VAN DIJK'S CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PRABOWO SUBIANTO'S VICTORY DECLARATION SPEECH IN THE 2019 ELECTIONS

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Abstract: Discourse is a way of discussing ideas with the public in order to influence public perception of the ideas put forward. Prabowo Subianto's speech contained meaning constructions and language strategies to represent ideas that language users believed to be understood by the audience. The purpose of this study is to find out the description of critical discourse analysis in Prabowo Subianto's victory declaration speech in the 2019 election using the Teun A. Van Dijk critical discourse analysis method which consists of three dimensions of analysis namely text, social cognition and social context. This research islibrary research and the approach used is descriptive qualitative with data analysis techniques using critical discourse analysis model Teun A. Van Dijk. The results of this study show the delivery and call for Indonesian unity. In the speech there was Prabowo Subianto's ideology regarding his big plans for Indonesia, such as making Indonesia a nation with a strong economy and adhering to the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila. Through the victory declaration speech, Prabowo Subianto tried to appeal enthusiastically to build Indonesia into a prosperous nation through several programs that he campaigned before the 2019 election.
Keywords: Election 2019, Critical Discourse Analysis, Speech

A. INTRODUCTION

Speech is a form of communication that contains messages or meanings that aim to influence and convey ideas or ideology to the audience.[1] Of course, the impact is very big when a speech is delivered by a figure who has an important role in society. This research will analyze the victory declaration speech delivered by the general chairman of the Gerindra party as well as the presidential candidate in the 2019 election, namely Prabowo Subianto. In making speeches, political party figures must carry out the functions of their party. The use of language certainly has an influence to carry out this function. Because language is not neutral, but discourse that is given meaning by the users of the language itself. The use of this language is closely related to party ideology. Perceptions and opinions that are developed and developed in society regarding the existence of political parties in carrying out their functions are dominantly formed through the use of language in a speech or political speech.[2]

Since the reform era, the Indonesian people have held elections four times. However, in the fifth election in 2019, the Presidential Election (Pilpres) has political contestation that has attracted more public attention. In the 2019 Presidential Election, for the second time,

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[1] Arif Bulan, et al., Analisis Wacana Kritis pada Pidato Ahok di Kepuluan Seribu, transformatika, Volume. 2, No. 1, 2018.

[2] Diah Ikawati Ayuningtias, et al., Pidato Politik di Indonesia: Sebuah Kajian Wacana Kritis. Prosodi, Volume. 8, No. 1. 2014.

Joko Widodo (Jokowi) again faced Prabowo Subianto, to compete to be in the presidential chair. The heating up of political contestation in the 2019 presidential election was also accompanied by political polarization between the two presidential candidate supporting camps. It is undeniable that the results of the presidential election tend to sharpen social divisions in society.[3] The political dynamics ahead of the 2019 elections tend to heat up, especially regarding allegations of fraud. It cannot be denied that the competition and contestation in the 2019 presidential election was passed by the high commotion that occurred in the mass media and social media during the campaign process, both spreading hoax news and hate speech. Coupled with the emotions of the people who are often ignited, so that not a few of them have to end up in court.[4]

The elections which were held on April 17 2019 have not yet passed from the memory of the Indonesian people, so many controversies allude to the continuation of the democratic party in 2019. Especially in the maze of news regarding the vote acquisition in the presidential election which had become a hot debate among the public and political observers. Issues spread on social media have made the public increasingly thirsty for information about the results of the votes obtained by the two candidate pairs. In the midst of the frenetic news regarding the issue of fraud and data manipulation that occurred in the 2019 election, after the simultaneous elections which were held on April 17 2019, presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto chose to go forward to declare his victory as President of the Republic of Indonesia for the 2019-2024 period based on the votes obtained. from the internal team of BPN (National Winning Agency).

