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## A critical discourse analysis on Jokowi and Prabowo's tweets during 2019 presidential election

Dwi Santoso <sup>a,1,\*</sup>, Anggita Dyah Kusuma Wardani <sup>a,2</sup>

<sup>a</sup> English Education Departement , Ahmad Dahlan University, Jl. Kapas No.9, Semaki, Kec. Umbulharjo, Yogyakarta, 55166, Indonesia  
<sup>1</sup>dwiuad@gmail.com\*, <sup>2</sup>anggitawardani13@gmail.com  
<sup>\*</sup>corresponding author

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### ABSTRACT

This paper aims to present critical discourse analysis on Jokowi and Prabowo's tweets during the 2019 presidential election. This paper will focus on critical discourse analysis, especially on the discourse structure of Jokowi and Prabowo's tweets and the communication strategies used by Jokowi and Prabowo during the presidential election. This research uses qualitative methods. The data obtained by the researcher comes from tweets written by Jokowi and Prabowo during the 2019 presidential election campaign. The data collection method used is the observation method by observing Jokowi and Prabowo's Twitter accounts. After collecting the data, the researcher classified the discourse structure using Van Dijk's discourse analysis concept in Jokowi and Prabowo's Tweets. The results of this study found elements of macrostructure (theme), superstructure (scheme), and microstructure consisting of semantic elements (background, detail, intention, presupposition), syntax (sentence form, coherence, conditional coherence, distinguish coherence, disavowal, pronoun), stylistic elements (lexicon) and rhetorical elements (graphology and metaphor) in tweets written by Jokowi and Prabowo. Furthermore, Jokowi and Prabowo used strategic communication campaign stage 3, "Pramodel," during the presidential election. Joko Widodo used photos and videos of his story; meanwhile, Prabowo Subianto had much interaction with his Twitter followers.

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### 1. Introduction

The 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election is one of the democratic parties held to elect the Indonesian president and vice president. This Democratic Party is routinely held every 5 years. At the 2019 presidential election there were 2 presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Joko Widodo - Ma'ruf Amin and Prabowo Subianto - Sandiaga Uno. If seen from the phenomenon, the presidential election is predicted more competitive than the 2014 election. After the establishment of presidential candidates and vice presidents, various forms of campaigns were conducted to support the candidates. Social media became the most crowded media campaign in the millennial masa; one of them is Twitter [1], [2]. Mistry 2011 Twitter is a widely used free social networking tool that allows people to share information in a real-time news feed, Bristol 2010 through posting brief comments about their experiences and thoughts.

On a general level, strategic political communication is about organizations' purposeful management of information and communication to reach political objectives it has set out for itself

[5], [6]. This holds true for political parties and campaigns as well as for interest groups, governments or other organizations that are either inherently political or have political agendas. It also holds true within as well as beyond election campaigns. Different organizations want to achieve certain goals, and they use information and communication strategically to reach these goals [7], [8]. In the context of strategic political communication, the strategic goals of political parties and campaigns are thus crucial. The primary goal of political parties and campaigns is "to maximize political support" [4], [9]. For this reason, the style of political communication of each candidate becomes a space for criticism and interpretation on social media Twitter that makes an interesting study to discuss.

