

# Critical discourse analysis of proportional closed election system news (on the online media CNNIndonesia.com and News.detik.com)

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## Critical discourse analysis of proportional closed election system news (on the online media CNNIndonesia.com and News.detik.com)

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### ABSTRACT

The background of this research is the discourse on the implementation of a closed proportional system in the 2024 election. The research aims to find out the textual practices of the discourse of the two online media as information tools that can influence readers' opinions of a discourse. This study uses a qualitative descriptive method through a three-dimensional theoretical approach from Fairclough. Analysis of the object of research through three stages of analysis, description, interpretation and explanation. The results of the text analysis show that the two news media have different content. cnnindonesia.com seems to be answering the public's question mark about the reasons for PDIP as the only party that seems confident in supporting a closed proportional election system in the 2024 election. Through this system the chairman of the party absolutely appoints cadres in parliament. Meanwhile, news.detik.com's reporting places more emphasis on the possible impact that will be experienced by the PDIP and its implications for political developments in Indonesia if the system is implemented in the upcoming elections. From the two reports, there is a difference in the focus of representation and the purpose of the news. The conclusion is that the context of the media and the context of the communication situation appear to have a significant effect on determining the meaning of speech in online news media.

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## **I. INTRODUCTION**

Ahead of the general election, especially the Presidential Election in 2024, the national political situation is starting to heat up. In addition to the controversy over the threshold for presidential nomination, there are pros and cons regarding discourse on the electoral process with a closed proportional system (Saputra, 2023). This discourse surfaced because elections with an open proportional system were costly and prone to money politics. However, some parties also believe that the return of elections using a closed proportional system is a step backward for democracy and can foster oligarchic practices in Indonesia. The discourse was raised uproar again, especially within each internal party. Most political parties reject the idea of a closed proportional electoral system. However, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) agreed with this system (CNN, 2023). This has become a hot topic of discussion between fellow political parties and the public.

Several online media sources have reported that the PDIP fully supports the implementation of a closed proportional electoral system in the 2024 presidential election. In addition, in various talk shows held by national television stations, PDIP representatives openly expressed multiple arguments in favor of a closed proportional system. These media outlets have numerous characteristics, ideologies, and goals for reporting events. Every news media aims to influence and lead readers' opinions to believe in and be interested in the information conveyed (Ibnu, 2019). Thus, the social reality that occurs in society forces readers to align with the perception that the media want to build. Thus, the mass media, both prints, cyber, and electronic, are in the midst of a social reality full of diverse interests, conflicts, and facts.

CNNIndonesia.com and News.detik.com are two well-known online media platforms and are the public's choices in reporting, especially on political issues. Every online media report has a code of ethics based on where it lives. According to Himelboim, & Limor (2008), the code of ethics is enacted to achieve several goals, increase dignity, be a protector and supervisor, and have external restrictions on the field and practice of journalists. In information retrieval, production, and distribution activities, news media is bound by a journalistic code of ethics, including the two media that are the object of this study.

Previous studies have compared online media in reporting issues that include ideology, expression, and emotions regarding the current situation. Anshori & Sumarlam (2018) describes the use of the language, text, and sociocultural aspects in case reports about reporting on the potential conflict of presidential election in the 2019 using the critical discourse analysis by Fairclough perspective. This study aimed to reveal the representation of power in news texts. The findings in this study are several representations of participants' attitudes towards propositions and predictions about events that will occur in Indonesian presidential election 2019, and what related parties should or should not do. Certain ideologies in the news are conveyed in positive and negative sentences. Next, research conducted by Banguis-Bantawig (2019) this research linguistically explores the forms and functions as well as categories of discourse cohesion markers used in 54 utterances in the

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speeches of the Asian presidents elected written in English. The results show the president's speech is loaded with substantial information prepared by using elaboration as one of the discourse markers. In addition to the significant use of substitution (personal pronouns), the president has established a relationship with the audience. Further research by Sunarso et al. (2022) This article discusses political satire style of Mojok.co as an alternative political discussion. Mojok.co's as one of sophisticated style in political messages packaging in a "naughty" style but raises political awareness. The results of this study indicate that the content on Mojok.co is filled with satire, jokes, and ridicule about politics. The satirical style also offers joyful political discussion. The meaning of politics can be interpreted in a simple, light, and entertaining way. Therefore, political satire can be an alternative style of discussion. These activities as a strategy to get closer to readers and establishes its identity while expanding the reach of its reader segmentation. This is one of the current images that social media functions to lead public opinion, communicate ideas, reconstruct messages, and build critical reasoning.