In the victory declaration speech it was also stated that various kinds of fraud had occurred, thus Prabowo Subianto chose to immediately declare his victory at that time which indirectly rejected the results of most of the quick count vote count which was being broadcast by various media and television stations. The supporters of the Adil Makmur coalition, who were looking forward to this news, enthusiastically greeted the declaration of victory with enthusiasm. Even though there are many pros and cons behind his declaration of victory, Prabowo Subianto's victory speech can be said to be quite successful in influencing the audience, especially his supporters regarding the 2019 election vote results. critical of Teun A. Van Dijk's model. This research will reveal the text structure, social cognition and social context related to Prabowo Subianto's victory declaration speech. Through this study, it will be seen how the textual strategy, information control, meaning construction and the reflection of the ideology that the language user wants to convey through the text of the speech are then able to influence the public's perspective in interpreting the discourse developed by the communicator.

B. RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a type of library research (library research). Literature study is a data collection technique by conducting a review of books, literature, records, and various

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[3] R. Siti Zuhro, Demokrasi dan Pemilu Presiden 2019, Jurnal Penelitian Politik, Volume 16, No. 1, 2019

[4] *Ibid.*

reports relating to the problem to be solved. Then according to Sugiyono, literature study is a theoretical study, references and other scientific literature related to culture, values and norms that develop in the social situation under study.[5] The approach used in this research is a qualitative approach. Qualitative research itself has a goal to describe the phenomenon in depth through the collection of data as deep as possible. This research does not prioritize the size of the population or sampling. In this case, the emphasis is on the depth (quality) of the data, not the amount (quantity) of the data.[6]

In this research used descriptive research type. This type of descriptive research itself aims to make a systematic, factual, and accurate description of the facts and characteristics of a particular population or object. Researchers already have concepts and conceptual frameworks (theoretical basis).[7] This research will use a qualitative descriptive research design using the discourse analysis method of the Teun A. Van Dijk model with three dimensions of analysis namely, text, social cognition and social context.[8]

C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
Analysis of the text structure of Prabowo Subianto's victory declaration speech
1. Macro structure analysis (Thematic)

In the macro structure, we will see the theme or global meaning of the text of Prabowo Subianto's victory declaration in the 2019 election. This theme shows the dominant and central concept in a discourse text. After observing the contents of the entire text, the researcher can conclude that the theme contained in the text of Prabowo Subianto's victory declaration speech is "Claim of victory as president of the Republic of Indonesia and an invitation to build the Indonesian nation".

2. Superstructure analysis (schematic)

In the superstructure analysis, a schematic or arrangement of a text will be seen, which in this case is Prabowo Subianto's victory declaration speech. The preparation of this scheme is intended as a textual strategy, which part comes first, and which part comes later.[9] The scheme in Prabowo Subianto's speech can be divided into three parts by researchers, namely, the beginning, the middle and the end of the speech. From the schematic of Prabowo Subianto's victory declaration speech, it can be seen that the speech was assembled starting from the beginning of the speech which was in the form of a claim or announcement of Prabwo-Sandi's victory as President and Vice President through various considerations. It was then followed by an expression of gratitude to God Almighty and for the support of the Indonesian people. Finally, Prabowo closed his speech with an

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[5] Abdi Mirzaqon T, Studi Kepustakaan Mengenali Landasan Teori dan Praktik Konseling Expressive Writting, Jurnal Universitas Negeri Surabaya, Volume. 8, No. 1

[6] Rachmat Kriyantono, Teknik Praktis Riset Komunikasi, (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2006).

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Eriyanto, Analisis Wacana Pengantar Analisis Teks Media, (Yogykarta: PT. Lkis, 2011)

[9] Alex Sobur, Analisis Teks Media, Suatu Pengantar untuk Analisis Wacana, Analisis Semiotik, dan Analisis "Framing", (Bandung : PT Remaja Rosdakrya, 2018).

appeal for national unity, so as not to use political disputes as an excuse to cut ties of brotherhood, and he also included his vision and mission as President at the end of the paragraph.

