Ideological critique and dynamics of democracy: critical discourse analysis of the "Pasar Bebas Capres" narrative in revealing oligarchy on the Mata Najwa

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the ideology in the Free Market Presidential Candidate narrative on the Mata Najwa program on Trans 7. Using Fairclough's (2013) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach, this study investigates how the narrative critiques oligarchic practices and their impact on democracy in Indonesia. This study addresses three main questions: (1) How does the narrative critique oligarchy and its implications for democratic practices? (2) What linguistic and rhetorical strategies are used to convey criticism of the presidential nomination threshold? (3) How do textual discourse, discourse practices, and socio-cultural contexts shape public perceptions of political dynamics? This analysis follows Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA model: textual analysis, discourse practices, and socio-cultural practices. The research findings reveal that the narrative uses sharp diction, satire, and metaphorical language to express concerns and criticisms of the Constitutional Court, the House of Representatives (DPR), and political parties. The narrative reflects public dissatisfaction with political elites and raises concerns about the future of democracy under oligarchic influence. This research contributes to understanding how media narratives function as a critique of political reality as well as a tool to shape public perceptions of democratic practices in Indonesia.

I. INTRODUCTION

As the 2024 Presidential Election approaches, Indonesia's political landscape is characterized by a series of dynamic and controversial issues, including the closed proportional system, presidential nomination thresholds, and abrupt changes in eligibility criteria for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. These developments have sparked

debates regarding political participation and media influence in shaping public perceptions. While previous studies, such as those by (Fairclough, 2013) and (Munfarida, 2014) have analyzed language as an ideological tool, they have not sufficiently explored the interplay between media narratives and democratic legitimacy in Indonesia. This study seeks to bridge this gap by employing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine how media—particularly the Mata Najwa program—constructs discourses that not only reflect but also influence public perceptions of democracy (Fairclough, 2013).

The nomination threshold and age restrictions for presidential and vice-presidential candidates have emerged as focal points in academic and political discussions. These regulations are not merely procedural but carry ideological and practical implications, potentially constraining political participation. The mass media serves as a mediator, presenting interpretations and reactions to these policies. The Mata Najwa program, for instance, through its segment "Bursa Bebas Capres" (Free Market for Presidential Candidates), critiques the constraints on broad citizen participation. The metaphorical use of "free market," rooted in David Ricardo's economic theory (as cited in Rosyda, 2021), suggests an idealized inclusive political participation model. However, in practice, the nomination threshold has entrenched oligarchic tendencies, exacerbating the divide between political elites and the public. As (Ross & Rivers, 2019) (KhosraviNik, 2020) argue, media not only report facts but also shape meaning through framing and narrative construction, significantly impacting public perceptions and democratic practices (Ross & Rivers, 2017).

Language, text, and sociocultural factors shape the reporting of politically charged cases, as exemplified by the *"Papa Minta Saham"* coverage on Metro TV (Albaburrahim & Sujinah, 2017). Their findings revealed that descriptive and argumentative forms dominate news texts, often creating negative imagery that reinforces the interests of media owners over balanced reporting. Similarly, (Aryana, 2021) compared news coverage of bomb attacks in Afghanistan between two online portals and found that institutional contexts significantly influenced the framing of events, with one outlet emphasizing political leadership (e.g., President Joe Biden's reactions) and the other focusing on human suffering. In another study, (Riana et al., 2022) compared reports from Detik.com, Kompas.com, and SINDOnews.com, demonstrating that different online media platforms construct images of political actors in distinct ways, whether through sensationalist portrayals or more positive framing. Everything is done using language. The function of language today goes beyond its traditional role as a means of communication; it also functions as a medium of power and ideological construction. language can function as a tool for image building (Haryatmoko, 2007) and as a means of transforming social situations (Cutting, 2008). (Hoed, 2011) extends this perspective by emphasizing the intersection of language, technology, and the internet, highlighting how language plays a pivotal role in the democratic process by fostering participatory culture.

Despite extensive studies on political regulations and media influence, limited research explicitly connects the controversy surrounding nomination policies with media narrative construction in Indonesia's democratic framework. This study identifies that research gap and explores how media discourses, especially those disseminated through programs like Mata Najwa, both inform and shape political perceptions. Through CDA, the research aims to uncover ideological elements embedded in language and narrative structures, recognizing the media's role in mediating state-society relations within a politically contested environment (Fairclough, 2013;Munfarida, 2014).

Media narratives significantly contribute to shaping Indonesia's evolving democratic landscape. The study posits that the media is not merely a conduit for political communication but an active agent in constructing political reality through its language and framing choices. In covering nomination thresholds and age restrictions, certain media portray these issues through an exclusivist lens, emphasizing political elitism and reinforcing structural barriers to participation. As (Wodak, 2009) suggests, media discourse is instrumental in constructing ideological boundaries that influence democratic legitimacy. By applying CDA, this study scrutinizes how linguistic structures, lexical choices, and argumentation strategies in the Mata Najwa program reinforce or challenge existing power structures. Prior research has shown that media framing either strengthens or weakens democratic values in public discourse (van Dijk, 2009). Therefore, a critical analysis of media narratives is essential to understanding the ideological reproduction mechanisms within Indonesia's democratic system (Wodak, 2009).