Kashif et al. (2022) identify the language of the presidential candidates in the Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump political speeches. The findings of this study indicate that the verbal discourse in Donald Trump speech. On the other hand, Hillary Clinton used a cognitive, sentimental, sensitive, attributive and existential approach. Each presidential candidate has a different style of language to emphasize the points to be conveyed.

Another study conducted by Risdaneva (2018) compared news about the portrayal of women in the news reporting of crimes of sexual violence against women between two newspapers from different cultures, the Jakarta Post and the Guardian. The results of the research show that the news content of the two newspaper is different; namely, Jakarta and The Guardian. The Jakarta Post positions perpetrators and victims in criminal cases. This shows that the report tends to view them as part of the legal process, not as human beings. Meanwhile, The Guardian classifies victims based on age, gender and not as part of a criminal case. Thus, The Guardian tries to focus on the crime report itself, not on the perpetrators involved in a case.

This is the main attraction for the author to critically analyze news regarding the <sup>4</sup>closed proportional system discourse in the 2024 elections in Indonesia, which was published on CNNIndonesia.com and News.detik.com. There are various ways that can be done by the two online media to carry out and realize specific interests through language. Apart from online news sites, social media can also be used to carry out interests, as research from Bouvier, G., & Way (2021) demonstrates that social media can be used against any person or cause without deep critical engagement or reflection.

Thus, in the context of this research, it is necessary to explore the ideology and language used by the two online mass media platforms in reporting information related to closed proportional system discourse on the portals CNNIndonesia.com and News.detik.com. Fairclough's model of critical discourse analysis through three dimensional strategy including

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Texts, Discourse Practice, and Sociocultural Practice was chosen to explore this, including linguistic and exploratory dimensions, namely grammar, words, transitivity, and metaphor by way of describing, interpreting, and explaining Nikolopoulou (Nikolopoulou, 2021).

Based on the problems above, the objectives of this study are: 1) Representing events, groups, people, situations, or whatever is conveyed through language in a news text from two online media, CNNIndonesia.com and News.detik.com, to report on the implementation of the proportional system closed in the 2024 election. 2) Describe how discourse practices relate to producing and consuming news texts from the online media CNNIndonesia.com and News.detik.com regarding the implementation of a closed proportional electoral system. 3) Describe how sociocultural politics is based on contextual relations outside the online media news texts CNNIndonesia.com and News.detik.com on the discourse on implementing a closed proportional electoral system in the 2024 election.

**Language and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

Language is seen not only as a means of communication, but also as an instrument of power by Foucault (1982). Next, Fairclough (2001) states that language is a form of reality. What is Language is currently developing a break through the boundaries of reality itself, which is by van Dijk (2008) referred to as hyper-reality. The latest development at this time, besides language as an imaging tool by Haryatmoko (2007) language can also change the situation (Cutting, 2008). Next, when language, technology, and the Internet are linked, language can also play a role in the democratic process, namely freedom of expression through language, whenever and wherever by Hoed (2011). Thus, language strengthens participatory culture van Dijk (2009b).

The focus of discourse analysis is to see language as the exercise of power by Fairclough and Wodak (in KhosraviNik, 2020) which implies a dialectical relationship between discursive events, situations, institutions, and the social structures that frame them. Critical discourse analysis views the use of spoken and written language as a social practice; for example, in political strategies, text narratives, and conversations in certain contexts. Thus, it can be concluded that discourse gives birth to meaning that can influence certain actions for readers as a result of the selection and use of diction and language structures chosen by journalists. As in the context of this research, this is manifested in the narrative in the news on the online media CNNIndonesia.com and News.detik.com, which report on the closed proportional election system in the 2024 Presidential Election. Readers are concerned about what lies behind the PDIP's attitude in supporting the election system.

**Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) perspective by Fairclough (2013) has three dimensions: (1) the text dimension, in which the focus of analysis is on the text linguistically, including vocabulary, grammar, and sentence structure, by observing elements of identity, relations, and text structure. The analysis was used to explore the ideologies in the text. (2)



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The discourse practice dimension sees text as a product of a text that is produced, distributed to consumers, and then interpreted by consumers as well as acting as readers. (3) Sociocultural practice: This dimension relates to the context outside the text, which includes the social, political, and cultural situations that accompany when the text is made or produced. These three dimensions are analyzed in stages, such as describing, interpreting, and explaining what needs to be explained. Fairclough underlined that the point of concern or focus of the CDA realm is to view language as a practice of power that can affect everyone. If the CDA approach is used in a study, this study seeks to understand the use of language as an ideological carrier in a text or discourse and its consequences. Meanwhile, Fairclough (in Park, 2021) CDA is a medium used to see and reveal current phenomena, such as injustice and power through linguistic aspects.

## **II. METHODOLOGY**

This study used a descriptive qualitative method to explore and understand the meaning of a number of individuals in a group of people originating from social problems (Creswell, 2019). The focus of this study is to analyze the context in the online news CNNIndonesia.com and News.detik.com, which report on PDIP as the only political party that supports the implementation of a closed proportional system in the 2024 election. The news was published online on CNNIndonesia.com January 9, 2023, and News.detik.com January 11, 2023. In the report, it was stated that among the many political parties that rejected the idea that a closed proportional system would be implemented, the PDIP was actually the only party that was ready to support this rule. This raises several conjectures from the various quarters.

Primary and secondary data were used in this study. Primary data are in the form of online reporting on CNNIndonesia.com on January 9, 2023, and News.detik.com on January 11, 2023. Secondary data were obtained from several journal articles. Research data were collected through the process of reading and observing two news texts in the two online news media. The next step was to record relevant data in the news text. The data were analyzed using the CDA model from the Fairclough perspective, which describes the text including grammar and vocabulary; then, it interprets and explains the three-dimensional aspects that are used as analytical tools, which include the dimensions of texts or texts, discourse practices or discourse practices, and social practices or sociocultural practices, which are the background for the production of narratives in news coverage in the media.

## **III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

The reporting on the online media CNNIndonesia.com and News.detik.com analyzed in this study is a form of reaction from the online media to the action of the PDIP as the only political party that supports the discourse of implementing a closed electoral system in 2024. This refers to headlined news "Why does PDIP insist on a closed proportional election system?" on CNNIndonesia.com on January 9, 2023, and "Closed Proportional can Backfire/boomerang for PDIP" on News.detik.com on January 11, 2023.

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The news texts in the two online media platforms were analyzed by researchers using the critical discourse format of Norman Fairclough, including text analysis, discursive practices, and sociocultural practices.

**Text Analysis**

Textual analysis is the main model used from Fairclough's perspective. There are three parts in textual analysis, namely opening, content, and closing. In addition, the number of words in the news can be interpreted as the media's attention to the discourse.

Table 1. Results of text structure analysis from two online news media

<b>Teks</b>	<b>CNNIndonesia.com</b>	<b>News.detik.com</b>
Title	<i>Mengapa PDIP Ngotot Dorong Sistem Pemilu Proporsional Tertutup?</i> (Why does PDIP insist on a closed proportional election system?)	<i>Proporsional Tertutup Bisa Jadi Bumerang bagi PDIP</i> (Closed Proportional can Backfire/boomerang for PDIP)
Initial Section	PDIP's representation as a party that proposes a closed proportional system	Closed proportional system representation
Middle Section	Representation of some of the PDIP's advantages with the discourse of a closed proportional system	The representation of PDIP's support for a closed proportional system creates internal party conflicts
Final Section	The proportional system closes the opportunity for other parties to slump	There is a possibility of creating factionalism dynamics within the PDIP and homeland politics
Total words	657	1173

In this analysis, the author found the headlines news in CNNIndonesia.com, "Why does PDIP insist on a closed proportional election system?". Word "insist" indicate that the PDIP can't wait the implementation of a close proportional election system in 2024. Next on News.detik.com there is the word "boomerang" which is quite bombastic. The meaning of the boomerang itself is a weapon which, if thrown but does not hit the target, will return to the thrower. This is associated with closed proportional election rules which may have bad consequences for the internal PDIP party. The same thing is conveyed in (Sari, 2019) in writing titles or headline news, many news media prefer to use figurative language, bombastic words, and the use of expressions that show pros and cons in order to attract the attention of readers.