Dealing with the research, the researcher has some reasons why to choose the subject. First, the researcher takes the subject from Twitter because the information on Twitter is very easy to spread. It can be seen by looking at the trending topic on Twitter. The more people talk about it; the topic can be a more trending topic. The researcher wants to know the communication strategies of Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto's tweets during the 2019 presidential campaign. Second, the researcher chooses to analyze the discourse structure in Tweets posted by Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto. As we know that in the 2019 Indonesian presidential election, there were two pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates. The researcher chose these two figures because they were the presidential candidates in this election. The Tweet they post is also getting pros and cons so that the researcher can analyze the discourse structure of their tweets. Last, the researcher chooses the CDA model by Norman Fairclough because, in this model, the discourse structure is divided into three parts, namely microstructure, superstructure, and macrostructure. By using Teun A. Van Dijk's theory, the researcher can systematically analyze the discourse structure.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) focuses on (group) relation of power, dominance, and resistance in a social relationship of class, gender, ethnicity, race, sexual orientation, language, religion, age, politic, nationality or world-religion [2], [10], [11]. CDA is essentially dealing with an oppositional study of the structures and strategies of elite discourse and the cognitive and social conditions and consequences, as well as with the discourse of resistance against such domination [12], [13]. In this research, the researcher will focus on critical discourse analysis in Jokowi and Prabowo's tweets during the 2019 presidential election and the communication strategies used in their campaign. The researcher used Teun A. Van Dijk model to analyze the discourse structure on Jokowi and Prabowo's tweet [14]–[16].

## 2. Theoretical Framework

### 2.1. Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis means "the study of language in use" [11], [17]. Language can be analyzed without thinking about the context. Discourse analysis is a rapidly growing and evolving field. Current research in this field now flows from numerous academic disciplines that are very different from one another. Given this disciplinary diversity. It is no surprise that the terms "discourse" and "discourse analysis" have different meanings. According to [18], [19], the study of discourse is the study of language use. These definitions have in common a focus on specific instances or spates language. Discourse analysis can be done in either spoken language or written language. [20] make a distinction between "spoken discourse" and "written text". For example, when someone says "I'm hungry" or sends a text message saying the same thing, we have to understand that message based on thinking about those words, but also by thinking about who is speaking or writing and what our relationship is what that person.

For another example, two students named Alex approached another young man named Ryan, who had a mobile phone in his hand. "You got an iPhone, you cow." The first part of this utterance, "You got an iPhone," is interesting enough. Why would Alex point out something so obvious? Indeed, Ryan knew that he had a new phone. However, leave that aside for a moment and look at the second part: "you cow." The researcher knows cow is a farm animal; Ryan was not one. The researcher knows that cow can be used as a slur to insult people, relying on some common perceptions that cow is large, lazy, and unintelligent. However, Ryan's reaction did not show him to be insulted. He laughed and explained that his family had recently signed up for a phone plan which included new phones. Alex explained that he had wanted to get one but could not afford to do so. It

appeared that cow here was not insulting. Instead, Alex appears to have used it to show that she was jealous of Ryan, that He thought Ryan was lucky to have such a phone, and that he was happy for Ryan. Alex could rely on his existing relationship with Ryan, which was quite friendly, to help Ryan interpret “you cow” as something other than an insult.

Within their relationship, “you cow” was interpreted as something entirely opposed to an insult. It was a signal that their relationship was a type in which cow could not possibly be interpreted as an insult and so had to be taken as a sign of affection. Here “cow” had a social meaning, akin to saying “We’re friends”. This is discourse analysis. Individual words, phrases, and clauses have meaning on their own, but they can only be understood by looking at their co-text, the words that surround them, and at their context, the real-world situations in which the words are used. Cow sometimes means “farm animal”, sometimes is an insult and sometimes means “We’re friends”.

## 2.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

The term ‘critical’ was first used to characterize an approach that was called Critical Linguistics [2], [21]. Among other ideas, those scholars held that the use of language could lead to a mystification of social events which systematic analysis could elucidate. In CDA, a meaning by ‘critical’ in their type of discourse analysis in relation to the analyst: By “critical”, we mean to imply a broad understanding of critical scholarship [2], [22], [23]. On a general level, such scholarship is characterized by careful analysis of empirical data. Moreover, it entails a certain amount of distance from the data in order to examine the issues from a wide, considered perspective.