The study focuses on the narrative employed by Najwa Shihab in the "Bursa Bebas Capres" episode of Mata Najwa. The choice of this case study is based not only on the program's prominence but also on its rich discursive features that highlight tensions between democratic ideals and political realities. The program's discourse employs symbols and metaphors that reflect power struggles between political elites and citizen aspirations. The phrase "Bursa Bebas Capres," referencing the free market concept, theoretically signifies open access for all potential candidates. However, institutionalized regulations, such as nomination thresholds and age limits, sustain elite dominance, limiting the emergence of alternative candidates. This aligns with (Albaburrahim & Sujinah, 2017) findings that media discourse often reflects and reproduces power structures. By analyzing this case, the study aims to uncover how such narratives operate within Indonesia's political landscape and their broader implications for democratic engagement.

To address this research gap, the study integrates CDA with contemporary political perspectives. CDA is an effective methodological approach as it reveals not only linguistic structures but also their connections to broader social, political, and cultural contexts. This framework enables an exploration of how media narratives embed ideologies that influence public opinion and political behavior. The study builds upon (Fairclough, 2010) theoretical foundation, which examines how discourse functions as part of social practice, and empirical

findings by (Ross & Rivers, 2017), which illustrate how media framing mechanisms shape public perceptions. By bridging media discourse analysis with political theory, this study offers novel insights into the strategic role of the media in constructing democratic narratives in Indonesia.

The conceptual framework of this study comprises three key components: (1) textual analysis, which examines linguistic and narrative structures; (2) social practice analysis, which explores how media discourse interacts with sociopolitical realities; and (3) ideological critique, which evaluates the impact of media narratives on democratic perceptions. The first component focuses on a detailed linguistic analysis, identifying lexical choices, metaphors, and rhetorical strategies that shape public perceptions. This approach is supported by previous research highlighting the role of textual structures in influencing thought processes (van Dijk, 2009). The second component investigates how media narratives are produced and received, revealing reciprocal interactions between media and sociopolitical contexts. The third component involves ideological evaluation, analyzing how media narratives sustain or challenge power structures, as theorized by (Wodak, 2009). This tripartite framework allows for a comprehensive critique of media influence on democratic participation in Indonesia.

By synthesizing theoretical and methodological perspectives, this study advances the understanding of media's role in shaping democracy. It argues that Mata Najwa's discourse functions not just as a medium of political communication but as an ideological construct that both reflects and influences power structures. Through a CDA approach, the study examines how linguistic and rhetorical elements in media narratives correspond with contemporary political realities and their implications for citizen participation. The findings aim to contribute to both theoretical and practical discussions among scholars, media practitioners, and policymakers striving for inclusive democratic mechanisms in Indonesia (Ross & Rivers, 2019; Wodak, 2009).

Given Indonesia's increasingly complex political environment and the strategic role of media in democratic processes, this study highlights the necessity of analyzing the interaction between media narratives and political structures. Policies restricting political participation, such as nomination thresholds and age limitations, not only provoke controversy but also raise critical questions about media representation and public interpretation of these policies. This research seeks to fill a crucial gap in the literature by offering an in-depth examination of how media narratives—particularly in the Mata Najwa program—both reflect and shape public perceptions of democratic legitimacy. In doing so, it lays the foundation for future research exploring the intersection of political policy, media representation, and public engagement in democratic processes (Fairclough, 2013; Munfarida, 2014).

The study follows a structured approach: First, reviews the literature on discourse theory, media roles in political framing, and empirical studies on democratic narratives. Second, outlines the research methodology, detailing the application of CDA and data analysis

techniques. Third, presents analytical findings on the Mata Najwa program's narrative construction and its implications for Indonesian democracy. Fourth synthesizes conclusions and provides recommendations for future research. This systematic approach ensures a comprehensive exploration of media narratives as instruments for shaping political opinion and legitimizing power structures, while also reinforcing the theoretical foundation for understanding these phenomena in Indonesia's democratic context (Fairclough, 2013; Ross & Rivers, 2017).

This study underscores the value of CDA not only as a tool for uncovering implicit meanings in media texts but also as an analytical framework for understanding power dynamics and ideological structures in political discourse. As Indonesia continues to refine its democratic processes, scholars and practitioners must examine how media representations serve as agents of social transformation, promoting inclusive political participation. Through this perspective, the study makes a significant contribution by bridging discourse theory with political realities and offering fresh insights into the strategic role of media in fostering democracy (Wodak, 2009;van Dijk, 2009)

II. METHOD

This study employs a descriptive qualitative method to explore and understand the meanings that individuals attribute to a phenomenon arising from social problems (Creswell, 2019). According to (Patton, 2002), qualitative research enables the researcher to uncover the unique characteristics and contextual interactions of a situation. In this study, the descriptive qualitative approach is chosen to deepen the critical analysis of narrative texts. This approach allows for a comprehensive examination of the relationship between language and power, particularly in the context of media narratives surrounding Indonesian democracy.

