of social cognition observed is the production process of a text that involves the author's individual cognition. While the dimensions of the context studied are discourses that develop in society about a problem. (Ishmael).

III. Research Method

One of the characteristics of the critical paradigm, is always suspicious in a situation. Or suspicious when the discourse through the text of the news that is conveyed to the public. The media in producing texts through news, for the public or the recipients of the text must be understood from a certain point of view. So that every text or news that is conveyed can be understood how the production process and understanding of the overall social structure by the public. The critical paradigm becomes a foothold for the public, including researchers, as well as a different force when controlling the communication process, in the form of news coverage by the media. Associated with the research conducted, how the media

Tribunnews.com controls every discourse conveyed in every news report. Including how to criticize the discourse through the text of the news that was conveyed earlier. The critical paradigm aims to reveal whether there is an influence of capital and media ownership when the feed through the text is conveyed to the public. And whether there is political intervention that could affect the facts and then affect the language that composes each text into a news story. For researchers, the critical paradigm becomes the point of view of how a news report is discussed. Mainly, understanding through the critical paradigm is how the media, in this case Tribunnews.com, is part of the research in politicizing the meanings expressed in a news report. Through the critical paradigm point of view, the researcher concludes, the media is a means or a dominant group that can exert control over the non-dominant. Marginalize the non-dominant group and dominate the dominant group by controlling and controlling the media. Which of course affects the capital and ownership. The researcher then concludes, the media, including the Tribunnews.com media, are viewed with a critical paradigm to be able to know whether there are influences or other forces during discourse, the text that is conveyed in the news.

IV. Results and Discussion

The ideology of journalists can be seen or reflected in the news they produce. In this context, journalists from *tribunnews.com* wrote a rebuttal to the Qodari discourse which was conveyed through Fadli Zon. Qodari's discourse is suspected to be only to thwart Prabowo as a presidential candidate. "For me, as a Gerindra person, I hope that Pak Prabowo will come forward (Presidential candidate, Ed). Maybe this is a way to prevent Prabowo from running (Nyapres, Ed). We could read it once."

Tribunnews.com also tries to lead public opinion in criticizing the discourse delivered. It is as if the criticism conveyed is part of the growing dynamics of democracy that is linked in the form of political discourse, pairing Jokowi and Prabowo. The main objective is that the discourse is very unlikely to materialize and there needs to be a political agreement if it is to be implemented in the future on the discourse. At the same time, knowing the general public response to the discourse conveyed through the news. For researchers, ideology can be considered as a vision or abstract thought then applied in terms of problems in this case critically analyzed discourse.

4.1 Structure of Teun Van Dik's discourse

a. Macro Structure

In the macro structure, it includes a general topic or theme from a main idea that underlies the writing in the news. The author got the results, the discourse conveyed was a desire to unite the two forces that fought during the 2019 presidential election battle. The two forces, supporters of Jokowi and Prabowo, at that time were referred to as Cebong and Kampret. In general, the text presented by *tribunnews.com* is to feed the discourse as well as to provide input, other points of view to the public in understanding, digesting the text presented, uniting the two strengths during the last presidential election. According to van Dijk, although it consists of various elements, all text elements are one unit and are interconnected with one another.

b. Superstructure

Researchers interpret, this is related to the framework or text which is then fully arranged in every sentence in the news that is fed to the public. This then becomes a strategy in research in understanding the structured meaning that is arranged in the composition of the text in each news report. In the introduction, content, until the end. Superstructure according to van Dijk is a writer's strategy in managing composition to achieve a flow that leads to goals by prioritizing stress on the most important things. (Azizah & Efendi, 2020).

Based on the superstructure, the authors get the results of the discourse on a duet of Jokowi-Prabowo in line with van Dijk's plot. Order which in accordance in the preparation of the text through reporting on the discourse delivered to the public. Consists of an opening, core, and closing.

c. Microstructure.

Researchers got the results, the discourse on the duet of Jokowi-Prabowo which was conveyed through news on online *tribunnews.com*, was in line with van Dijk's theory. The researcher concludes the local meaning of a text, observed from the choice of words, sentences and the style used by a text. The discourse conveyed by *Tribunnews.com* feeds the discourse on the Jokowi-Prabowo duet accompanied by discourse, hoping to unite the two powers of the last presidential election, Jokowi supporters and Prabowo supporters,

these two supporters are known as Cebong and Kampret. At the same time hoping for support from political parties to amend the 1945 Constitution which regulates the presidential term of office. The criticism of this discourse was also conveyed by the rejection from various points of view by the *tribunnews.com* media.

4.2. Characteristics

a.Action

Several statements regarding the discourse on the Jokowi-Prabowo duet were conveyed through the news text. Indonesia is currently living in an era of identity politics. This condition triggers a confrontation or clash between civilizations in each general election contestation. Next quote; For example, someone accesses information about other people, for example, they are given information about person A, then they access information about person B, then person B continues. This creates a phenomenon known as the echo chamber. Other quotes; I see later in 2024 if the pattern remains like this, let's say if the candidate is not Jokowi-Prabowo, then what will happen is what you are worried about. (Lendong, 2021).

