

**“Ganti Presiden Jangan Sampai Ganti Program” : Critical Discourse Analysis of the Teun Van A
Dijk Model**

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Abstract

The purpose of this research is to reveal the ideology implied in the discourse by Kompas.com using Teun A. Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis theory. The presidential election that is routinely held every four years in Indonesia is a big event for all Indonesian people. Therefore, at this time the media has begun to report news about the strategies of various political parties. So it is necessary to do a more in-depth analysis of the news text presented. This research is a descriptive qualitative research using Teun A. Van Dijk's discourse analysis theory as the analysis tool. This research selected two news articles with the topic of PDI-P party plans and President Joko Widodo and his Volunteers towards the 2024 Presidential General Election published by Kompas.com. After the analysis, it was found that in the news about the plans of PDI-P and President Joko Widodo regarding the General Election in 2024 Kompas.com always favored PDI-P or President Joko Widodo.

Keywords: *Critical Discourse Analysis, Joko Widodo, Presidential Election*

Introduction

Like being consumed by Indonesians on a daily basis. The issues of presidential candidates, which refers to news about potential candidates to become president, has become a frequent topic of conversation in society. These issues has generated a variety of reactions from government organizations, political and community leaders, as well as researchers and students who have different views on the potential candidates.

As Indonesia prepares for the 2024 presidential and vice presidential elections, the news media has started to provide coverage of the candidates that are predicted to be nominated by various political parties. News media becomes a platform to report and reproduce events and ideas through texts that can then be consumed by the media-reading public. The discourse presented in the news creates an interactive relationship between writers and readers, as well as generating various reactions from the public.

The practice of creating discourse related to the issue of presidential candidates is influenced by various forces and ideologies that exist in society. Through access to news media, discourse can be produced and disseminated in the community, thus forming norms regarding presidential candidates. As we know, Indonesia is a democratic country. The Democratic Party that is always held every four years is still a big event and is awaited by the people of Indonesia. With the Democratic Party, it is not uncommon for prospective leaders of the country to have made movements in advance for preparation.

In general, many political parties make every effort for their candidates to win the election. One of them is by campaigning (Fatimah, 2018). Generally, they campaign secretly if it is still far from Election Day. However, if it is close to the election they will do it openly.

One way to campaign is by working with the media to raise the advantages of each political party (Yulianita, 2003). Discussions about politics are interesting but also sensitive. Therefore, many media present news about politics. In addition, one of the means to get accurate information is by reading the

news. So there are many people who are still connoisseurs of news because people do not trust the government (Fermana & Zetra, 2022).

Today, many news media have developed their wings in the digital world. They develop their business by innovating to create digital platforms that can be accessed anywhere and anytime by readers. The role of news media in the field is to provide information, means of integration and social interaction and means of entertainment for the community or readers (Khatimah, 2018).

Through the news it presents, the news media indirectly has a role in changing people's mindsets. Public opinion can be easily influenced by opinions that have been made by the news media to establish a relationship between discourse and power. The above can be understood because in every process of production, distribution and consumption of information created there are other interests that must be fulfilled by the news media. Another factor that influences this is the use of language by the media (Hudaa, 2018). Naturally, language use can be interpreted as the use of language in the daily communication process. Language is considered a tool that can convey an object through conversation, speech, and speech.

The media is owned by a certain person or group and is usually used to dominate non-dominant groups (Widiastuti, 2016). Therefore, in the process of discourse analysis, it can be seen that it is rare to find news media that are neutral (Karomani, 2004). This can be proven by the existence of several studies that have been conducted. The research conducted by Wulansari et al., (2018) found that the use of diction in headlines tends to encourage readers' opinions that the issue of the rise of the PKI cornered President Jokowi. In addition, the researchers found the use of sentences in the article there are sentences that intend to describe Jokowi as a victim.

Another study on news texts written by Alfaitsi et al., (2020) found similar results. The researchers found that the information conveyed tried to lead readers' opinions that the Jokowi administration had succeeded in overcoming the covid 19 pandemic that occurred. A flexible attitude towards the central government can be seen from the content of the news content which always shows that the social distance called for by the government is the right step.

In general, data in the process of critical discourse analysis is in the form of text. Both spoken and written texts (Silaswati, 2019). The text here generally refers to the transcription of a series of sentences or speech of a person or source. Therefore, the right analysis to see a news text structure is critical discourse analysis. This research aims to see the motive or ideology contained in the news text simply.

