

## Cabinet Reshuffle News for 2020 in Van Leeween's Critical Discourse Analysis

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### ***Abstract:***

*Political events, especially those related to public policy, are the consumption of mass media to be presented in the form of news to the public. In reconstructing events into news, the mass media has the potential to be influenced by various interested parties. Theo Van Leeween's critical discourse analysis is a model that can be used to critically analyze the effects that occur in the presentation of news in the mass media. Through text analysis, this critical discourse analysis model will inform about the various strategies used in compiling news texts. The object of this research is kompas.com news entitled "Jokowi Announces Reshuffle, These are 6 New Ministers of the Advanced Indonesian Cabinet" using a descriptive qualitative method. The result shows that there is differentiation or differences in treatment in the presentation of news about the reshuffle of Ministers of the Forward Indonesia Cabinet by the Joko Widodo administration regime. This differentiation has an impact on the different images and impressions in the news, thus indicating political interests in the text presented.*

### ***Keywords:***

*political news; van leeween's critical discourse analysis; differences in treatment*

## **I. Introduction**

Indonesia is the third largest democracy in the world after India and the United States (Sahputra, 2016). As a democracy, one of the main characteristics is the freedom of the press in broadcasting information. In its freedom, the press has the freedom to do framing or priming information that is presented in the form of news. This implies that opinion is very important in democratic life, as important as the legislative and executive institutions (Sahputra, 2019).

Press freedom in Indonesia has been guaranteed in regulations, namely in Law Number 40 of 1999 concerning the Press in article 4 in paragraph (1) freedom of the press is guaranteed as a citizen's human right; paragraph (2) that the national press is not subject to censorship, banning or broadcasting prohibition; paragraph (3) to guarantee press freedom, the national press has the right to seek, obtain and disseminate ideas and information. In addition, press freedom in Indonesia is also guaranteed in the Journalistic Code of Ethics (KEJ), which is a guideline for journalism in Indonesia. Article 1 states: Indonesian journalists are independent, produce news that is accurate, balanced, and have no bad ties. In its interpretation.

In addition to guaranteeing press freedom, the KEJ also imposes limits on journalistic tasks that a journalist must carry out in carrying out his duties. However, in the presentation of news, especially political news and editorials, journalists and the media are influenced by certain groups or parties who have the power to present the events that are reported. (Oktavia

& Silitonga, 2016). Political factors and the power of capital are factors that have great potential to influence press freedom. Because through political power, the press can adjust the appearance of its news in a more "friendly" manner and through the power of capital, the press can turn partisan.

Researchers have long been trying to see the neutrality of the news presented by the mass media in producing discourse. Based on a study (Hamad, 2004), a discourse emerges from the process of reality construction by actors which begins with the existence of the first reality in the form of conditions, objects, thoughts, people, events, and so on. (Hamad, 2007). Especially in the context of the interaction between politics, the mass media and its audiences, there has been a fundamental change. In the Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla government regime since 2014 there has been a change in the pattern of the civil society movement which tends to wait and see, be silent or even partisan. (Sahputra et al., 2020).

To construct reality, the constructor uses a particular strategy that cannot be separated from external and internal influences. This construction strategy includes language choices ranging from words to paragraphs; the choice of facts to be included / excluded from popular discourse is called a framing strategy (Hamad, 2007). However, the media agenda is not entirely in the interests of the media because there is a consideration of the agenda of the public. Because the media will only be able to live in a climate of public trust in the information it presents. Because the public gets most of the information through the mass media, the media agenda is of course related to the public agenda. (Sahputra, 2016).

This research will analyze the discourse reported by the news site [kompas.com](http://kompas.com) regarding information about Joko Widodo's cabinet reshuffle in 2020. While the news that is the object of analysis is the news entitled: "Jokowi Announces Reshuffle, These Are 6 New Ministers of the Advanced Indonesian Cabinet" aired on December 22, 2020 at 16:16 WIB. In conducting the analysis, this study uses Theo van Leeuwen's critical discourse analysis.

This study aims to explain critical discourse analysis in the news of [kompas.com](http://kompas.com) in the reshuffle of the united Indonesian cabinet led by the Joko Widodo regime in the second period of 2019-2024. In addition, this study also aims to explain the influence from outside the mass media in the presentation of news texts broadcast by the mainstream mass media, in this case the [kompas.com](http://kompas.com) news site.

## **II. Research Methods**

This research uses a descriptive qualitative method by presenting the analyzed data through Theo Van Leeuwen's Critical Analysis Discourse approach. This approach critically dissects discourse based on text critically. The analysis is carried out with the assumption that the dominant group will take control in interpreting an event and also the meaning of the event. Thus, the weaker group will be depicted worse as a marginalized position.