Data Selection Criteria and Collection Process

The primary data in this research is the narrative delivered by Najwa Shihab in the *Mata Najwa* program titled "*Bursa Bebas Capres*" This narrative was selected based on three main criteria. First, it represents the political and social context surrounding the debate on the threshold rules for presidential candidacy a key issue reflecting the dynamics of Indonesian democracy. This narrative was aired on July 5, 2018, one year before the 2019 Presidential Election, and is contextually linked to similar debates that resurfaced at the end of 2021 through online news and electronic media.

Second, the program's extensive media reach and impact made it a valuable source for analysis. As the program was broadcast on TRANS 7 and uploaded on the official *Mata Najwa* YouTube channel, it gained significant public attention and became a reference point in discussions on democratic processes. Third, the narrative's temporal relevance connects past and present democratic debates, making it a suitable case study to examine how media narratives shape public discourse on electoral policies.

Data collection involved accessing the official video archives from both TRANS 7 and the *Mata Najwa* YouTube channel. Additionally, secondary data were obtained from journal articles and other academic sources relevant to the narrative and its broader sociopolitical context. This combination of primary and secondary data strengthens the depth and validity of the analysis.

Data Transcription Process

The narrative was transcribed manually using transcription software to ensure accuracy and reliability. The transcription process included three key steps. First, the video recordings were repeatedly reviewed to capture all verbal and non-verbal elements, including tone and emphasis.

Second, a verbatim transcription was produced to preserve the original language, including key rhetorical devices such as metaphors and irony. Finally, the transcribed text was validated by cross-checking it against the original video to minimize errors and ensure the fidelity of the data.

Data Analysis Using Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) Model

The data were analyzed using (Fairclough, 2013) three-dimensional Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) model, which is effective for exploring the relationship between language, power, and social structures. This analytical model involves three interrelated stages: textual analysis, discursive practice analysis, and sociocultural practice analysis.

The first stage, textual analysis, focused on examining the linguistic features of Najwa Shihab's narrative. This involved analyzing the vocabulary, grammar, and rhetorical devices used to construct the message. Special attention was given to identifying expressions of criticism and satire related to the presidential candidacy threshold.

The second stage, discursive practice analysis, involved examining the processes through which the narrative was produced, disseminated, and interpreted. This included analyzing how the narrative was framed by the *Mata Najwa* program, how it was distributed via television and YouTube, and how audiences engaged with and responded to it.

The third stage, sociocultural practice analysis, contextualized the narrative within broader social, political, and historical frameworks. This involved analyzing the external conditions surrounding the production of the narrative, particularly the Constitutional Court's rejection of the material review of the presidential candidacy threshold in Law Number 7 of 2017. This stage also explored how the narrative reflects and responds to public concerns about democratic limitations and oligarchic tendencies in the Indonesian political system.

Throughout these three analytical stages, data were systematically coded and interpreted using Fairclough's methodology of description, interpretation, and explanation. This

comprehensive analytical framework ensures a thorough examination of how language functions as a tool of power in shaping public discourse.

Linkage with Literature and Methodological Justification

The use of the descriptive qualitative approach and Fairclough's CDA model is justified by their established effectiveness in analyzing the interaction between language and power. Prior studies (Fairclough, 2013; van Dijk, 2009)have demonstrated that CDA is a robust tool for revealing how discourse constructs social realities and influences public perception. This methodological approach allows the research to examine both the linguistic and sociopolitical dimensions of media narratives.

By providing detailed descriptions of the data selection, collection, transcription, and analytical processes, this study enhances its transparency and replicability. This methodological rigor aligns with best practices for qualitative research (Creswell, 2019; Patton, 2002) and ensures that the findings offer a credible and in-depth understanding of how media narratives shape public discourse on Indonesian democracy.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The narrative Najwa Shihab delivered at the event's beginning and end. The event raised the issue of various polemics that emerged ahead of the 2019 presidential election.

Text Analysis

Text not only presents how an object is described but also involves the relationship between objects defined in the text. Fairclough states there are three elements to analyzing text; representation, relationships and identity. Previous research (Setiawan, 2021) stated that representation in the Fairclough study could be analyzed through three things: how people, groups and ideas are shown in clauses, combinations of clauses and between sentences.

Criticism of the Government and DPR

The criticism is represented in the narrative delivered by Najwa Shihab Program entitled "*Bursa Bebas Capres*". Those are stated in *pertarungan* (battle), *krusial* (crucial) *keras*, *terjal*, *selalu* (always), *dari waktu ke waktu* (time to time).