In the critical discourse analysis in this study, I tries to analyze the discourse structure contained in two news articles entitled '*Jokowi Titip Pesan ke Relawan: Ganti Presiden Jangan Sampai Ganti Program*' and '*Relawan Jokowi Jaring Nama Capres, PDI-P: Prioritas Presiden dan Menteri Atasi Tekanan Ekonomi*', which was reported by the online news media Kompas.Com. Based on the background that has been explained, I formulates the problem in this study, how is the process of critical discourse analysis of Teun Van Dijk's theory of the news text entitled '*Jokowi Titip Pesan ke Relawan: Ganti Presiden Jangan Sampai Ganti Program*' and '*Relawan Jokowi Jaring Nama Capres, PDI-P: Prioritas Presiden dan Menteri Atasi Tekanan Ekonomi*'?

Methods

The focus of this study is on conducting qualitative research, primarily utilizing Teun A. Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis model. The data collected for this study is descriptive in nature, consisting of words rather than numbers. The primary goal of this research is to interpret and analyze the data to uncover its meanings.

To fulfill this objective, the study relies upon news articles titled '*Jokowi Titip Pesan ke Relawan: Ganti Presiden Jangan Sampai Ganti Program*' and '*Relawan Jokowi Jaring Nama Capres, PDI-P: Prioritas Presiden dan Menteri Atasi Tekanan Ekonomi*' published on Kompas.com's website. The primary method of data collection employed in this research is reading, with researcher reading and understanding the data obtained from Kompas.Com daily news.

Text analysis in this study is organized into three distinct levels of structure: macro structure, super structure, and micro structure. Researchers search and categorize sentences and their meanings according to each of these structural elements. By utilizing these levels of structure, the research aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of the collected data.

Result and Discussion

Results

After the data classification process, i found the following findings. I performed the data classification process based on each news text.

Table 1. First News Text

'Jokowi Titip Pesan ke Relawan: Ganti Presiden Jangan Sampai Ganti Program'

Discourse Structure	Element	Findings
Macro Structure	Topic/Theme	PDI-P's idealism as a party that is optimistic about Jokowi's work.
Super Structure	Scheme/Plot	<p>Opening: President Jokowi met with volunteers at the State Palace on Monday, September 12, 2022. At the meeting, President Jokowi left a message to the volunteers that if the president changes later, he hopes that the current sustainable program will continue and not be replaced with a new program.</p> <p>Content: delivery of Jokowi's message delivered by the Rambun Tjajo National Secretariat to journalists. Jokowi's message to the volunteers was then further explained by the Rambun Tjajo National Secretariat regarding the status of Indonesia, which is currently considered semi-advanced. The journalists wrote that if the current program is continued then by 2030 Indonesia will become a semi-advanced country. In addition, Seknas RambunTjajo also said that there is still no further discussion about the new presidential candidate.</p> <p>Closing: journalists include one other expert or resource person. Namely, the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Seknas Jokowi, Sidarto Danoesubroto regarding his readiness to oversee the programs that have been running until the end of Jokowi's term in 2024 or even until 2030 later. In addition, Sidarto Danoesubroto and Rambun Tjajo explained that there was no discussion about the next presidential candidate.</p>
Semantic Micro Structure	Background	The author emphasizes the opinions of Seknas Rambun Tjajo and the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Seknas Sidarto Danoesubroto for their availability to continue to guard and support President Jokowi until the end of his term.
	Details	The author writes about Seknas Rambun Tjajo's emphasis on ongoing government programs. He explained that if the current programs are continued, Indonesia's status in 2030 will be semi-advanced. In addition, the journalist also wrote that with President Jokowi's message to the volunteers, it was indirectly considered that President Jokowi asked for help from the National Secretariat to help run his government program.
	Meaning	The author intends to inform the public that Jokowi's work program is considered good by PDI-P.
	Pre-assumption	The explanation in the last paragraph which raises the opinion of the second expert source greatly strengthens the discussion in the previous paragraphs.
Syntax Micro Structure	Form of Sentence	<i>"Rambun melanjutkan, Presiden Jokowi juga menjelaskan jika program pemerintah saat ini berlanjut hingga 2030 maka Indonesia bisa menjadi negara semi-maju. Dengan demikian, Presiden pun meminta agar Seknas Jokowi terus membantu jalannya pemerintahan. Meski demikian, menurut dia, dalam pembicaraan</i>

