CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON KOMPAS.COM NEWS: *GERAKAN #2019GANTIPRESIDEN*

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Abstract: This article is a result of critical discourse analysis (CDA) to the news entitled *Gerakan #2019GantiPresiden di Antara Ambiguitas Hukum dan Syahwat Politik* at Kompas.com. The approach employed in this research is the three-dimensional CDA developed by Norman Fairclough. The purposes of this research are to describe the micro, mezzo, and macro as well as the social, political and cultural situation from the linguistic aspects in *Gerakan #2019GantiPresiden di Antara Ambiguitas Hukum dan Syahwat Politik* text. The results show that there are linguistic aspects in the form of diction in the direct sentences that are used by Kompas.com with the theme *#2019GantiPresiden*. This movement is considered as a constitutional movement indicated as a rebellion because it is supported by political interests towards their current government rival. This is closely related to the background of Kompas.com as a pro-government online mass media. It is also acceptable if Kompas.com creates a positive image of the current government. The main point of information that is conveyed in the news of *#2019GantiPresiden* is that this movement possibly threats the government of Jokowi Widodo who will run again for the presidential election in 2019.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, politics, #2019GantiPresiden, Kompas.com

INTRODUCTION

In general, language is a communication tool used by humans to convey ideas, opinions, and thoughts to others, both orally and in writing. Meanwhile, according to the Ministry of National Education (2001, 88) language is a system of arbitrary vocal symbols used for human communication in working, interacting, and identifying themselves. This is also in line with the opinion of Chaer (2004, 11), in which he states that language is a symbol system, in the form of sound, arbitrary, productive, dynamic, diverse, and humane. So, language is a communication tool that is used by humans to communicate with others.

One of the language users is the journalists. The language employed by journalists is often referred to the language press or the language of journalists which is basically functioned as an informative language aside from expressive, directive, aesthetic, and phatic functions possessed by the language press as well. The language used by journalists is usually in the form of short, solid, interesting, and clear forms (Leech 1997, 47). Therefore, the language used in the world of journalists is likely to be a language that functions as a conveyer of information.

The rapid development in the digital information era has led to an increasing volume of information in the form of text. Among various forms of digital information, an estimated 80% of digital documents are in the form of text (Tan 1999). The text can be in the form of news or discourse that aims to provide information or events in the community life (Djaroto 2000, 45), while the

discourse itself is considered as the most complete unit of language.

In grammatical hierarchies, discourse is the highest or largest unit that can be portrayed in the form of essays, paragraphs, sentences, or words that have a specific purpose, Kridalaksana (2001, 231). Furthermore, Fairclough (1995, 28-32) and Wodak (2001, 5) state that discourse analysis is about how text works/functions in socio-cultural practice.

So, discourse analysis itself is not only seen as the use of language in speech and writing but also as a form of social practice. In this case, the discourse analysis becomes a tool that is capable of interacting explicitly and implicitly with people's lives so that communication can be built in the midst of society and also used as a movement to achieve certain goals.

According to Darma (2009, 49), critical discourse analysis is an effort or process of decomposition to give an explanation of a text (social reality) that is intended or is being done by someone who tends to have a specific purpose to get what is desired. In other words, critical discourse analysis is generally implemented to criticize and reveal the relationship between language and social and political news.

Critical discourse analysis is also used to describe something, translate, and analyze social and political news presented through text. In addition, critical discourse analysis is not only seen from linguistic aspects, but also from the relationship between language and certain contexts, including the specific objectives of social and political news.

Based on the definitions of above, critical discourse analysis is an alternative way to the deadlock in a media analysis that has been dominated by conventional content analysis with its positive or constructivist paradigm. Through critical discourse analysis, people will know not only how the content of the news is displayed, but how and why the message is presented as well.