The position of the analyst as a scholar should be taken into account in such a way that it makes critical scholarship more motivated not only to study society for what it is, but for what it might become. In this way, critical scholarship desires to expose existing wrongs in society in an effort to shape a better world [24], [25]. Critical approaches, therefore, take a keen interest in understanding the workings of power in an effort to counter abuses of power. The present form of CDA ‘implies showing connections and causes that are hidden’ in its critical approach in such a way that the operations of discursive patterns of ideology that can conceal features of the social world can be decoded and uncovered [26]. Critical means unsystematic in approach, and to be critical means to make opaque ideologies and interconnectedness of things visible through analysis, and to criticize connections between properties of texts and social processes, and power relations, which are not obvious to people who produce and interpret texts. CDA is critical because it doesn’t only describe, but it also interprets and explains the relationship between the form (i.e., grammar, morphology, semantics, syntax, and pragmatics) and the function (i.e., how people use language in different situations to achieve an aim.) of language. In doing so, the critical discourse analyst is not neutral, but explores hidden power in discourse in relation to wider social and cultural formations [11], [27].

In the same vein, following van Dijk, distinguished critical science from non-critical sciences as the former asks further questions than the latter, such as those of responsibility, interests, and ideology [2], [28]. Instead of focusing on purely academic or theoretical problems, CDA starts from prevailing social problems and chooses the perspectives of those who suffer most, and critically analyzes those in power, those who are responsible, and those who have the means and the opportunity to solve such problems. To be critical is to have a ‘distance to the data, embedding the data in the social, taking a political stance explicitly, and a focus on self-reflection as scholars doing research. This means researchers should be objective in their analysis and subjective to their results and findings that should be put in practical seminars for teachers, doctors and civil servants, or in writing expert opinions, or in devising school books. To Wodak, critical theory should be directed at the totality of society in its historical specificity (i.e., discourse-historical approach) and it should improve the understanding of society by integrating all the major social sciences, including economics, sociology, history, political science, anthropology, and psychology.

Crucial features that differentiate the recent critical approaches, including CDA, from previous ones [2], [28]. He gave particular meanings to the current use of being critical, summarized as follows: First, critical approaches claim to be critical of the present social order, namely their targets are power elites that sustain social inequality and injustice [29]–[32]. Therefore, critical discourse analysts do not see themselves as conventional discourse analysts who happen to have radical or progressive views, as if social or political criticism were something additional to their academic work. Instead, CDA is seen to be a means of criticizing the social order. Therefore, CDA

is distinguished from previous critical theories of Kant, Popper, and Piaget. Hence "critique" is essential in CDA approach since it makes visible the interconnectedness of things. The importance of critical language study arises from the answers it introduces to questions of how and why rather than just to answer what questions that focus on description and statement of facts [26]. He also shows that CDA is critical because it is used in special sense of aiming to show up connections which may be hidden from people – such as the connection between language, power, and ideology and it analyses social interactions focusing upon their linguistic elements.

### 2.3. Superstructure, Macrostructure, and Microstructure

Superstructure is the 'schematic form that organizes the global meaning of a text [29], [33], [34]. Superstructure refers, for example, to the prevalence of a conversation or writing which begins with introduction and follows the main contents and ends with conclusion. In a speech theory the concept of macrostructure is used to describe different notions of global meaning, including theme, topic or gist. It means that the macrostructure focuses on the world significance, which emphasizes more the significance or the subject of the expression. Macrostructure contains thematic elements. Thematic elements apply to the overall text description. The theme reveals the contents' dominant and significant concept. The topic is supported by several subtopics which support the formation of general subjects. Some researchers have proclaimed that Van Dijk discourse's relevant ideas are usually laid down in the general laws (macro rules).