> Data 1: "*Pertarungan* ➡ "*Pilpres merupakan puncak **pertarungan** politik*. (The
> (battle)"   presidential election is the peak of political **battles**)"

In general, the narrative above has a satirical tone, which conveys meaning as a satire and criticism of the Government and DPR due to the threshold regulations for presidential candidacy. These rules concerning general elections are contained in Law Number 7 of 2017. This regulation is considered to hinder the emergence of alternative presidential candidates. In the first line, the word "*pertarungan*" is used. This word refers to things that tend to be negative, trigger conflict and usually injure or even kill the opponent in the fight. The word

"*pertarungan*" is followed by "politics", which refers to how a person or group forms power to make decisions. Thus, the line "The presidential election is the peak of political battle" indicates that the current presidential election moment is like a battle that can destroy opponents through cunning methods to gain power.

Data 2: "*Krusial* (crucial)" ➡ "*Syarat pencalonan menjadi isu* **krusial** (Nomination requirements are a **crucial** issue)."

Data 3: "*keras* (tough)" ➡ "*Perdebatannya selalu* **keras dan terjal** (The debates and,"*terjal*",(steep) are always **tough and steep**)."

The word "*krusial*" in the speech "*Syarat pencalonan menjadi isu* **krusial** (Nomination requirements are a **crucial** issue)." refers to something essential. This implies that the threshold requirements for presidential candidacy are crucial. They determine whether anyone and any party have the right to participate in the presidential election if they can meet these thresholds. The word "*krusial*" was chosen to emphasize how critical this condition is and if others were neglected. This narrative indicates a ban initially because these requirements were too strict for beginner parties or small parties that did not yet have many seats in the DPR. The narrative continues on the line, "The debates are always **tough and steep**."

This utterance is included in an idiomatic phrase with a different meaning than what was said. This can be seen in the words "*keras*" and "*terjal*", both adjectives usually used to describe the condition of an object. For example, "*keras*" refers to rocks and "*terjal*" refers to cliffs or slopes. If the two are juxtaposed with the word "debate", as in the statement "the debate is always loud and steep", then it has an idiomatic meaning: the debate will never end or be finished. This is too difficult to stop or change, as with the presidential nomination threshold rules, which have been decided by the Constitutional Court and cannot be contested.

Data 4: "*Selalu* (always)" ➡ "Nomination requirements are a crucial issue. The debate is **always tough and steep.**"

Data 5: "*Dari waktu ke waktu* (From ➡ "**From time to time**, the limits are **always** time to time)" tested and routinely debated at the Constitutional Court."

Still, in the same speech, "Nomination requirements are a crucial issue, the debate is always tough and steep", the word "Selalu (always)" is one of the adverbs of frequency used to show how often an activity is carried out. In the statement "the debate is **always** tough and steep", the word "debate" refers to the conditions for presidential candidacy. Thus, the word "Selalu (always)" implies that the debate regarding the threshold conditions for presidential candidacy has occurred repeatedly, which has again ended in rejection. These conditions will still apply in the 2019 presidential election.

Next is the statement in the line, " Dari waktu ke waktu (From time to time)", the limits are always tested and routinely debated at the Constitutional Court." Dari waktu ke waktu (From time to time) and "di Mahkamah Konstitusi (at the Constitutional Court)" are prepositional phrases. The phrase " Dari waktu ke waktu (From time to time)" indicates that something has been done before or even repeatedly. The phrase "in the Constitutional Court" refers to the highest state institution which has the authority to reject the judicial review of the presidential nomination threshold rules. In this case, Najwa Shihab, in her narrative, tries to show annoyance and boredom with things that happen and are debated repeatedly. The threshold rules for presidential candidacy will always be discussed every time the presidential election approaches.

Criticism Oligarchy and Democracy

Those are stated in *"puncak perdebatan* (the peak of the debate)", *"oligarki* (oligarchy environment)", "*Berambisi* (ambitious)" and "*Merasa bisa* (feeling capable)", *"ketua umum dan keluarga* (general chairman and family)

Data 6: *"bisakah* (can)","*puncak perdebatan* (the peak of the debate)", *"oligarki* (oligarchy)"	➡	"***Bisakah*** *pilpres menjadi* ***puncak berdemokrasi*** *atau hanya untuk mereka dilingkungan* ***oligarki.*** (Can the presidential election be the pinnacle of democracy or is it only for those in an oligarchy environment?) "

The presidential election is one manifestation of democracy in Indonesia. In practice, every citizen has the same right to determine their choice and be nominated as a presidential candidate. However, what is happening now is that the presidential election has become a battle full of intrigue to overthrow his political opponents. In the name of democracy, this freedom is hampered by the existence of threshold regulations for presidential candidacy. This resulted in the emergence of alternative presidential candidates that needed to be improved. The presidential election is only a manifestation of pseudo-democracy because it seems that democracy only belongs to certain circles within the circle of power. Apart from triggering feelings of disappointment and anxiety, this also creates a pessimistic attitude among some of the public. This feeling is shown through the word "can" in the speech "***Bisakah*** *pilpres menjadi* ***puncak berdemokrasi*** *atau hanya untuk mereka dilingkungan* ***oligarki***. (Can the presidential election be the pinnacle of democracy or is it only for those in an oligarchic environment?" implying doubts and a pessimistic attitude towards the sustainability of democracy at this time.