In fact, people can further expose the abuse of power, domination, and injustice that is conducted and produced vaguely through news texts. Even the realities and facts conveyed in the news must be purely clean, but in the mass media, it is not uncommon to find facts or events from the results of construction, so that they have multiple or plural meanings.

The existing reality can also be presented in the middle of the audience because this reality is intentionally presented by the subjectivity of journalists formed from the perspective of journalists in expressing a problem or event. Therefore, the reality about facts can appear differently depending on the understanding and characteristics of each journalist.

According to Eriyanto (2011,7), the characteristics of critical discourse analysis contain five principles such as the action, context, history, power, and ideology. Regarding action, there are two consequences to viewing discourse, namely: (1) discourse is seen as something that aims to influence, debate, refute, persuade, react etc.; (2) discourse is also understood as something that is expressed consciously or controlled.

Context is related to how discourse is produced, understood, and interpreted in certain contexts. Like who communicates with whom and why, what the audience is like and what the situation is, through what medium, how is the different type of development of communication, and how the relationship is for each participant, etc.

History is always related to time or event of the discourse, for example, how the political situation is happening, why certain discourses are developing, and vice versa why other discourses do not develop, etc. Power, discourse that appears in the form of text, conversation, or whatever, is not seen

as something natural and neutral, but it is a form of power struggle.

Ideology is discourse seen as an ideological practice or reflection of a particular ideology. Furthermore, discourse and mass media are two things which support each other. If the existence of discourse is very dependent on the mass media that surrounds it, the mass media will be very dependent on the audience or its users.

Kompas.com is one of the online news portals in Indonesia. It presents different types of news classified into *Politics & Law*, *International, Education & Culture*, *Environment & Health*, *Science & Technology*, *Binoculars*, *Business & Finance*, Figure, and *Classics* pages.

The selection of discourse on Kompas.com to be analyzed is based on several considerations. First, Kompas.com is the online news portal that is demanded greatly by the public. Second, discourse in Kompas.com contains reports of events that occur in the environment that are published every day so that the news submitted is considered to be an actual issue. In addition, the language used in Kompas.com is formal Indonesian so that the language used is easily understood by all Indonesian people. Meanwhile, the selection of news discourse # *2019GantiPresiden* is likely to be an issue that is currently popular, because this news involves many political and government figures and this movement has also caused many persecutions in several regions in Indonesia. So it is acceptable if kompas.com also participates in providing information or news to the public about the *#2019GantiPresiden*. This is in accordance with one of Kompas' visions and missions, namely providing actual and credible news.

Therefore, the researchers tried to analyze the social and political effects that occur as a result of the existence of this movement and to see how

Kompas.com delivers this news to the readers based on the linguistic aspects. This analysis used the three-dimensional critical discourse by Norman Fairclough (2003) which includes micro, mezzo, and macro elements. The microelement is analyzing the text itself, in the form of cohesion, coherence, grammar, transparency, theme, modality, and lexical structures. Second, Mezzo element or referred to as discourse practice aims to find out the process of production, distribution, and use of text. Third, the macro element or called sociocultural practice aims to find out the social context that influences the birth of a text (discourse) which includes situational, institutional, and social levels.

RESEARCH METHOD

In this research, the researchers used the three-dimensional critical discourse analysis approach by Norman Fairclough. The researchers chose this approach because it can describe systematically the fact and characteristics of the data. This approach puts discourse as power (Asher & Simpson 1994, 940) or views discourse as a reflection of relations in society. A critical discourse analysis approach also has a purpose of understanding the discourse as a form of social practice. In social practice, a person always has the purpose of writing a discourse, including the purpose of exercising power.

The data of this research is written text (Subroto 1992, 42). The written text in the form of discourse taken from the kompas.com website and it is in the form news which entitles *Gerakan #2019GantiPresiden di antara Ambiguitas Hukum dan Syahwat Politik*. It was published on August 28, 2018. The selection of this discourse was based on the number of viewers who reach two million which visit on kompas.com portal. It made this

discourse become one of the popular discourses (Ranksays 2018). So, researchers assume that this discourse has a considerable influence on readers and society in general and interesting to analyze.