3. **Microstructure analysis (semantics)**

    a. **Background**

    Background is an element of discourse that can be used as a justification for an idea. Setting is a form of ideological reflection that will affect the semantics (meaning of the word) to be displayed, the setting is used to provide a background for where the meaning of a text will be carried.[10] The background shown in this speech is the reason for the faster declaration of victory even before the announcement of the vote recapitulation from the KPU. In this speech, Prabowo explained that the declaration was carried out more quickly because his internal team, namely the Adil Makmur coalition, claimed to have evidence of various frauds that occurred in the 2019 general election. This background is presented as a form of justification for the idea put forward earlier, namely Prabowo's victory as President through the vote count conducted by his internal team. In other words, the background in this speech was raised to strengthen ideas and as an ideological reflection of his victory as President in the 2019 Election. This would certainly be able to reinforce previous ideas and could influence the public regarding the reasons for a faster declaration of victory as well as various allegations of fraud that the team considered internal Prabowo has occurred.

    b. **Detail**

    Detailed elements in the semantic microstructure relate to the control of the information displayed by the communicator. The communicator will display a lot of information that benefits him and displays little or even no information that is detrimental to him.[11] This is related to the understanding of what the communicator will build on the audience through the discourse he puts forward.

    In this case, it will be analyzed which part of the text contains detailed elements, namely the following part of the text.

    > We declare this victory more quickly, because we have evidence that there have been attempts with various kinds of fraud, which continue to occur in various villages and sub-districts, and sub-districts, districts and cities throughout Indonesia.

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[10] Eriyanto, Analisis Wacana Pengantar Analisis Teks Media, (Yogykarta: PT. Lkis, 2011).

[11] Alex Sobur, Analisis Teks Media, Suatu Pengantar untuk Analisis Wacana, Analisis Semiotik, dan Analisis "Framing", (Bandung : PT Remaja Rosdakrya, 2018).

In the text, Prabowo can be seen explaining in detail the various allegations of fraud that were described as detrimental to the Adil Makmur coalition, so he chose to immediately declare his victory. the National Winning Body (BPN) has indeed officially reported around 1,200 temporary lists of 2019 presidential election fraud to the Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu), but the text does not mention that there were also allegations of fraud that harmed the Onward Indonesia coalition which claimed to have also received 14,843 reports fraud that benefits Prabowo-Sandi.[12] It can be seen in these detailed elements related to information control in order to display a good image that benefits the communicator, so that it can also strengthen the ideas that will be conveyed to the public regarding the declaration of victory and the alleged fraud.

c. **Purpose**

The intent element is almost the same as the detail element, the detail element will display information that benefits the communicator in long detail, but on the intent element you will see information that benefits the communicator will be explained frankly (explicitly) and clearly, and vice versa, information that is detrimental to the communicator will be described covertly, implicitly and hiddenly.[13]

In this case, it will be analyzed which part of the text contains detailed elements, namely the following part of the text.

> We declare this victory more quickly, because we have evidence that there have been attempts with various kinds of fraud, which continue to occur in various villages and sub-districts, and sub-districts, districts and cities throughout Indonesia.

In the paragraph above, it is explained explicitly about the alleged fraud that occurred and in this case the reason Prabowo and his coalition decided to declare victory more quickly. It can be seen from this paragraph that Prabowo describes in detail the various frauds that occurred in various regions throughout Indonesia. In which the alleged fraud information presented is beneficial information for the communicator, because it can strengthen the idea previously conveyed, namely the declaration of Prabowo-Sandi's victory as President and Vice President without waiting for the announcement of the KPU recapitulation on May 21 2019 ago.

> To all and supporters of the 02 Prabowo-Sandi pair, who come from various backgrounds, from the just and prosperous

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[12] R. Siti Zuhro, Demokrasi dan Pemilu Presiden 2019, Jurnal Penelitian Politik, Volume 16, No. 1, 2019.

[13] Eriyanto, Analisis Wacana Pengantar Analisis Teks Media, (Yogykarta: PT. Lkis, 2011).

Indonesia coalition parties, scholars, volunteers, other religious figures, from all religions, millennial youth, all mothers - Military mothers and fathers everywhere.

In the paragraph above, it is also explained explicitly about the supporters of the Adil Makmur Coalition from various groups. Here Prabowo clearly mentions his supporters from various walks of life who have contributed to his victory. This description is also beneficial information for the communicator, because this statement can illustrate that the victory he won was due to the support of all Indonesian people.

d. Presumption

In the presupposition element, statements in the text will be analyzed that are used to support a text's meaning. Presuppositions are raised with statements that are considered reliable. Presupposition itself is a fact that has not been proven true but is used as a basis for strengthening ideas in the text.[14]

In the text of Prabowo Subianto's victory declaration speech, it can be seen in the following sentence.