In addition, threshold requirements for presidential candidacy seem to show the attitude of political parties, which are increasingly closing themselves off to new names who might be more capable of becoming presidential candidates. So, it seems like the presidential election can only be carried out by a group of people who have power and are close to the authorities. The statement "***Bisakah*** *pilpres menjadi puncak berdemokrasi atau hanya untuk mereka dilingkungan* ***oligarki***. (Can the presidential election be the pinnacle of democracy or is it only for those in an oligarchic environment?" implies that it is only for those in power or

those close to the authorities. This is shown in the speech "for those in an **oligarchic** environment". This word emphasises the existence of a small group in power, understood as a form of power exercised by a few or a handful of influential people from a particular class or group.

| Data 7: "*Berambisi* (ambitious)" and "*Merasa bisa* (feeling capable)." | ➡ | " *Bukan Cuma* **berambisi** *atau sekedar* **merasa bisa** (Not just **ambition** or just feeling like you **can do it).**" |

The title "*Bursa Bebas Capres*" is aimed at political elites. The mention of the adjectives "Not just ambitious" and "just feeling capable" in this speech emphasizes that the existing candidates only have ambition and feel capable, not the best or unique figures. "Just being ambitious" and "feeling capable" are both oriented towards negative things. The repetition of two words that have the same implication indicates that there is something you want to emphasize. Thus, it can be understood that becoming a presidential candidate is not only limited to ambition and feeling capable but also being able to position oneself as the best leader and figure who is truly the people's choice. This speech also represents the current situation of the presidential election candidate pairs.

| Data 8: "*Selaksa* (various)" | ➡ | "*Beban dan tanggung jawabnya* **selaksa angin** (His burden and responsibility are **various winds).**" |

Next, in the line, "*Beban dan tanggung jawabnya* **selaksa angin** (His burden and responsibility are **various winds**).", This speech follows the previous speech ", Leading is no joke". The phrase " various winds" is idiomatic and has various meanings. The word "*laksa*" means ten thousand. This figure is quite a large number. Apart from that, "*laksa*" can also have various meanings. Thus, it can be concluded that the phrase "selaksa angin" emphasises that there are multiple kinds, thousands, and even infinity. The word "The burden and responsibility are as strong as the wind" explains the previous statement, namely "Leading is no joke". To become an extraordinary leader, you must have the ability because being a leader of a country or president is challenging. A president has a large or varied workload, not only considering the interests of his group but also the welfare of more than two hundred million of his people.

| Data 9: "**ketua umum** dan **keluarga** (**general chairman** and **family)** | ➡ | "*Partai bukan milik* **ketua umum** dan **keluarga** (The party does not belong to the **general chairman** and **family)**" |

The phrases and nouns "general chairman" and "family" in this speech emphasize that currently political parties belong to the general chairman or family. "General chairman" and "family" are both oriented towards power and kinship. The use of phrases and words indicates that there is something you want to emphasize. Thus, the narrative describes the current political situation. Presidential or vice-presidential candidates are not born from factors of closeness and kinship, but also have qualities as leaders and the best figures who

are truly the people's choice. This speech also represents the current situation of the presidential election candidate pairs.

Based on text analysis, it shows that the actor's position is not always shown in every line of the narrative. This can be seen only in a few lines that mention it as an adverse reaction to something being debated, namely the threshold requirements for presidential candidacy. The author of the text positions these words and phrases implicitly to convey the ideology she wants to get in the narrative through the *Mata Najwa* Program entitled "*Bursa Bebas Capres*". It voices criticism, disappointment, anxiety, and build a negative representation towards the DPR and MK. (Putri & Laila, 2022) said that the speaker expresses certainty, possibility, uncertainty, obligation and advice. Besides that, some words carry risks when negotiating actions (Beloufa, 2022). We might think primarily of insults, criticisms and curses. What most of the speakers said was certainty. This is in accordance with (Juditha, 2018) that Everyone has the chance to write and express their thoughts. Likewise, Discourse emphasizes strengths and downplays weaknesses by marginalizing shortcomings and highlighting competitors' weaknesses (Rahro et al., 2024). Almost the same thing was expressed by (Putri & Laila, 2022), the mood of the speaker who stated the author's attitude towards the text found expressed certainty, possibility, betrayal, obligation and advice.

Identity

The identity of the narrative text's creator or producer (journalist) is displayed and constructed in the narrative text delivered in the *Mata Najwa* Program. This refers to how the maker or producer (Journalist) positions and identifies himself with the event or social group that occurred.