Aside from that, this study used referring method with the reading technique and note taking technique. (Sudaryanto 1993, 5). Hereafter, in analyzing the data, researchers used several steps, namely (1) reading extensively the discourse of *Gerakan #2019GantiPresiden di antara Ambiguitas Hukum dan Syahwat Politik* news; (2) taking notes and analyzing the discourse using the CDA model from Norman Fairclough; and (3) making conclusions from the data analysis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

This section presents the results of the research used the three-dimensional critical discourse analysis by Norman Fairclough. The results are presented in the form of descriptions and are described in the form of discussions.

Micro-structural Analysis

Based on the various linguistic tools used by Kompas.com in the reporting of *Gerakan #2019GantiPresiden di antara Ambiguitas Hukum dan Syahwat Politik*, the researchers found the mark of the representation of the themes and figures which involved in the news of kompas.com. They are the dictions, the usage of causal sentences, and the selection of speakers in the form of direct quotations. For instance, the first paragraph of the first line, it can be seen directly how kompas.com selected the diction such as *berpotensi menyulut konflik* (has potentially in sparking a conflict) that has semantic cause-effect, which means that the *#2019GantiPresiden* has a social effect in the society.

Below is the analysis of the linguistic aspects of the paragraphs of the discourse.

(1) ***Elite politik*** *harus turun tangan memberikan teladan bagaimana berkompetisi secara sehat di alam demokrasi*
(**The political elite** must intervene to set an example of how to good compete in a democracy)
(2) *Ada **orang** yang berteriak ganti presiden maka itu sama dengan ingin menurunkan presiden alias makar.*
(There are **people** who shout to replace the president, so it is the same as wanting to take down the president or treason)
(3) ***Mereka*** *bilang,* ***kami*** *tidak memakzulkan.* ***Kami*** *cuma bilang 2019 ganti presiden.*
(**They** say **we** don't impose, **we** just say 2019 replaces the president)
(4) *Tagar tersebut mendapatkan perlawanan kuat **kelompok** yang menginginkan Presiden Joko Widodo melanjutkan jabatan presiden untuk dua periode.*
(The hashtag is gaining strong opposition from **groups** who want President Joko Widodo to continue the presidential term for two periods).

Datum (1) *elite politik* refers to political party leaders from two camps who will compete in the vice and presidential election in 2019. Datum (2) *orang* refers to people or groups who wish to replace the president or from the current counter-government group. Datum (3) *kami* is the same as datum (2) which refers to the government opposition groups. While the last, the term (4) *kelompok* is a group that is still loyal to the government or pro-government.

From datum (1) to (4), it can be seen how Kompas.com distinguishes diction used to indicate the status of figures from the news delivered. The three of the four diction used by Kompas.com have different semantic meanings. In lexical semantics, the meaning of the word *elite politik (*political elite) shows the status of the first character, but the second figure is used by the words *Orang, mereka, kita*, and the *kelompok* referring to the status of the people

involved in the conflict of *#2019GantiPresiden.*

(5) *Kampanye tanda pagar (tagar) #2019gantipresiden berpotensi* **menyulut** *konflik horizontal di masyarakat.*
(The campaign hashtag #2019GantiPresiden has the potential *to* **ignite** horizontal conflicts in the community)

(6) *Kelompok yang satu* **menolak** *kehadiran kelompok yang lain. Kelompok yang satu* **mencaci** *kelompok yang lain. Kelompok yang satu, juga* **mengancam** *kelompok yang lain dan sebagainya.*
(The one group **rejects** the presence of another group. The one group **insults** the other group. One group also **threatens** other groups and so on)