Based on the results of the identification of the news texts on the two online media above, CNNIndonesia.com's attention is more focused on a number of things behind the PDIP pushing for the implementation of a closed proportional election system in the 2024 election. It appears that the journalists provided several reasons for the PDIP's stance, although in this case, the actor was not mentioned explicitly. Likewise, the online media News.detik.com presents possible risks that may be experienced by PDIP if a closed proportional election system is implemented. In the News.detik.com report, the practice of language is the power that a journalist has over the discourse conveyed, while maintaining a neutral attitude. The journalist presented information related to the possible impact that could be experienced by

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the PDIP if a closed proportional election system was implemented based on internal issues faced by the PDIP so far.

Viewing text does not only display how an object is described and defined (Fairclough, 2013). Based on Fairclough's opinion, there are three basic elements for analyzing text: representation (clauses and sequences between sentences), relations, and identity. Fairclough's perspective can be studied in three ways, including how a person, group, and ideas are shown through clauses and sequences between sentences, with the results of text identification as follows:

*Representation in Sub Sentences*

Table 2. Results of Analysis of Two Online News Media Representation in Sub Sentences

Element	CNNIndonesia.com	News.detik.com
Vocabulary	Denial, maintain, decline, gain, get rid of (conflict)	Boomerang, popping up, transforming, igniting, igniting, rift, veiled, lowering, alerting, shifting, increasing burden, suspecting, overwhelming, dampening (conflict)
Initial Section	PDIP's representation as a party that proposes a closed proportional system	Closed proportional system representation
Metaphor	(PDIP considers that the open proportional system or voting for candidates for legislative members currently implemented costs the election to be expensive (3rd sentence) people who rely on Megawati rather than PDIP itself (sentence 20).	The discourse was warmly welcomed by PDIP (5th sentence) the last closed proportional was in 2004 which only cost around IDR 3.7 trillion (9th sentence) ... on the other hand it becomes a weapon for PDIP itself (sentence 10) ...factionalism should bring fresh air... (20th sentence)

Representation in clauses can be seen in the vocabulary level used to describe and show something in a news report. Table 2 shows that the level of vocabulary used by both online media such as: "Boomerang, sticking out, igniting, cracking, shrouding, decreasing, being wary of, suspecting, rejecting, setbacks, profitable, and getting rid of" is included in the very strong vocabulary category leading to 'conflict.' The conflict described in the reports of the two online media shows internal party conflict in PDIP, which might occur if a closed proportional system is actually implemented. Through the use of diction or vocabulary on the two news portals, it shows the different objectives of a news report. The same thing is conveyed in Saffanah (2021), surely each news portal tends to highlight different ideas based on the same issue to be represented in their news (Ibnus, 2019).

The representation of clauses is on the theme, which shows that the two online media platforms use almost the same level of grammar in the news text. The online media CNNIndonesia.com displays an event marked with an active sentence structure because it is marked by the presence of a subject in the sentence, whereas News.detik.com displays an



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event marked by a passive sentence structure because it is marked by the missing subject in the sentence in the report. The first sentence in the text of the two online media displays a different level of language if CNNIndonesia.com displays more of an action, whereas News.detik.com displays more of an event so that the actor is omitted. It can be concluded that an action signifies how the actor performs an action for someone who causes something, as in (Dewi, 2019).

A metaphor raised by journalists of the two online media in a text is also not spared from the display of news in the two online media. The existence of a metaphor aims to attract the attention of the reader from the perspective of beauty and strengthen the expression of information conveyed in a news text. Besides that, in other studies it was also stated that the use of metaphors can also make news headlines more concise and clearer (Chen, 2018; Fitria, 2022). This can be seen from the metaphors used in reporting on the two online media in the table above, namely sentences from CNNIndonesia.com "people who rely on Megawati rather than PDIP itself" The use and choice of this metaphor distorts the personal values of a journalist, to show that the public has so far fully believed in Megawati's figure as chairman, not in PDIP or the party itself. The same thing is also found that several metaphors are used by some journalists to show attitude and evaluation of an object in the text that refers to the thing that you want to highlight in a report or news (Busri & Badrih, 2022).