		<i>dengan Jokowi kali ini tidak menyinggung soal sosok calon presiden maupun calon wakil presiden untuk Pilpres 2024.”</i> The use of the conjunction <i>dengan demikian</i> ‘therefore in the paragraph contained in the piece of news article text above is used to explain the cause-and-effect of Jokowi's speech to the volunteers. In addition, it can show that journalists try to emphasize the opinion that Jokowi's government is compact.
	Coherence	The element of coherence in this news text is the statement of the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Jokowi's National Secretary, Sidarto Danoesubroto regarding readiness to oversee the 2024 elections.
Stylistic and Retic Micro Structure	Lexicon	<i>Kesinambungan ‘Continuity’</i>
	Language Style	description, exposition, argumentation, persuasion
	Grafis	The use of punctuation (:) in the title

Table 1. First News Text

Relawan Jokowi Jaring Nama Capres, PDI-P: Prioritas Presiden dan Menteri Atasi Tekanan Ekonomi

Discourse Structure	Element	Findings
Macro Structure	Topic/Theme	PDI-P's plan to nominate its Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates.
Super Structure	Scheme/Plot	Introduction: PDI-P Secretary-General Hasto Kristyanto reminded the president's supporters and aides not to pick a new candidate first. However, to focus on economic issues first. Content: PDI-P Secretary General Hasto Kristyanto said that currently the focus or priority of the PDI-P party leaders, both the President and the Ministers, is on economic pressures or problems and not networking or discussing the names of new candidates. Closing: By asking other sources for their opinions. The second source in this news is a Chairman of the National Committee Musa Panel Barus who discusses something different with PDI-P party officials, where Barus will still hold National Deliberations in 34 Provinces in Indonesia to select the names of candidates or presidential candidates in 2024. The journalist closes this news text by including a direct quote delivered by the Chairman of the National Committee Musa Panel Barus regarding whether the candidate championed is a candidate who will automatically be supported by President Jokowi or not.
Semantic Micro Structure	Background	The author emphasizes two opposing opinions. Where the opinion of PDI-P Secretary General Hasto Kristyanto states and emphasizes President Joko Widodo's aides not to discuss too far about the next presidential candidate or candidates. However, on the other hand, the author also wrote the opinion of the Chairman of the National Committee Musa Panel Barus where he stated that there would be national deliberations in thirty-four provinces in Indonesia that would discuss the next Indonesian presidential candidate or candidates.
	Details	The author wrote direct quotes from the utterances of the two speakers regarding PDI-P's preparations for the upcoming 2024 elections. There were two speakers who stated two different explanations. The first source is PDI-P Secretary General Hasto

			Kristyanto, who asked Jokowi's aides not to discuss too much about the next presidential candidate, because currently President Joko Widodo and his ministers are more focused on the existing economic problems. At the end of the news, after explaining the opinion of PDI-P Secretary General Hasto Kristyanto. The author writes the opinion of the second source, namely, the Chairman of the National Committee Musa Panel Barus. The Chairman of the National Committee Musa Panel Barus said that currently he and his team are planning a national meeting that will be held in three or four provinces in Indonesia to discuss or propose the names of candidates for the next President of Indonesia.
	Meaning		The author intends to report that the presidential and vice presidential candidates of the PDI-P party are expected to come from among the Ministers.
	Pre-assumption		The explanation in the last paragraph is another point of view from another source.
Syntax Micro Structure	Form of Sentence	of	<p>“Hasto mengatakan, partai-partai politik pun telah mulai menjaring nama-nama yang berpotensi maju sebagai calon presiden dengan mendengarkan masukan dari berbagai pihak. Namun, ia menekankan, keputusan mengenai siapa calon presiden yang bakal diusung PDI-P merupakan hak prerogatif Megawati Soekarnoputri selaku ketua umum partai”</p> <p>The use of conjunction <i>namun</i> ‘however’ in the excerpt above shows that there is a contrast between what is currently happening in the PDI-P Party with the initial plan or goal which is still an urgency according to source 1 (PDI-P Secretary General Hasto Kristyanto). In addition, journalists try to emphasize that PDI-P Secretary General Hasto Kristyanto remains consistent with the initial goal, namely not to discuss the names of the next presidential candidates.</p>
	Coherence		The coherence in this news text is emphasizing Hasto's opinion that the PDI-P presidential and vice presidential candidates will later be announced by the PDI-P party chairman.
Stylistic and Retic Micro Structure	Lexicon		<i>Alih-alih</i> ‘instead of’
	Language Style		The use of descriptive sentences in the title was found. This can be seen in “ <i>Relawan Jokowi Jaring Nama Capres</i> ” where it describes the events that are happening at that time..
	Grafis		The use of punctuation (:) in the title.