From data (5) to (6), it is clearly described how Kompas.com took the resource statement by using a complete diction about something bad, namely: *menyulut (*igniting*), menolak* (rejecting)*, mencaci* (insulting)*,* and *mengancam* (threatening) are as verbs from the actions taken by the first and second figures. *Menyulut* is defined as acts committed by the first person who can make horizontal riots or conflicts in the community. *Menolak* is used as a pronoun of action by the second character. *Menolak* is interpreted as pushing or pushing forward (sideways)' conducted by the second character as a reaction to the *#2019GantiPresiden*. *Mencaci* can be interpreted as an act of cursing; denounce; defame one group with another group. *Mengancam* is defined as the action of the second person who states the intention (intention, plan) to do something that is harmful, complicates, troublesome, or harm others (KBBI, 2001).

Dictions presented from the words *menolak, mencaci*, and *mengancam* from the second character are the result of the actions of the first character or the political elite who are in conflict.

(7) *Di tengah pro kontra di mata hukum, tagar tersebut mendapatkan perlawanan kuat oleh kelompok yang menginginkan Presiden Joko Widodo melanjutkan jabatan presiden untuk dua periode.*
(In the midst of the pros and cons in the perception of the law, the hashtag received strong resistance by groups who wanted President Joko Widodo to continue the presidential term for two periods)

(8) **Maka** *tersajilah 'pertarungan' kedua kelompok, baik di dunia maya hingga di dunia nyata.*
(**Then** there was a 'battle' between the two groups, both in cyberspace and in the real world)

Datum (7) is an example of data using linguistic strategies in the form of causal sentence structures. The broad sentence in the datum (8) above has a causal relationship which is characterized by conjunction *maka* (then) that combines the causes in the daum (7) and the effect on the datum (8).

(9) **Hamdi mengatakan***, menurut Romli Atmasasmita, jika ada orang yang berteriak ganti presiden maka itu sama dengan ingin menurunkan presiden alias makar.*
(**Hamdi said**, according to Romli Atmasasmita, if there were people who shouted for president, then it would be the same as wanting to take down the president or treason)

(10) *Presiden diangkat secara demokratis hingga selesai masa jabatannya tahun 2019. "Oleh sebab itu, di tengah jalan tidak bisa diturunkan. Kalau diturunkan, namanya pemakzulan,"* **ujar Hamdi.**
(The President is appointed democratically until the end of his term of office in 2019. "Therefore, the President still on duty cannot be demoted. If it is demoted, the name is impeachment," **said Hamdi**)

(11) *"Sebagian bilang ganti presiden, sebagian lainnya bilang kami enggak mau ganti, disertai unsur-unsur provokasi masing-masing,"* **kata Hamdi.**

("Some people say replace the president, another say don't want to change, with elements of provocation," **Hamdi said**)

(12) *"Dua kubu semakin radikal, semakin mengeras. Situasi inilah yang saya sebut berpotensi menyulut konflik horizontal di masyarakat. Oleh sebab itu jangan ini dianggap main-main," lanjut dia.*
("The two camps are increasingly radical, increasingly hardened. This situation is what I call the potential to spark horizontal conflict in the community. Therefore, this should not be considered playful," **he continued**)

(13) *Jangan "menari" di atas kekisruhan Atas kondisi ini pula, maka **Hamdi sepakat** dengan aparat keamanan yang terpaksa membubarkan mobilisasi massa tagar #2019gantipresiden.*
(Do not "dance" above confusion. On this condition, **Hamdi agreed** with the police forces who were forced to disperse the hashtag mass mobilization #2019GantiPresiden)

(14) *"Yang dinamakan kebebasan dalam berpendapat itu, misalnya menuntut harga bahan pokok turun, menuntut BBM murah, tenaga kerja asing dikurangi, itu silahkan. Tapi tidak dengan memprovokasi. Ingat, masyarakat juga menginginkan ketenangan dan keamanan," tambah Hamdi.*
(The so-called freedom of opinion is demanding the price of basic commodities go down, demanding cheap fuel, foreign workers are reduced, but not by provoking. Remember, people also want peace and security," **Hamdi added**)