On the other hand, through the two online media platforms, journalists want to convey that PDIP is quite confident and believe that a closed proportional system will not affect vote acquisition. This is because the charisma of the general chairman is more prominent than that of PDIP. Thus, even if only the party is elected, people believe that whoever is elected by the chairman is the best figure. Meanwhile, News.detik.com presents a metaphor "on the other hand it becomes a weapon for PDIP itself". The metaphor in online media reporting further emphasizes concerns and warnings against the PDIP if a closed proportional system is implemented in the 2024 Presidential Election. "weapon or backfire" represents how powerful the impact will be to hit back at PDIP if the system is used. Through this news, it raises a kind of joint reflection both from the point of view of the PDIP's own intentions and the reading public in general, and the implications for the political climate in Indonesia in the future. The use of metaphors for the issue of closed proportional election rules as a way for journalists to express and express emotions in a report same as in (Febriansyah, 2020). The same thing is also found that several metaphors are used by some journalists to emphasize the issues being reported and to attract the readers' attention (Aqromi, 2020).

*Representation in a series between sentences*

Table 3. Results of two online news media representations in inter sentence series

Element	CNNIndonesia.com	News.detik.com
Beginning	PDIP is the only party in parliament that still insists on proposing a closed proportional system or voting for political parties in the 2024 general	

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	election.	
Ending		Currently, Indonesia is being battered by the issue of changing the legislative election system to become closed proportional. This phenomenon has emerged since the other day it was reported that there was a judicial review application file with case number 114/PUU-XX/2022 that was submitted to the Constitutional Court (MK) regarding this matter. If you look at it so far, the general public and most of the other political parties have chosen to stand as opposition to this idea. However, the interesting thing is that this discourse was warmly welcomed by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP).

In sentences on the online media CNNIndonesia.com, journalists place the actor's position at the beginning as a negative reaction to the events that occurred. Next, the journalist places information on the closed proportional electoral system discourse at the end of the sentence as a reaction to what the actor is doing. In the context of this study, it appears that journalists position the sentence structure to show the ideological practices that they want to convey through the discourse in the news. This positioning relates to the information you want to highlight between actors or events (Montejo & Adriano, 2018). This shows whether the participants are considered independent or react in the news text. On the other hand, in the online news media News.detik.com, the actor's position is displayed at the end, so that it does not cause too much negative reaction. Journalists compose clauses that do not display actors at the beginning, thus implicitly showing the discourse practices that journalists want to convey to get more attention from readers for the events that occur. In the news on CNN and detik.com the use of active and passive sentences seems balanced to be used to convey information about PDIP's attitude towards the enactment of closed proportional ELECTION rules in 2024. In previous studies, Indonesian newspapers constructed news dominated by the use of active sentences to explain cases of gender based violence in detail and represent women as weak and submissive (Mardikantoro et al., 2022).

#### *Identity*

Table 3. Results of two online news media representations

Element	CNNIndonesia.com	News.detik.com
Journalists identify themselves with the actions of PDIP officials	PD PDIP considers that the open proportional system or voting for candidates for the legislature (caleg) currently implemented is costly for elections.	PDIP Secretary General Hasto Kristiyanto, so far Indonesia has indulged too much in a liberal way of playing. He stated that this pattern has given rise to the phenomenon of political liberalization, in which political capitalization, political oligarchy, and free competition in any way are the price that must be borne by the process of

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Journalists identify themselves with social issues or problems	Implementation of closed proportional system: Executive Director (IPO), Dedi Kurnia Syah believes that the closed proportional system election discourse can benefit PDIP in terms of vote acquisition. PDIP has a little self-confidence because the party's attraction lies in the party itself and the charm behind the figure of its general chairman. Political observer from Unpad Kunto Adi Wibowo views the discourse on closed proportional elections as being exhaled by PDIP to restore full power to his party's chairman. Cleaning up opportunistic cadres. (based on expert/observer)	democratization of Indonesia. The implementation of a closed proportional system: igniting the axis of competition between party members, clashes among candidates which lead to the proliferation of factionalism can lead to polarization, as well as exacerbate the regeneration of PDIP party members. (based on the track record of the party's internal struggles)
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The identity analysis of the two news texts above shows how journalists position and identify themselves with the events or social groups involved. The journalist's position at CNNIndonesia.com identifies himself as an outsider who tries to see from the PDIP's perspective with regard to support for a closed proportional electoral system in the 2024 election. This is shown through information from several experts who state that "the closed proportional system election discourse that benefits PDIP is wrong.