We will be president and vice president for all Indonesian people. For the glory and sustainability of the entire Indonesian nation, and the Republic of Indonesia that we love, based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

It can be seen from the sentence in bold that this statement is a fact that has not yet happened, but is used as the basic premise to support an idea or determine a proposition to support the declaration of victory as President. Even though Indonesia is not certain that it will achieve glory and sustainability under his leadership as President, here Prabowo is convincing the public with a premise that is considered correct to strengthen the ideas he put forward. Through the presuppositions contained in the statement, it can invite the public to think and believe that the Indonesian nation will be better off under the leadership of Prabowo Subianto as President.

4. Microstructure analysis (syntax)

a) Sentence Form

In this element, the meaning will be analyzed in the text of Prabowo Subianto's victory declaration speech which is formed by certain sentence structures, such as the use of active and passive sentences, the placement of clauses, the use of complex sentences

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[14] *Ibid*

and so on.[15] In Prabowo Subianto's victory declaration speech, there was a lot of use of the active voice. In the sentence above, it can be seen in the victory declaration speech that the communicator uses the active voice a lot in his statement. As for the active sentence, the subject is emphasized, in this case the emphasis is on the words I and we. In general, the subject that is considered important is placed at the beginning of the sentence, so that the subject of the sentence is expressed explicitly

b) **Coherence**

Elements of coherence can be displayed through a causal relationship, it can also be used as an explanation. Two different sentences can be connected with conjunctions (and, as a result, but, then, because, although) so that they appear coherent (related). In this case there are many possible connections, the choice can be determined according to the extent of the communicator's interest in the event.

In the text of Prabowo Subianto's victory speech, one can see sentences that contain coherence, namely.

> *Kemenangan ini kami deklarasikan secara lebih cepat, **karena** kami punya bukti-bukti bahwa telah terjadi usaha-usaha dengan berbagai ragam kecurangan, yang terus terjadi di berbagai desa-desa, dan keluhuran-kelurahan, dan kecamatan-kecamatan, kabupaten dan kota di seluruh indonesia.*

In the above paragraph the word because is used as a causal link for the events described in the statement. It can be seen that the communicator made the suspicion of fraud the cause of the declaration of victory which was announced more quickly, this coherence became a textual strategy to clarify and strengthen an idea put forward by the communicator. This will affect the audience to also consider the two connected facts to be a cause and effect as stated by the communicator.

c) **Pronouns**

Pronouns are tools used by communicators to indicate where a person is in a discourse.[16] In the text of Prabowo Subianto's victory declaration speech, there are many pronouns we and us. It can be concluded that instead of using the pronoun I or I, communicators use more of our and our pronouns. Plural pronouns like us or us have implications for growing solidarity, public attention, and

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[15] Alex Sobur, Analisis Teks Media, Suatu Pengantar untuk Analisis Wacana, Analisis Semiotik, dan Analisis "Framing", (Bandung : PT Remaja Rosdakrya, 2018).

[16] Eriyanto, Analisis Wacana Pengantar Analisis Teks Media, (Yogykarta: PT. Lkis, 2011).

reducing criticism and opposition (only) to oneself.[17] By using the pronoun we, it seems to erode the barrier between the communicator and the audience. Here Prabowo uses the pronoun we to show the form of representing a shared attitude, what is Prabowo's attitude also represents the attitude of the people, the use of the pronoun we shows there is no boundary between Prabowo and the people and creates a feeling of togetherness and agreement, the people's opinion is described as being represented by Prabowo. Whereas the pronoun we is used for those who agree with the communicator, it will be represented by our pronoun.

5. Microstructure analysis (stylistic)

a) Lexicon

The lexicon element in the stylistic micro structure is to analyze how the communicator chooses the right word to describe his meaning of a fact. The choice of this word is chosen from the various possible words available.[18] The choice of words in Prabowo Subianto's victory declaration speech included.