Microstructures points on the local meaning of the discourse, by observing the semantic, syntax, stylistic element and rhetorical elements [35]. The next rhetoric and persuasion mechanism is efficiently observed with the delivery of the message. Certain terminology is used to form political consciousness, to clarify choice and attitude, and so on. The microstructure is characterized by four aspects: semantic, syntax, stylistic and rhetorical. Semantic element presents the meaning which tends to emphasize on the text, for example by giving detail on one side or making the explicit on another side. Crystal 2008 views semantics as 'a major branch of linguistics devoted to the study of meaning in language'. Crystal 2008 syntax refers to 'a traditional term for the study of the rules governing the way words are combined to form sentences in a language [2], [36], [37]. According to Van Dijk, the syntax element is divided into six categories: sentence form, coherence, and conditional coherence, distinguish coherence, disavowal, and pronoun. Stylistic element is proposed to analyze the diction used to text. In this element will focused on lexicon [38]–[40]. The ideological semantic underlying lexical section follows a rather clear strategic pattern. Rhetorical element, this element has persuasive function. This function has function of ideological control when information which is unfavorable to in-group is made less prominent whereas negative information about out-group is realized.

### 2.4. Communication Strategies in Campaign

The concept of strategic communication - or often translated as strategic communication - is a relatively new field of study in the discipline of communication [41], [42]. Initially, Farwell 2012 the concept of strategic communication was widely used in military studies and governmental science related to international relations. Strategic communication has a broader understanding of advertisement, publicity, public relations, organizational communication, and corporate communications or even IMC (Integrated Marketing Communications) as a term. The idea of strategy is usually interpreted as a mixture of corporate, public, organizational, and commercial communication focused on a management strategy approach. The idea of strategic communication in an election campaign can communicate goals and ideology between candidates, volunteers, activists, and supporters. Communication in the presidential campaign is needed to develop relations between candidates and volunteers and coordinate campaign activities.

On a general level, strategic political communication is about organizations' purposeful management of information and communication to reach political objectives it has set out for itself. This holds for political parties and campaigns and interest groups, governments, or other organizations that are either inherently political or have political agendas. It also holds within as well as beyond election campaigns. Different organizations want to achieve specific goals, and they use information and communication strategically to reach these goals. In strategic political communication, the strategic goals of political parties and campaigns are thus crucial. However, it is often assumed that the primary goal of political parties and campaigns is to maximize political support.

## 2.5. The 2019 Presidential Election

The 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election is a democratic process for electing the President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia for the 2019-2024 period. In the 2019 Indonesian presidential election, there were two candidates. The first candidate Joko Widodo-Makruf Amin (Indonesia Maju) and the second candidate, Prabowo-Sandiaga Uno (Adil Makmur). The election campaign activities began from 23 September 2018 to 13 April 2019. During this campaign period, there was a lot of debate and controversy between two pairs of candidates.

## 2.6. Twitter

Twitter, a microblogging service, has emerged as a new medium in spotlight through recent happenings, such as an American student jailed in Egypt and the US Airways plane crash on the Hudson river. Twitter users follow others or are followed. Unlike on most on line social networking sites, such as Facebook or MySpace, the relationship of following and being followed requires no reciprocation. A user can follow any other user, and the user being followed need not follow back. Being a follower on Twitter means that the user receives all the messages (called tweets) from those the user follows. Common practice of responding to a tweet has evolved into well-defined markup culture: RT stands for retweet, '@' followed by a user identifier address the user, and '#' followed by a word represents a hash tag. This well-defined markup vocabulary combined with a strict limit of 140 characters per posting conveniences users with brevity in expression. There tweet mechanism empowers users to spread information of their choice beyond the reach of the original tweet's followers.

Twitter tracks phrases, words, and hashtags that are most often mentioned and posts them under the title of "trending topics" regularly. A hashtag is a convention among Twitter users to create and follow a thread of discussion by prefixing a word with a '#' character. The social bookmarking site Del.icio.us also uses the same hash tag convention. Through twitter, people can easily obtain the information they need. In addition, Twitter can also be used a communication strategies in various field, including politics. The target is to attract enthusiasts or voting from milenials. Now days so many politicians, especially Indonesian politician use twitter for their campaigning.