Public Distrust

Data 10: " *Dua ratus juta lebih* (More than two hundred million)" ➡️ "***Dua ratus juta lebih*** *rakyat Indonesia, berhak dipimpin orang yang paling Istimewa.* (**More than two hundred million** Indonesian people have the right to be led by the most special person)."

In the line **"*Dua ratus juta lebih*** *rakyat Indonesia, berhak dipimpin orang yang paling Istimewa.* (**More than two hundred million** Indonesian people have the right to be led by the most special person).", the use of the diction *"Dua ratus juta lebih* (More than two hundred million)" shows the relationship between Najwa Shihab as the creator of the narrative and the community as listeners and readers. This indicates that Najwa includes the people as listeners and readers in constructing the discourse in the text. This speech emphasises that almost everyone still needs to fulfil their rights, including obtaining an exceptional leader.

Data 11: "*Berilah* (Give)" and "*Luar biasa* (extraordinary)." → "***Berilah*** *rakyat kandidat-kandidat yang* ***luar biasa*** **(Give** the people **extraordinary** candidates)."

Data 12: "*Semenjana* (Ordinary)" → " *Jangan hanya sosok yang* ***semenjana*** (Don't just be an **ordinary figure).**"

"***Berilah*** rakyat *kandidat-kandidat yang* ***luar biasa*** (Give the people **extraordinary** candidates)." This speech uses the word " ***Berilah*** (Give)" to show the people's hopes for a "***Luar biasa*** (extraordinary)" presidential candidate. The phrase "extraordinary" means "not the same as others" or "special". After all this time, the people miss an extraordinary leader. The presidential election is an arena for obtaining these candidates. However, in the following speech, satire appears, namely the line "Don't just be a celebrity". The word "*Semenjana* (Ordinary)" is less common and rarely used today. The word means "ordinary". In the speech above, "*semenjana*" is used to explain the word "*sosok*", which refers to a presidential candidate, which means "an ordinary presidential candidate". Thus, through the words "Give the people extraordinary candidates" and "Don't just be an ordinary figure", Najwa Shihab tries to voice the people's hopes for the presence of an extraordinary leader and at the same time convey the people's concerns so that they don't get ordinary leaders again, as in the previous presidential election.

Based on identity analysis, it was found that the relationship that was built between the creator or producer of the text (journalist) positioned himself as part of the people or public. The same as (Apriyani & Rosly, 2024) the author's statements spread into various formations to become a discussion. Two forms of power relations form a discourse: the New Order government's authoritarian power practices. In this case, the position of the creator or producer of the text (journalist) and the people are both those who are disappointed and worried about the implementation of the presidential nomination threshold rules, which might have an impact on the sustainability of democracy in Indonesia. Sometimes the appropriate diction is needed in rhetoric when expressing disappointment in a narrative in order to describe these feelings (Jabeen & Akhtar, n.d.). It is same as (Saifullah, 2016), namely that the wave of democratization that occurred in the post-reformation era in Indonesia, participation and freedom of expression, were getting stronger. This difference occurs because of the media context which tends to be "friendly" and the context of communication situations on the Internet which tends to show "wisdom".

Discourse Practice

The emergence of a text must be motivated by a context or event. It is undeniable that in the text an ideology is built that is intended to be conveyed to the public. Ideology is defined as the view of a particular group. Najwa Shihab is a senior journalist who has a straightforward speaking style. Her figure is known to be quite brave in narrating an event. No wonder, the Mata Najwa program moderated by her often leaves the resource person speechless. In the context of this research, several ideologies contained in the narrative of the Mata Najwa Program entitled "Bursa Bebas Capres" criticize the government, the DPR,

the Oligarchy, democracy, and public distrust. All of that cannot be separated from the influence of the scriptwriter's ideology.

The Mata Najwa program is aired on TRANS 7. TRANS 7 is under the auspices of CT. Corp which is led by Chairul Tanjung. He is a conglomerate who owns the largest retail company in Indonesia. TRANS 7 has a mission to become a TV station that can educate the public and is committed to maintaining the integrity of the nation and democratic values in Indonesia. Chairul Tanjung is not affiliated with any party. He served as Coordinating Minister for the Economy until October 2014. Given that Chairul Tanjung is the highest leader, all forms of production and broadcasting, especially Mata Najwa, are also influenced by his ideology.