> …all mothers and fathers who are militant wherever they are

In the sentence above Prabowo chose the word mothers even though there are various possible words available, such as mothers or society. The choice of the word mothers here describes a populist attitude by using the people's everyday language. Apart from that, the word mother is also often used by the Prabowo-Sandi pair in their campaigns, because the Prabowo-Sandi pair's program will further prosper people's lives, through various programs it promises such as strengthening the economy and so on.

> Of course, Sandiaga Uno and I will remain friends with Pak Jokowi and Kiayi Maruf Amin

Then the choice of friendly words here means a friend or friend. Prabowo chose the word friend as if to reflect closeness and tried to instill in the audience that competition in the political world doesn't have to be hostile, and also seems to refer to preventing bad attitudes from his supporters as a result of political competition in the 2019 election.

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[17] *Ibid*
[18] *Ibid*

6. **Microstructure analysis (rhetorical)**

  a) **Graphic**

  The graphic element is part of checking what the communicator highlighted or emphasized in the text of Prabowo Subianto's victory declaration speech. As for discourse in the form of speech, this expression is manifested in the form of intonation from the communicator which influences understanding and suggests to the audience which part to pay attention to will be emphasized or highlighted.[19]

  In the video of Prabowo Subianto's victory declaration speech which has been published by CNN Indonesia via YouTube, several statements can be seen that have different intonations from previous statements. In this statement, Prabowo's intonation was more enthusiastic in his delivery. In a statement containing an enthusiastic intonation, Prabowo stressed the values of national unity, even though Indonesia has a diverse population that is different, but must remain united to rise to build the nation. Prabowo emphasized that differences are not a reason to divide, because the Indonesian people have been united by the ideology of Pancasila as the basis of the State. Then in the next statement, Prabowo seemed to emphasize the development of the Indonesian nation under his leadership and making Indonesia a better nation in the future. Then at the end of his speech Prabowo uttered the words Takbir and merdeka with an equally enthusiastic intonation to close his speech, as encouragement for his Muslim supporters.

  b) **Metaphor**

  In the metaphoric element will be analyzed regarding the use of figures of speech, expressions, metaphors that aim to add spice to the text of Prabowo Subianto's victory declaration speech. Which figures of speech, proverbs, proverbs and so on are used to strengthen the main message in the discourse.[20] In Prabowo Subianto's victory declaration speech, the metaphor used is in the paragraph below.

  > This is the right time for us, children of the nation, to immediately strengthen our kinship ties, as Pak Jokowi said, so that the broken chain can be reconnected as soon as possible.

  In the sentence above, Prabowo quoted an expression from Joko Widodo as a supporter of the idea in his statement, namely to

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[19] *Ibid.*
[20] *Ibid*

strengthen brotherhood and remain united to build the Indonesian nation. This sentence becomes a spice to reinforce the main message it conveys.

- **Analysis of social cognition of Prabowo Subianto's victory declaration speech**

Social cognition analysis aims to unravel the hidden meaning of a text, the cognitive approach is based on the assumption that text has no meaning, but the meaning is given by the user of the language, or more precisely, it is a process of mental awareness of the user of the language.[21] At the beginning of Prabowo Subianto's speech, he declared his victory as President of the Republic of Indonesia for 2019-2024 based on a calculation of more than 62% which had been recapitulated by his internal team. It was on the basis of his internal team's recapitulation that Prabowo declared his victory to the Indonesian people. Through his speech, Prabowo Subianto influenced the public to accept the victory. Even though in the end the victory in the 2019 Presidential Election fell to Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin as President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia 2019-2024 through the recapitulation of votes by the General Elections Commission (KPU) which was announced on May 21 2019 ago.