## 3. Method

### 3.1. Research Design

This research uses qualitative research. According to [2], descriptive research is a type of research that does not use calculation or numerating [43]. This method is implemented to reach the objectives of the study". Qualitative research attacks issue differently from the way outlined above. It is based on the fundamental idea that "reality" is subjective: Every human being constructs an individual, personal view of the world on based on his or her specific interactions with the external world (including the people who are part of this world). The researcher uses qualitative methods to find out the discourse structure in Jokowi and Prabowo's tweets and to analyze the communication strategies used by Jokowi and Prabowo.

### 3.2. Data and data source

Based on [44], data are facts or information used in deciding or discussing something. This research collects the data from Twitter posted by Joko Widodo (@jokowi) and Prabowo Subianto (@prabowo) during the campaign period, 23 September 2018 to 13 April 2019. In this research the data source was from Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto's account twitter (@jokowi @prabowo).

### 3.3. Data Collecting Technique

There are two methods of collecting data. They are observing data and interview methods. This research uses the observing method because the researcher does not belong to interviews or conversations. The data of this research are collected through some steps: a). Open Twitter accounts of Jokowi and Prabowo, b). Bookmark tweets posted during the 2019 presidential election, c). Capture or screenshot the tweets, i.e., take pictures that occur on the screen (in this case, the cellphone and the laptop screen) or make the screen into an image when data retrieval (which is done online).

### 3.4. Data Analysis Tehnique

In analyzing the collected data, the researcher needs a technique. There are the steps for analyzing the data according the several researchers: a). Observing the data of Jokowi and Prabowo's tweets, and b). Clasifying the discourse structure on Jokowi and Prabowo's tweet.

## 4. Results and Discussion

The researcher presents the finding of communication strategies on Jokowi and Prabowo's tweet during 2019 Presidential Election. The first step is the discourse structure of Jokowi and Prabowo's tweet and the second step is analyze communication strategies in presidential campaign

### 4.1. Discourse Structure In Jokowi and Prabowo's Tweets During 2019 Election Campaign

During the presidential election campaign of 2019, Twitter was one of the campaign tools for Jokowi and Prabowo. The tweets they post attract the attention of netizens, especially millennials; this is evidenced by the many retweet, replies, and likes of every tweet they post. In the first step, the researcher identified the structure of discourse, including semantic elements, syntax, and rhetorical structures according to Van Dijk's theory.

#### a. Theme

The thematic element contains a topic or theme as the main idea delivered by the discourse maker. For example, Jokowi and Prabowo's tweets from 23 September until 13 April generally talk about their political campaign. Joko Widodo (Jokowi) was paired with Ma'ruf Amin as his vice presidential nominee in the 2019 presidential election, while Prabowo Subianto was paired with his vice presidential candidate, Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno (Sandiaga Uno).

Jokowi-Amin created #IndonesiaMaju as their political campaign slogan, while Prabowo-Sandi used #AdildanMakmur as a slogan for his political campaign. There were several topics mentioned in the tweet that Jokowi posted, including a peaceful campaign. The issue Prabowo posted in his tweet, meanwhile, mainly discussed new changes for Indonesia. In addition, the presidential election campaign they were doing and how they attracted Indonesians to vote for them was addressed in the tweets they posted. Jokowi and Prabowo's tweets contain many topics and subtopics. The first subject is political campaigns to gain electoral; the second is political campaigns with indirect insinuations towards their adversaries.

#### b. Scheme and Semantic Structure

This part addresses the device or plots a tweet. In the tweet, the scheme differs from the speech or news. There is a title, opening, and closing in the speech or news, but typically people will instantly share the information to be delivered because the letters are restricted in one tweet on Twitter. The two tweets have two parts, both Jokowi and Prabowo, the first is an expression of gratitude to his supporters and the second part is a political promise. The semantic aspect is divided into four categories which are background, detail, intention, and presupposition.