Language in a narrative is a tool to convey the ideology of a person or group involved in an event. The dimensions of discourse practice can be used to see aspects of production, distribution, and consumption. As stated by Fairclough in (Eriyanto, 2001), discourse practice includes two sides, namely production (media) and consumption (public). The narrative was read by Najwa Shihab in the Mata Najwa Program, while consumption is seen when the public hears, sees, and responds to the narrative. This is shown through the public's response in the comments column on the Mata Najwa episode "Bursa Bebas Capres" on YouTube, as seen in picture 1. Similar to the opinion of (Saifullah, 2019) interactive discourse on the Internet can be formulated as a democratic forum because the meaning of the text is no longer dominated by the media, but tends to be shared with the public (Park, 2021).
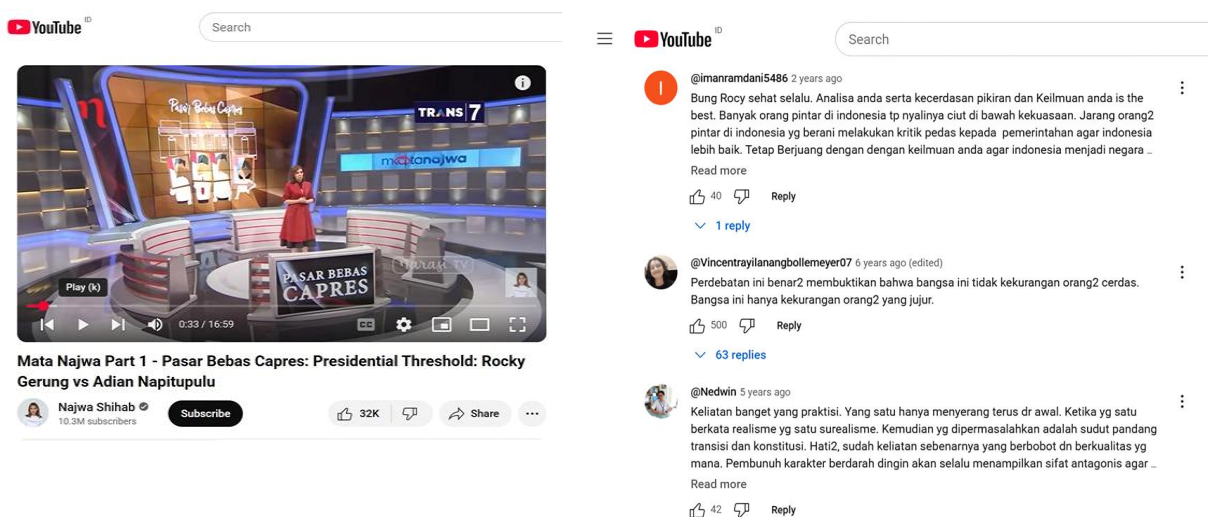
Picture 1. Mata Najwa

Social Cultural Practice

Situational

The background of the narrative in the Mata Najwa Program entitled "Free Presidential Election Exchange" which aired on July 5, 2018 discussed the presidential nomination threshold rules. The rules on general elections are stated in Law Number 7 of 2017. This rule is considered to limit public involvement in political contestation. 12 community leaders sued this rule to the Constitutional Court. However, the Constitutional Court rejected the judicial review of the law. This decision received a lot of criticism from various groups because it was considered to be in conflict with Article 6A paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The Constitutional Court was also considered inconsistent when interpreting the meaning of the presidential system. In addition, Deputy Chairman of the MPR Hidayat Nurwahid considered the Constitutional Court's decision to show injustice to all political parties registered as election participants (sulaiman, 2023).

In the context of the decision on the presidential nomination threshold rule, the independence of the Constitutional Court is again questioned, and concerns have arisen that Constitutional Court judges will submit to significant parties (Hidayat Nurwahid on the Hukumonline page). In the context of this study, situational refers to a unique time, namely the pros and cons of the presidential nomination threshold requirements. This is in line with what was conveyed by (Eriyanto, 2001) namely that situational refers more to the atmosphere, namely the micro context of the event when the news text was created, the text was produced under certain conditions so that the texts differ from one another.

Institutional

The Mata Najwa program entitled "Bursa Bebas Capres" which aired on July 5, 2018 featured figures including Rocky Gerung, Andalas Feri Amsari, Adian Napitupulu, Taufik Basari, Riza Patria, and Rambe Kamarul Zaman. In addition, the program also mentioned the highest state institution, the DPR, as the maker of regulations and the Constitutional Court as the material examiner of laws. While implicitly, TRANS 7 is a TV station that airs the Mata Najwa Program, the Mata Najwa Program is an organizational institution in the production practice of the Mata Najwa program.

TRANS 7 broadcasts the Mata Najwa Program under the auspices of CT. Corp led by Chairul Tanjung. The figure is known as a leading retail entrepreneur in Indonesia. Chairul Tanjung once served as the coordinating minister for the Economy during the administration of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono as quoted from national.kompas.com. Chairul Tanjung is not affiliated with a political party. Thus, it can be said that the Mata Najwa Program is a neutral broadcast program.

Social

In her narrative, Najwa Shihab conveys the presidential nomination threshold requirements ahead of the presidential election. Through her narrative, the regulation

becomes a debate ahead of the presidential election. In the context of this research, the narrative in the Mata Najwa program entitled "Pasar Bebas Capres" describes public disappointment with the Constitutional Court and anxiety about the sustainability of democracy amidst the rise of oligarchy. With the existence of these provisions, it can have an impact on the number of parties that need assistance to nominate their presidential candidates, especially new parties and parties that have few seats in the DPR. Meanwhile, large parties are reluctant to open up opportunities for new names to become presidential candidates. This seems to position political parties as parties owned by the general chairman or family.