Prabowo also conveyed in his speech that he would become President for all Indonesian people, for the glory and preservation of the entire Indonesian nation, and the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. In his book entitled The Indonesian Paradox, Prabowo explained that one of the strategies to prevent the Indonesian tragedy was to restore the country's constitution. to the original 1945 Constitution. Prabowo explained that Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution was formulated by the founders of the nation to ensure that the State had sufficient savings for development, as long as Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution was not complied with, during that time Indonesia's wealth would flow abroad, the currency would not be strong and the nation's economy will become a bank account for other nations. Prabowo added that this is what must be changed and repaired, the land, water and all the wealth contained therein is controlled by the state, and used as much as possible for the prosperity of the people, and that is an order from the 1945 Constitution. Prabowo believes that currently there are many Indonesian elites leaving the values of the 1945 Constitution and leaving the values of Pancasila.[22]

According to Prabowo Subianto in his book, Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution must become an ideology and view of life together to make Indonesia a better nation. It can be seen in his speech that Prabowo also emphasized the younger generation. In his speech, Prabowo stated that he would build a government consisting of the best and the brightest young generation. Children of the nation who are the most intelligent and brilliant and have noble character, so that they can

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accelerate national development quickly, thoroughly and with full vigilance. Through this expression it can be seen that the younger generation plays an important role in determining the nation's development.

Prabowo himself often emphasized that the struggle with Gerindra party cadres and sympathizers and all Indonesian people is to provide a decent quality of life for the next generation. Learning from the experience of the history of the struggle of the Indonesian nation, Prabowo saw that the role of youth always appears in important moments. That's why the Gerindra Party cares so much for this super creative community. A real manifestation of Prabowo's concern for the younger generation can be seen through empowering youth within the Gerindra party.[23]

Finally Prabowo Subianto expressed in his speech, namely the hope that Indonesia would become a just and prosperous country and be respected in international relations. This hope was also stated in the vision of the Prabowo-Sandi pair in the 2019 general election. To create a just and prosperous country, Prabowo took the path of strengthening Indonesia's economic conditions, through efforts to increase the population's per capita income, increase equity and quality of economic growth, encourage the role of the private sector in the national economy to create jobs, make SOEs a locomotive and economic sovereignty, as well as many other effort.[24]

- **Analysis of the social context of Prabowo Subianto's victory declaration speech**

According to Eriyanto, in researching texts, it is necessary to carry out an intertextual analysis by examining how discourse about something is produced and constructed in society. After the 2019 election, the issue of presidential election fraud was widely discussed in society, the pros and cons of this topic were scattered on social media and television. Whether it was only limited to driving opinion or a fact, but it cannot be denied that at that time the political atmosphere was so heated. Not only limited to conversations, but there are also many videos circulating on social media and the truth cannot be ascertained. The public is preoccupied with the controversial topic of the 2019 Election. Political observers, pollsters and each candidate pair's campaign team also spoke up. But it was very clear the pros and cons that spread in society at that time, Jokowi-Ma'ruf supporters remained in their choice, and vice versa with Prabowo-Sandi supporters. Even before the 2019 election, political polarization was clearly visible in society, as well as the end of the 2019 election. Then the issue of fraud faded and stopped being talked about as time went on, especially after the alleged fraud was tried openly before the public. And the unanimous decision of the Constitutional Court that the allegations of structured and massive fraud have not been proven. Coupled with the reconciliation between Prabowo Subianto and Joko Widodo some time after the political competition was over.

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D. CONCLUSION

In the text analysis of Prabowo Subianto's victory declaration speech which includes macro structure, superstructure and micro structure, it can be concluded that there are many textual strategies such as emphasizing meaning, choosing sentence forms, choosing words and how to emphasize the main message conveyed, elements of analysis from the various discourse structures show the main message conveyed by the communicator, namely in the form of a claim of victory as president of the Republic of Indonesia and an invitation to build the Indonesian nation. Meanwhile, based on the analysis of social cognition, it can be seen that in the text of Prabowo Subianto's victory declaration speech the communicator inserted the ideology he was trying to convey to the audience. Among them are the communicator's understanding of vote acquisition through the results of Prabowo-Sandi's internal team and the development of Indonesia through programs planned by the Prabowo-Sandi candidate pair. Meanwhile, in the analysis of the social context, it can be seen that political discourse is scattered among the people, the pros and cons of the 2019 presidential election results have caught the attention of the public. However, basically the Indonesian people have high hopes for the programs promised by each pair of candidates.

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