The language that is analyzed in AWK, is not by describing only linguistic aspects. But also context. That is, language is used for certain purposes or practices, including the practice of power. Fairlouch and Wodak explained, AWK to see the discourse of using language in speech and writing as a form of social practice. (Eriyanto, 2001). The researcher concludes on three quotes from the discourse from *Tribunnews.com* news. Actions in texts that are fed to the public are not just discourse. The text through the news is intended to influence, invite, and ask for support and the like by the public. Language is used for certain purposes and practices.

b.Context

The discourse of a duet between Jokowi and Prabowo was fed through the text of the news, a form of concern that a repeat of the 2019 presidential election would repeat itself. Pairing Jokowi with Prabowo is discoursed as a solution to unite the two powers of the last presidential election. This is also in line with the characteristics or principles of critical discourse analysis. Language is always in context. For researchers, there is no act of communication without participants, without interaction and other things. According to Fillmore, context in a discourse plays a very important role. The importance of the role of context to determine the meaning of an utterance. When the context changes, the meaning also changes. (Ishmael).

c. Historical

Researchers concluded, AWK in this case is to be able to understand a text discourse in the historical context when the text was revealed, discoursed or created. Then understood the discourse that developed in this case the discourse of uniting Jokowi and Prabowo through the online media *tribunnwes.com*. Consider the socio-political situation when the discourse is delivered. The researcher found that the historical character of the discourse conveyed was based on the concern that the dynamics of the 2019 presidential election would repeat itself. The existence of two camps known as Cebong and Kampret so that the discourse emerged to unite the two forces at this time. *Tribunnews.com*, also criticized the discourse of a duet between Jokowi and Prabowo through the text of the news borrowing the parties who disagreed with the discourse.

d. Power

The ideas or discourses that are fed through the tribunews.com media are felt to put Jokowi back as the number one person in Indonesia. By framing the arguments for the 2019 presidential election, the two opposing camps will repeat themselves again. Power is discoursed to accommodate two united forces in the state. The concept of power described (Eriyanto, 2001), which combines the thoughts of van Dijk, Wodak and Fairlouch, is one of the keys to the relationship between discourse and society. Every discourse that appears in the form of text, conversation is not seen as something natural and neutral, but as a form of power struggle.

According to van Dijk, those who have access in this matter are related to research, media tribunews.com in feeding the discourse of a Jokowi-Prabowo duet is considered to have access. The form of control of the discourse delivered, can be in the form of context, who can and can speak. Tribunews.com feeds Fadli Zon's statement responding to the discourse conveyed by Qodari. 'For me this is not productive, that's why I am a bit late in responding, not responding too much because it is unethical. Talking about a president at this time of the pandemic, nowadays many people are facing economic problems and others'.

The fragment of Fadli Zon's sentence for researchers is interpreted, the use of words and sentences is part of a journalist's strategy, in this case a reporter from tribunews.com, in criticizing the discourse conveyed by Qodari.

e. Ideology

Van Dijk's phrase with the term false consciousness. The researcher describes the dominant group manipulating the non-dominant group in the form of news texts delivered by the media, in this case Tribunews.com. Ideology can be interpreted, an idea on the reflection of aspirations. Or, a social need of an individual, group, class or culture. As a doctrine or belief that forms the basis of a good view of politics, economics and others. (Tawaang & Imran, 2017). Ideology is important in AWK research. Texts, conversations are linked in the news produced by tribunews.com journalists on the discourse of a duet between Jokowi and Prabowo as part of a certain ideological form. The journalist's perception is one of the factors in assembling the text into a news story.

V. Conclusion

The critical discourse analysis strategy (AWK) helps researchers understand the text compiled in the news for later analysis. Van Dijk's model of critical discourse analysis collaborates on discourse elements or topics through news texts so that they can be analyzed. The topic or discourse is controlled by the discourse maker and journalists as writers. Tribunews.com provides various points of view apart from throwing the discourse of a duet between Jokowi and Prabowo to the public. When the text through the news is produced, then it can be found and the hidden meaning of the discourse presented through the news. The text of the news is conveyed from various points of view, and the ideology of journalists in producing news is involved when composing words both when feeding discourse and when criticizing discourses that are deliberately baited.

Ideology, honesty Journalists are important in producing news. Good which just baiting discourse or when criticizing the discourse delivered to the public. The recipients of the text are also expected to be able to look for other perspectives on the discourse to duet Jokowi-Prabowo through reports that are fed by other media so that they can further enrich their understanding of this discourse. AWK becomes one of the considerations of the

community's situation when getting information. For researchers, this cannot be separated from the concept of social cognition, when explaining how social structures influence or are influenced by discourse. In this case, the discourse on the Jokowi-Prabowo duet has received various responses from the public.

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