### 4.2. Communication Strategies In Jokowi and Prabowo's Tweets During Election Campaign

The presidential campaign communicates goals and ideology between candidates, volunteers, activists, and supporters. Communication in the presidential campaign is needed to develop relations between candidates and volunteers and coordinate campaign activities. At the general level, strategic political communication focuses on the organization's purposeful management of information and communication in order to achieve the political objectives it has set itself. Downs 1957, the political campaign aims to maximize political support. In political activity, each candidate and political party is making various efforts to gain support to achieve its political objectives. In order to do this, we need a way to communicate, and one of the media is Twitter. However, strategic political communication does not take place only through mass media. In political campaign, the strategical communication in the last decade use different kinds of digital media such as web pages, social media, and blogs, which become increasingly important. The table 1 below shows the typology of changing campaign in the last decade (Jesper Stromback & Spiro Kiouisis).

**Table 1. The typology of changing campaign.**

	<b>Stage 1 "Premodern"</b>	<b>Stage 2 "Modern"</b>	<b>Stage 3 "Postmodern"</b>
Mode of political communication system	Party-dominated	Television-centered	Multiple channels and multi-media
Dominant style of political communication	Message along party lines	Sound bites, image and impression management	Narrow-casted, targeted micro-messages
Dominant media	Partisan press, posters, newspaper adverts, radio, broadcasts	Television broadcasts through main evening news	Television narrow casting, targeted direct mail and email campaigns
Dominant advertising media	Print advertisements, posters, leaflets, radio speeches and mass rallies	Nationwide television advertisements, colourful posters and magazine adverts, mass direct mailings	Targeted television advertisements, e-mail campaigns and telemarketing, web based advertisements, social media
Campaign coordinator	Party leaders and leading party staff	Party campaign managers and external media, advertising and survey experts	Special party campaign units and more specialized political consultants
Dominant campaign paradigm	Party-logic	Media logic	Marketing logic
Campaign preparation	Short-term, ad hoc	Longer-term campaign	Permanent campaign
Campaign expenditures	Low	Increasing	Spairaling-up

According to the table on the typology of changing campaign practices, Jokowi and Prabowo have implemented stage 3, "Postmodern". Campaigns are conducted through various channels and multimedia, such as television, social media, and others. Almost all of the political parties in Indonesia have official websites specially managed by their media center. In addition, both Prabowo and Jokowi also have their own social media campaign teams. As is well known, Presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto has always been identified by his political opponents as an authoritarian leader. To refute this assumption, their social media team presented a laugh-filled speech by Prabowo. In his Twitter account, Prabowo has many interactions with his Twitter followers. The objective of strategic political communication during election campaigns is to use information and communication as strategically and effectively as possible to achieve the objectives that have been set. So, before and after the open campaign, Jokowi and Prabowo campaigned through social media, one of which was Twitter.

## 5. Conclusion

The researcher draws some conclusions after analyzing the data. The first is that there are three elements in the discourse structure according to Van Dijk's theory: macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure. Macrostructure elements are divided into thematic elements. Main topics and subtopics are included in the thematic elements of Jokowi and Prabowo's tweets. In general, both of them are talking about political campaigns. The second theme is campaigning to attract voters and campaigns that contain insinuations towards their adversaries. The next element is the superstructure which contains the scheme. In the tweets posted by Jokowi and Prabowo, there are two plots, the first is an expression of gratitude to his supporters and the second part is a political promise. The third element is the microstructure which contains semantic elements, syntax structure, stylistic elements, and rhetorical elements. The semantic structure contains background, details, intention, and presupposition. While in the syntax element, there are six parts: sentence form, coherence, conditional coherence, distinguishes coherence, disavowal, and pronoun. Furthermore, the researcher also analyzed stylistic elements containing lexicons and rhetorical elements containing graphology and metaphors. The second is the communication strategy of Jokowi and Prabowo during the presidential election campaign of 2019. Both Jokowi and Prabowo use the "Postmodern" Stage 3 method for campaigning. Both of them use social media as a means of attracting more voters to the 2019 presidential election. They both also use the social media Twitter. However, Prabowo's



strategy is to interact more with his followers on Twitter, while Jokowi's strategy is to use more videos or photos in his tweets.

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