Citizens' freedom seems to be restrained by policies that limit the freedom of movement of every citizen to participate in the election contest. Some people feel disappointed and disadvantaged. Through her narrative, Najwa Shihab describes this situation clearly. The Mata Najwa show seems to be a medium to express disappointment and anxiety about the policy. All social processes and practices implied line by line are wrapped in metaphors. So that criticism and satire are conveyed without appearing judgmental. The social effect of the narrative invites and educates the public to be more critical of every event. So, to convey information, at least one must have several competencies, including selecting in choosing, analyzing information to produce accurate information. The information is distributed by considering the recipient (Kurnia, 2017).

Research conducted by (Aryana, 2021) compared news on two online portals, SINDOnews.com and Republika.ac.id. The results of the study showed that the news content of the two media was different. SINDO.news.com highlighted Joe Biden's stance in condemning and demanding accountability for the bombing. Meanwhile, Republika.ac.id focused more on the victims of the bombing. The differences between the two show that the institutional and social contexts are different. The same thing is true in the study (Riana et al., 2022) which compared three news reports in online media. The results of the study revealed that the three online media, Detik.com and Kompas.com, formed negative and positive images of the crazy rich who like to show off but also want to share. Meanwhile, SINDOnews.com provides a positive understanding of the presence of the Crazy Rich who are role models.

The results of this study are in line with the results of previous studies, namely the negative representation of the two high institutions due to the provisions of the presidential nomination threshold and the rejection of the judicial review of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections. (Ross & Rivers, 2019) explores how memes have become a new medium used to frame, lead and influence public opinion without conveying facts. The information formed depends on the discourse producer, which represents a negative or positive view of an event. The public should be able to understand the dangers of infodemics. The existence of infodemics in society cannot be separated from the intervention of the public in disseminating existing information (Fajri et al., 2023). Furthermore, in the

context of this study, the narrative negatively describes the presidential nomination threshold rules.

The narrative in a distinctive rhyme, sharp diction becomes its own attraction as a form of criticism of the current phenomenon. The narrative expresses disappointment and distrust of the Constitutional Court, the DPR, and political parties. The narrative also implies public concern about the development of democracy in Indonesia amidst the increasingly strong oligarchy. This represents text producers who position themselves as part of a society that is disappointed with the sustainability of democracy in Indonesia. The social effects that arise from the birth of a text will give rise to opinions and influence people's perspectives on the issues raised in the text. In research conducted by (Purwaningrum & Harmoko, 2023), meaning can be interpreted differently by readers or respondents so that it can influence and even change their political attitudes and views.

IV. CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this study is that discourse is constructed through diction that reflects a particular ideological perspective. The episode entitled "Pasar Bebas Capres" functions as a critique aimed at the government, the People's Representative Council (DPR), the influence of oligarchy, the sustainability of democracy, and the emergence of public distrust. This critique is understood by analyzing the ideology embedded in the text and the social reality outside the text. This analysis uses three dimensions of discourse: (1) textual dimension, covering the linguistic features of the text; (2) discursive practice dimension, examining the process of production and consumption of text; and (3) socio-cultural practice dimension, considering the broader social context around the creation of the text.

In the textual analysis, the distinctive rhyme patterns and sharp diction employed in the narrative function as a compelling form of critique against the implementation of the presidential nomination threshold in Indonesia. In the analysis of discursive practices, the ideology conveyed through the narrative is reflected in public responses, indicating how the audience receives and interprets the discourse. Meanwhile, the socio-cultural practice analysis reveals that the regulation is perceived to limit public participation in the political contest as well as the involvement of all registered political parties. This narrative generates a social impact by shaping public perceptions of specific political issues. As supported by previous research (Herring, 2021); (Purwaningrum & Harmoko, 2023) meaning is open to multiple interpretations by audiences, which can influence or even alter their political attitudes and perspectives.

In the context of this study, the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework is used to explore how narratives are constructed using diction that reflects certain ideologies and educates the public. Further research is needed to examine the unexpected lexical choices that emerged from this study, particularly in the response texts found on YouTube, the tendency to use casual language. This phenomenon is particularly interesting when

considering the extent to which language variation on the internet gives rise to new linguistic genres, specifically "written representations of spoken language." This phenomenon, Crystal (2006:18) calls "technospeak," reflects the creative potential of digital communication. An important question that arises is whether freedom of expression in digital spaces tends to violate or comply with principles of civility.

This analysis can also be extended through the examination of media contexts and the communicative situation on the Internet using the computer-mediated discourse analysis (CMDA) approach. This approach enables a more comprehensive understanding of how the technological characteristics of digital communication shape language use and reflect broader social practices.

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