In datum (9) to (14), various language styles are used by Kompas.com in quoting statements from Hamidi. They are *Hamdi mengatakan* (Hamdi said)*, ujar Hamdi* (said Hamdi)*, kata Hamdi* (Hamdi said)*, lanjut dia* (he continued)*, Hamdi sepakat* (Hamdi agreed) and *tambah Hamdi* (Hamdi added). This variety of language styles is the language strategy used by Kompas.com in delivering news to readers so that the news looks more interested and appealing to the readers.

Furthermore, data (9) to (14) are the selection of a speaker as one of the discourse supporters. The speaker presented in this discourse is a political psychologist at the University of Indonesia (UI), Mr. Hamdi. While the theme discussed in the discourse is between ambiguity and political desire, it is considered less balanced if only one speaker is presented as the journalist here should also present a resource person from the police who can review the legal aspects of the movement of # *2019GantiPresiden*.

However, the reality of the selection of speakers and selected resource persons shows one character. The selection of resource and message interpretation in this news shows that there is a practice of reality construction. As stated earlier, the media is able to determine aspects that are highlighted or omitted from the news, determine the news structure according to them, and from which side the event will be highlighted.

Mezzo-structural Analysis

In the dimension analysis, the interpretation conducted on the processing of discourse which includes aspects of production, distribution and using of text. This section analyzes how media workers produce text. Therefore, through this discourse analysis, people not only know how the content of the news text is written but also how the message is delivered.

Kompas.com is one of the online media in Indonesia which aims to provide services to readers of Kompas daily in places that are difficult to reach by the Kompas distribution network. With the presence of Kompas.com, the readers, especially in eastern Indonesia and abroad, can enjoy news of the day, no need to wait for the usual days. Kompas.com has a good editorial management and also has hundreds of reporters in various parts of Indonesia who are ready to make journalistic works based on information in the field,

not only that Kompas.com also has a social media division, which always monitors social media conversations in real-time.

Kompas.com has a clear tagline of seeing the world. Therefore, Kompas.com wants to posit itself as a media that always present information in an objective, complete, independent perspective, not biased by various political, economic, and power concerns. Therefore, editors and journalists are much disciplined in verifying the facts and data they get in the field or on social media. Furthermore, Kompas.com is also supported by an independent research institute, the Kompas Research and Development (R & D) Center which for decades has been tested with objective, valid and independent data.

Based on the description above, it can be concluded that as a media, Kompas.com is an online public daily that is quite influential in Indonesian society. It was proven by the Superbrands award for the Trusted Online News category in 2018. Therefore, the text production series in Kompas.com are not only stand-alone series, but also institutional series involving journalists, editors, and others.

The realization of the text produced by Kompas.com especially in terms of reporting *Gerakan #2019GantiPresiden di antara Ambiguitas Hukum dan Syahwat Politik* is considered to be in harmony with the stated objectives, namely, giving actual and reliable news.

Macro-structural Analysis

The third dimension is a macro-level analysis based on the opinion that the social context exists outside the media actually affects how the discourse is. The editorial room or journalist is not a sterile field or empty space but is also determined bythe outside factors of the media itself. Socio-cultural practices analyze three things, namely economics,

politics (especially related to issues of power and ideology) and culture (especially with regard to values and identities) which also influence media institutions, and their discourse.

The discussion of socio-cultural practices includes three levels, namely situational level, institutional level, and social level. The situational level is related to production and the context of the situation. The institutional level is related to the influence of institutions both internally and externally. In addition, the social level is related to more macro situations, such as the political system, economic system, and the cultural system of society as a whole.

The three levels of analysis in the news *Gerakan #2019GantiPresiden di Antara Ambiguitas Hukum dan Syahwat Politik* can be seen as follow.