Likewise, in News.detik.com news, journalists identify themselves as outsiders who try to empathize by seeing some of the possibilities that will befall PDIP if a closed proportional system is implemented. This refers to the internal struggles of the party that has been going on; if a closed proportional election system is implemented, it will further ignite the axis of competition between party members. The two reports seem to imply that the existence of PDIP as the only party supporting a closed proportional electoral system is indeed seen as capable of this, but one must also be aware of the worst possibility that could arise from within the party itself.

### **Discourse Practice**

Discourse cannot be separated from the influence of the production process carried out by a person or group of people with different backgrounds and goals. Each report is produced and compiled by several media apparatuses, including starting from the top, namely the media supervisor, news director, editor-in-chief, editor, and vanguard in the field, namely journalists. The online media News.detik.com is under the auspices of the CT. Corp from August 3, 2011, led by Chairul Tanjung. Likewise, CNNIndonesia.com was present in Indonesia on October 20, 2014, under the auspices of PT Agranet Multicitra Siberkom, which is part of PT Trans Media Corpora. The two online media platforms have a mission to present actual news by presenting events in a sharp, detailed manner, accompanied by arguments and relevant data according to facts to be conveyed to the public.

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Chairul Tanjung, as a conglomerate who is also the owner of the largest retail company spread across several regions in Indonesia, does not have a party or is affiliated with any party. In his track record quoted from nasional. kompas. com, he served as Coordinating Minister for the Economy until October 2014 but did not want to take office again or be nominated as a candidate for president or cawapres in the next government period. Referring to the figure of Chairul Tanjung as the founder and CEO of Trans Media, all forms of production in reporting on the online media CNNIndonesia.com and News.detik.com cannot be separated from the influence of his ideology. The same thing was also stated by (Mardikantoro et al., 2022) that a news report cannot be separated from journalists, editors, director, and publisher in framing the information.

Reporting on the two online media platforms is very closely related to the background of the figure of the media owner, namely Chairul Tanjung, who is not bound by government agencies or political parties. Thus, the content of the news on the online media CNNIndonesia.com and News.detik.com appears neutral or reports events outside of government objects. The CNNIndonesia.com news on January 9, 2023, tried to explore the <sup>4</sup>real reasons behind and made the PDIP very confident in supporting the implementation of a closed proportional system in the 2024 Presidential Election. The news content only presented information about a number of things that made the PDIP confident enough to accept closed proportional rules in the 2024 presidential election. This can also be seen in the last paragraph of the news, which states that this rule can be adopted by the PDIP because they believe that the party is still voting a lot, even though with a closed proportional system, voters cannot see the candidate (CNN, 2023).

Meanwhile, the news on News.detik.com on January 11, 2023, presented information that was a follow-up report as well as a form of confirmation of the previous report on CNNIndonesia.com regarding the attitude of the PDIP, which was quite confident in accepting a closed proportional election system. The news stated that supporting and accepting a closed proportional election system could backfire the PDIP itself. For example, the application of a closed proportional system can ignite the axis of competition between party members, clashes between candidates that lead to the growth of factionalism, and exacerbating the regeneration of PDIP party members, some of which can lead to internal conflict within the party itself. (Newsdetik, 2023). In the last paragraph, the emphasis is again on the attitude of the PDIP in favor of a closed proportional electoral system through a sort of warning that the PDIP should need to reconsider its political strategy and tactics regarding the issue of implementing a closed proportional electoral system in the 2024 Presidential Election. Thus, it can be concluded that from the two reports, each online media position itself as a neutral outsider, observing and commenting on an issue based on expert opinion quotes, journalists' views or ideology, and, of course, there is a distortion of the values of the online media owners.

### **Sociocultural Practice**

Analysis of social practice or sociocultural practice is based on social contexts that are outside the media, but very influential on how the discourse is produced by the media.