Discussion

Macro Structure of Both Texts

After the data analysis process on the findings. Firstly, both news articles from Kompas.com emphasized the positive sentiment towards the PDI-P party and President Jokowi at a macro level. This was evident in the first article's title, '*Jokowi Titip Pesan ke Relawan: Ganti Presiden Jangan Sampai Ganti Program*', which featured the phrase ' *jangan ganti*' (meaning 'do not change') implying the party's confidence in Jokowi's work program. The second article also highlighted the party's focus on addressing economic issues, with the use of the word '*prioritas*' (meaning 'priority') and the phrase '*atasi ekonomi*' (meaning 'overcome the economy'). This aligns with prior research by Surya et al., (2023) which suggests that verbs and nouns can indicate specific actions or purposes.

Super Structure of Both Texts

Upon examining both news texts, I have observed that they are both well-structured in terms of their super structure level. Specifically, both texts feature titles that effectively capture the reader's attention and convey the main message of the content. In the first news article, the title incorporates a direct quote from the president, Joko Widodo, which serves to highlight the prominent figure and the essence of the article in one fell swoop. The second news text, meanwhile, tackles the issue of the PDI-P party's ongoing search for their next presidential candidate, an idea that is supported by the subsequent content.

In addition to their engaging headlines, both news texts follow a clear and consistent structure in terms of their opening, content, and closing sections. This pattern is represented in a succinct and well-developed manner, creating an intuitive flow for readers to easily follow the article. This aligns with the research of Yahya et al., (2022) who suggest that news articles typically utilize titles that draw readers into the nucleus of the discourse.

Micro Structure

The Teun A Van Dijk (1993) model of critical discourse analysis consists of three levels: macro, meso, and micro. The micro level focuses on the linguistic aspects of discourse, such as the use of words and phrases. The present study found that both news texts examined shared similarities in their use of language at this level, particularly in the use of two distinct lexicons.

The first lexicon identified was *kesinambungan* or 'continuity.' It was used by journalists in the first news text to explain that the current government under Jokowi is continuing to run programs that are linked to one another. This helps to convey the idea that the Jokowi administration is active and working, even in the face of challenges. The use of this particular word helps to emphasize the importance of the continuity of government programs. The second lexicon identified was *alih-alih* or 'instead of.' This served to highlight the consistency of PDI-P General Secretary Hasto Kristyanto in selecting priority issues, such as economic matters, over choosing new candidates for the presidency. The word 'instead of' is used to show a substitution, which emphasizes the importance of prioritizing one issue over another.

This study supports the idea that the use of certain lexicons can accentuate the implied meaning of a discourse. In other words, it demonstrates how language choice can influence the message conveyed and, therefore, shape public opinion and perception about a particular topic or issue. Importantly, this research highlights the importance of paying close attention to the nuances of language and how they contribute to the messages we consume.

Conclusion

The above statement presents the conclusion drawn from an analysis conducted using the discourse analysis theory of Teun A. Van Dijk's model. I concludes that the use of this theory has made it easier to reveal the discourse structure in the text of the article. This analysis focuses on an article published by Kompas which conveyed the message of President Jokowi and PDI-P Secretary General Hasto Kristyanto.

The selection of appropriate sources, such as SekNas, Chairman of the Seknas Board of Trustees, Secretary General, and Chairman of the Musa National Committee, was deemed necessary to explain President Jokowi's speech in more depth. Based on this analysis, Kompas can be interpreted as being pro-Jokowi's government.

However, it is also highlighted that the sources and journalists did not delve deeper into the topic of the next presidential candidate in the upcoming 2024 election. This could indicate that the article was focused solely on discussing President Jokowi's speech without any agenda or bias towards discussing the next election. Overall, the analysis conducted using Teun A. Van Dijk's discourse analysis theory has provided a comprehensive and systematic approach to reveal the discourse structure of the article. It has also drawn out the intended message of the article while highlighting the possible biases and limitations in the reporting.

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