Much of the history of critical discourse analysis traces the origins of politicized concern to society in the Marxist or neo-Marxist tradition, and most specifically to the Frankfurt school, particularly Adorno, Marcuse and Horkheimer. (Breeze, 2011). Critical discourse analysis is not without its limitations, as well as its criticisms. Axiomatically, critical discourse analysis that is both qualitative and political draws criticism from those operating from a positivist paradigm (Sengul, 2019). The intended critical discourse analysis is an

attempt to reveal the hidden intentions of a person who puts forward a statement when responding to a news topic (Rilma et al., 2019).

In the analysis model of critical discourse analysis Theo Van Leeuwen is divided into two things, namely the process of exclusion and inclusion. The exclusion process was divided into passivation, nominalization, and substitution of clauses. The process of inclusion is divided into seven, namely differentiation-indifference, objectivation-abstraction, nomination-categorization, nomination-identification, determination-indetermination, assimilation-individualization and association-dissociation.(Amalia et al., 2019). Passivation is a strategy of writing text by making certain sentences passive. Nomination is a strategy that deals with changing verbs (verbs) into nouns (nouns). Substitution of clauses is replacing or adding clauses to sentences used in the text.

Meanwhile, differentiation is a strategy in writing text with a process of differentiating the rights and obligations of citizens based on their characteristics, while indifference is the opposite. Objectivation-abstraction is a text writing strategy related to the answer to the question whether information about an event that occurred or an actor is displayed, by providing concrete and clear instructions or presented in an abstract (unclear) way. Nomination-categorization is related to strategy, whether to present the actor in the text as is or accompanied by mentioning the actor's category. Nomination-identification, this strategy is almost the same as nomination-categorization, the difference is that in the identification nomination strategy, the text is accompanied by explanatory clauses. Determinations are strategies for writing texts by ensuring clarity, especially in mentioning certain actors (determination), whereas indetermination is the opposite. Assimilation-individualization is a strategy by mentioning the characteristics of actors in the text in more detail, which is what distinguishes this strategy from nomination-categorization. Association-disassociation is a discourse strategy that has the goal of making certain actors or parties that are displayed individually or linked to certain larger groups or organizations.

### III. Discussion

On Tuesday, December 22, 2020, at 16.16 WIB, kompas.com aired a story entitled "Jokowi Announces Reshuffle, These Are 6 New Ministers of the Advanced Indonesian Cabinet". On the same day, the political policy of the Joko Widodo administration carried out a cabinet reshuffle by replacing six ministers in his ranks.



Figure 1. Kompas.com news about cabinet reshuffle

## News Text:

Jokowi Announces Reshuffle, Here Are 6 New Ministers of the Advanced Indonesian Cabinet

JAKARTA, KOMPAS.com - President Joko Widodo announced the reshuffle of the Advanced Indonesia Cabinet on Tuesday (22/12/2020).

In the announcement, Jokowi introduced six names as new ministers in the Advanced Indonesia Cabinet.

"This afternoon the Vice President and I would like to announce the new members of the Advanced Indonesia Cabinet," said Jokowi, monitored from a live broadcast on Kompas TV, Tuesday.

In succession, Jokowi introduced the six of them.

First, Jokowi summoned Tri Rismaharini. The mayor of Surabaya was given the mandate as Minister of Social Affairs to replace Juliari Batubara, who is currently a suspect in the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK).

Second, Jokowi introduced Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno as Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy. Sandiaga replaced Wishnutama Kusubandio.

Third, Jokowi introduced Budi Gunadi Sadikin as Minister of Health. Budi replaces Terawan Agus Putranto's position.

Fourth, Jokowi introduced Yaqut Cholil Quomas or better known as Gus Yaqut as Minister of Religion. Yaqut replaced Fachrul Razi.

Fifth, Jokowi introduced Wahyu Sakti Trenggono to replace Edhy Prabowo as Minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries (KP).

Sixth or last, Jokowi introduced M Lutfi as Minister of Trade. M Lutfi replaces Agus Suparmanto.

After introducing his six new ministers, Jokowi also informed the schedule of their inauguration which will be held on Wednesday (23/12/2020).

"I think it's an introduction that I can deliver this afternoon and the inauguration will be carried out, God willing, tomorrow morning," Jokowi added.

The news, which is presented in real time, displays three tanews utan related to news reshuffle. The three news links, namely the news entitled:

1. BREAKING NEWS: Removing Terawan, Jokowi Appoints Budi Gunadi Sadikin as Minister of Health
2. Profile of 6 New Ministers of Jokowi's Cabinet Reshuffle Result
3. BREAKING NEWS: Jokowi Appoints Risma as Minister of Social Affairs

**Table 1.** Analysis of News Headlines

Text	Analysis
<i>Jokowi Announces Reshuffle, Here Are 6 New Ministers of the Advanced Indonesian Cabinet</i>	In this headline, Jokowi is presented with an indifference discourse strategy, which is to present actors in the text as a whole without comparing with others at the level of inclusion. This indeferentiation-inclusion strategy perceives the actors who are shown to have full power without being influenced by other parties.