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*Situational*

Ahead of the 2024 Presidential Election, pros and cons emerged regarding the election discourse with a closed proportional system, after the controversy regarding the threshold for presidential nominations. This discourse seems to add to the complexity of the election process while simultaneously tightening the rights of citizens to contest and discredit Indonesian citizens who have the potential to become presidential candidates to fight in the presidential election. The chairman of the General Election Commission, Hasyim Asy'ari stated that after the lawsuit was filed at the Constitutional Court, a closed proportional election system was allowed to be used in the 2024 elections, but 8 (eight) political parties in parliament, namely the Democratic Party, Golkar, PKB, Gerindra, PPP, PAN, NasDem, and PKS, view the closed proportional election system as a form of democratic decline in Indonesia. However, a different attitude was shown by PDIP, namely, being the only political party that supports this discourse by holding on to the assumption that an open proportional election system requires a lot of money.

From online media coverage, by using a closed proportional system, the PDI-P will be more confident and able to clean up internal party cadres from cadres who are not in the same vision and mission as the chairman. Therefore, in this case, the general chairman has full power in determining everything, including Legislative Candidates and Presidential Candidates. However, a closed proportional election system can also trigger competition between party members, conflict of interests among candidates that can lead to the emergence of factionalism, and weaken the regeneration of PDIP party members. In (Luke et al., 2021) implies that the situational aspect refers to the time or atmosphere, which is the micro-context of the event when the text or news is produced. As stated by mardiantara the sociocultural context outside the media also influences the framing of discursive representations (Mardikantoro et al., 2022). The text or news is produced in a condition or atmosphere that is specific, unique, so that one text may be different from another text. However, this study looks different because the two online media show news about things that are seen from the same point of view. This is influenced by the similarity in the ownership of online media.

*Institutional*

Explicitly in the news media, CNNIndonesia.com presents several expert views from several institutions in the news, namely Executive Director of Indonesia Political Opinion (IPO) Dedi Kurnia Syah and Political Observer from Padjadjaran University (Unpad) Kunto Adi Wibowo. Meanwhile, Newsdetik.com only presented a quote by Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives Coordinator for Economics and Finance, Sufmi Dasco Ahmad, on the issue of changing the legislative election system to a closed proportional. However, CNNIndonesia.com and Newsdetik.com also influenced news production.

CNNIndonesia.com is owned by the PT Trans Corporation (or Trans Corp) through a portion of the shares already owned by an indigenous businessman, Chairul Tanjung. Chairul Tanjung besides owning CNNIndonesia.com also has other businesses including Trans TV, Trans 7, Bank Mega, Carrefour, Transmart, Trans Studio, and others.



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One of the online news media outlets also shaded by the company is detik.com. This news site is popular and most frequently visited by news hunters in the Indonesian version of Alexa.com. The history of the founding of Newdetik.com was founded by several senior journalists from detik.com, namely Budiono Darsono, Yayan Sopyan, Abdul Rahman, and Didi Nugrahadi, after which he joined Trans Corp.

The online media CNNIndonesia.com and News.detik.com differ in terms of the appearance of news broadcasts; namely, for CNNIndonesia.com, the presentation of news content appears solid with a simple, neat, elegant appearance, and is not too concerned with advertising. As for News.detik.com, the presentation of news tends to be longer, and there is still advertising content on the commercial side of the website.

#### *Social*

Social factors influence the discourse that appears in a report (Eriyanto, 2001). The social and political factors that occur in Indonesia ahead of the 2024 Presidential Election have made the two online media, News.detik.com and CNNIndonesia.com, present news regarding the issue of the imposition of a closed proportional electoral system in the upcoming legislative elections. The emergence of this news topic was due to the pros and cons of this issue, which involved several political parties already in parliament.

In the context of this research, the news delivered by the two online media News.detik.com and cnnindonesia.com entitled "Closed Proportional Can Backfire for PDIP" and "Why PDIP Insistence Pushes for Closed Proportional Election System?" as if representing the public's curiosity about the eight parties that rejected it, and one party that supported a closed proportional electoral system. In addition, through this news, it also seems to answer the public's curiosity about whether the system will really benefit the supporting parties, so that they have a great chance of being able to win seats in the legislative elections or vice versa. With the existence of a closed proportional election system, all forms of authority will return to the general chairman of the party, including determining candidates in Presidential and Legislative Elections. However, apart from this, a closed proportional election system has the potential to cause conflicts of interest between members or cadres within the party.