Situational level

The existence of *#2019Ganti Presiden* movement ignited horizontal conflicts that occurred in the community. Through this movement, it is directly influencing the social-political conditions and situation in the community that the pro-government and counter-government camps blaspheme one another. Basically, there is nothing wrong with demonstration actions conducted by pro-government camps or counter-government camps because they are protected by law but the movement of *#2019GantiPresiden* outside the campaign period indicates to treason. For this reason, this movement is a concern for many media, including Kompas.com.

Institutional level

The writing of the news texts ion *Gerakan #2019GantiPresiden di antara Ambiguitas Hukum dan Syahwat Politik* involves only one resource person, namely an expert in political psychology analysis from the University of Indonesia (UI) Hamidi Moeloek. This texts should also present resource

persons from the police who can review the legal aspects of the *#2019GantiPresiden*. However, the reality of the selection of resource persons and selected resource persons quote points to one character. So if they did, the news delivered will be more balanced, actual and trustworthy.

Social level

It can be drawn a common thread that the news produced by Kompas.com is closely related to the existence of the media itself. The news entitled *Gerakan #2019GantiPresiden di Antara Ambiguitas Hukum dan Syahwat Politik* has a certain motivation.

According to the observations of researchers, Kompas.com's partisanship with the government can be seen from the speakers presented and indirectly Kompas.com guides the public to the understanding that the *#2019Ganti Presiden* is an attempt at treason. Therefore, readers' opinions are led to give a positive image to the government and assess the *#2019GantiPresiden*. It can be considered as a presidential act.

Lastly, the social, political and cultural situation from the linguistic aspects used in discourse *Gerakan #2019GantiPresiden di antara Ambiguitas Hukum dan Syahwat Politik* which are represented by several choices of words that are reflected in the discourse. The words such as insulting and threatening even ending in persecution. This really illustrates the conflict that occurred in Indonesian as a result of the friction between the two camps, namely supporters of the current government and the rival government.

The supporters of the current government declare that this movement is the movement of non-constituents who are indexed by treason because they are boarded with political elements in it. This is against the non-government supporters who argue that this movement is a legitimate constitutional movement according to the constitution as a form of channeling aspirations and freedom of expression.

Thus, this led to a dispute between the two camps which ended with persecution between of both. Political observers say there is nothing wrong with this movement, but if this move is aimed at the government that is running the government, this is indicative of treason because it is not yet in the campaign period.

CONCLUSIONS

Critical discourse analysis in the form of news *Gerakan #2019Ganti Presiden di antara Ambiguitas Hukum dan Syahwat Politik* shows that, first, Kompas.com used many dictions to describe the conflict occur as the effect of the movement *#2019GantiPresiden*. The diction is in the form of verbs such as *menyulut* (igniting)*, menolak* (rejecting)*, mencaci* (insulting)*,* and *mengancam* (threatening) etc.

Second, Kompas.com used causal sentences. It can be seen from the conjunctions used, such as conjunctions *maka* (then) *karena* (because)*, oleh karena itu* (therefore). These conjunctions have the function to relate one paragraph as the causal of the movement of *#2019GantiPresiden* to another paragraph as the effect of the movement itself.

Kompas.com also used direct quotations such as *Hamdi mengatakan* (Hamdi said), *Hamdi setuju* (Hamdi agreed), *lanjut dia* (he continues). The quotations have a function to support the content of the news, so the news that is presented becomes more factual and actual since it presents the resource person who is competent in his field.

Text production series in Kompas.com are also included in institutional series involving journalists, editors, and others. The realization of the text produced by Kompas.com of this news is considered to be quite balanced even though there is an indexed to side with the government. This can be seen from the

speaker who is presented only one in the discourse so that it is likely to be not balanced.

Furthermore, the situational effects of the *#2019GantiPresiden* ignited horizontal conflicts in the community so this movement in this discourse could threaten the government of President Jokowi Widodo who will run again for the presidential election in 2019.

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