**Table 2.** Analysis of Paragraphs I & II

Text	Analysis
<i>JAKARTA, KOMPAS.com - President Joko Widodo announced the reshuffle of the Advanced Indonesia Cabinet on Tuesday (22/12/2020).  In the announcement, Jokowi introduced six names as new ministers in the Advanced Indonesia Cabinet.</i>	In the first paragraph, Jokowi reiterates as the actor who announced the cabinet reshuffle. Thus the discourse strategy applied is indifference at the level of inclusion as in the headlines.

**Table 3.** Analysis of Paragraphs III & IV

Text	Analysis
<i>"This afternoon the Vice President and I would like to announce the new members of the Advanced Indonesia Cabinet," said Jokowi, monitored from a live broadcast on Kompas TV, Tuesday.  In succession, Jokowi introduced the six of them.</i>	This paragraph contains an excerpt from Jokowi's statement stating that he was with the Vice President in announcing the reshuffle. Thus the strategy used is differentiation at the level of inclusion. This means that this text displays other actors in the text. In the meaning of this text, if the political reshuffle is a negative step, then Jokowi is not completely wrong because there is also a vice president who shares responsibility.

**Table 4.** Analysis of Paragraph V

Text	Analysis
<p><i>First, Jokowi summoned Tri Rismaharini. The mayor of Surabaya was given the mandate as Minister of Social Affairs to replace Juliari Batubara, who is currently a suspect in the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK).</i></p>	<p>In this paragraph, a text is displayed that mentions Tri Rismaharini replacing Juliari Batubara who is the KPK suspect. Thus, this text uses a categorization strategy at the inclusion level by describing the image of Juliardi Batubara as the replaced minister. On the other hand, if the categorization is important information, the strategy used can be objectivation at the inclusion level.</p> <p>An assessment of this important information can be seen further on how often the categorization is repeated in the previous news. In this text, Juliari Batubara is presented as a KPK suspect in an association with an exclusion level. Because this news text does not link Juliari Batubara with the party he belongs to.</p>

**Table 5.** Analysis of Paragraphs VI - X

Text	Analysis
<p>Second, Jokowi introduced Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno as Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy. Sandiaga replaced Wishnutama Kusubandio.</p> <p><i>Third, Jokowi introduced Budi Gunadi Sadikin as Minister of Health. Budi replaces Terawan Agus Putranto's position.</i></p> <p><i>Fourth, Jokowi introduced Yaqut Cholil Quomas or better known as Gus Yaqut as Minister of Religion. Yaqut replaced Fachrul Razi.</i></p> <p><i>Fifth, Jokowi introduced Wahyu Sakti Trenggono to replace Edhy Prabowo as Minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries (KP).</i></p> <p><i>Sixth or last, Jokowi introduced M Lutfi as Minister of Trade. M Lutfi replaces Agus Suparmanto.</i></p>	<p>In this paragraph the text displayed in the second to sixth cabinet reshuffle is as is. The strategy used is verbs or presenting news by using verbs at the exclusion level. Furthermore, presenting data objectively, namely presenting actors in the news objectively at the level of inclusion. However, in particular, paragraph 9 has a difference, especially when compared to paragraph 2, which uses a categorization strategy for ministers who are replaced at the inclusion level. Because both Juliardi Batubaru and Edhy Prabowo were two ministers who were replaced because they were both suspects in a corruption case at the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). However, in the text that explains Edhy Prabowo, there is no categorization at the inclusion level. In addition, this text also does not use an identification strategy at the inclusion level, because it does not identify</p>

	the existence of Edhy Prabowo as a KPK suspect. So that the bad image of Edhy Prabowo is not visible in the text of this news like Juliari Batubara. In this text, the presentation of Edhy Prabowo as a KPK suspect is carried out in association at the inclusion level.
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**Table 6.** Analysis of Paragraphs XI & XII

Text	Analysis
<p><i>After introducing his six new ministers, Jokowi also informed the schedule of their inauguration which will be held on Wednesday (23/12/2020).</i></p> <p><i>"I think it's an introduction that I can deliver this afternoon and the inauguration will be carried out, God willing, tomorrow morning," Jokowi added.</i></p>	<p>In this news text, it is displayed with an objectification strategy in the level of inclusion because it provides information about the planned schedule of the inauguration to be implemented.</p>

#### IV. Conclusion

Analysis of the critical discourse of the Kompas.com news text regarding the Indonesia Maju cabinet reshuffle found several strategies used in presenting news texts from the political event. Among other things, this news text uses a categorization strategy at the inclusion level and an identification strategy at the inclusion level by differentiation. This means that the difference in treatment between the mention of the two ministers who were replaced, even though both of them are KPK suspects, only one minister is named as a suspect. In the text presented, Juliari Batubara is named as a replaced minister and as a KPK suspect, but Edhy Prabowo who is also a substituted minister is not named a KPK suspect even though he also has the same legal status, namely a KPK suspect.

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