The social effect of reporting on cnnindonesia.com provides information to the public about several opinions from figures relating to the reasons why PDIP is the only party that supports the election system. Likewise, the social effects of News.detik.com's reporting inform the public that a closed proportional election system can have a serious impact on the internal integrity of the party. Thus, it can be concluded that from these two reports, the public gains views on the closed proportional election system, the advantages and impacts that can be felt by political parties, and the public or the public who will elect candidates for legislative candidates.

Based on textual analysis, there is a different focus on the representation of events between News.detik.com and cnnindonesia.com media. The report states that of the nine political parties in parliament, PDIP is the only party that supports this system. His partiality actually backfired on the integrity of the party, because through this system, it could trigger competition between party cadres and conflict of interests between fellow candidates, which led to

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factionalism, weakening the regeneration of PDIP party members as well as their implications for the growth and development of democracy and politics in Indonesia.

In the news, cnnindonesia.com focuses on the actor, namely the PDIP. The news indicates that the PDIP's position is strong and confident enough to face and undergo the system because the party's appeal is more to the party themselves rather than their candidates. Previous research that compared the five news portal was conducted by (Saffanah, 2021). This research observes how the case of Audrey's bullying is represented in the five news media. The results showed that the representations built by the five news media were different. The South China Morning Post only shows some opinions from the internet about how netizens react to acts of Audrey's bullying. Meanwhile, The Jakarta Post published the news by presenting several versions expert reports regarding the chronology of the incident. Next, Nextshrak.com and Tempo presented their views regarding this issue as a problem of teenage romance. Whereas Coconuts.co tries to represent the victim's side based on the alleged point of view. This is in line with the findings of this study, namely, that although the two media are under one leadership, the ideology of each media has different political interests. Both reports highlighted the PDIP supporting a closed proportional election system. However, what makes the difference is that cnnindonesia.com tries to highlight the reasons behind the PDIP side, while News.detik.com shares material for reflection with the PDIP, other parties, and the public that this system can also backfire, triggering divisions within the party.

The different representations of actors and events in the news agree with what is said by (Fairclough, 1982) that every discourse in the news context has a discursive dimension, the owner's ideology, and journalists are also involved in influencing the form of discourse produced. Likewise, CNNIndonesia.com and News.detik.com have different ideologies and interests, even though they are still of the same parentage. Readers can assess how interest and social relations are mutually destructive in reporting PDIP's partiality in a closed proportional election system from different points of view.

Next, research was conducted by Risdaneva (2018). The research focuses on issues of gender and symbolic violence against reports in the The Jakarta post and The Guardian. This is proven through lingual evidence referring to symbolic violence, which tends to place women in a corner. The relevance of this research is the finding of similarities in several types of lingual evidence used by the media to represent agents or actors in reporting. Furthermore, there is evidence of transitivity and lexicality in representing certain parties and images. This is categorized as a recontextualization of the agent into a new form by utilizing the lingual context, which in the end, every reproduced discourse experiences recontextualization, which is influenced by the context of the discourse maker (van Dijk, 2009a). In this study, cnnindonesia.com and News.detik.com have different tendencies in terms of representing the issue of a closed proportional election system that will be implemented in the 2024 Presidential Election from the perspective of parties that support this system. The two reports highlighted the reasons for PDIP support and the possible impact that PDIP would experience if the system was implemented.

#### **IV. CONCLUSION**

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Differences in focus in a report is a common thing. Cnnindonesia.com emphasizes the actor, namely PDIP as the only party that proposes and supports a closed proportional election system in the 2024 election. Through this system, the party chairperson absolutely determines cadres in parliament. Meanwhile, Newsdetik.com tends to highlight some of the impacts of a closed proportional electoral system on the integrity of the PDIP itself and the sustainability of the political climate in Indonesia. From the two reports, there is a difference in the focus of representation and the purpose of the news. Thus, it can be concluded that the context of the media and the context of the communication situation appear to have a significant effect on determining the meaning of speech in online news media. These meanings can be interpreted differently by readers or responders so that they can influence and even change their attitudes and political views.

This research has not been able to provide a solid basis for formulating an assumption that reporting in online media is able to change one's political attitudes and views. In order to test and develop the results of this research, it is very necessary to carry out further research, especially with regard to the column of comments or readers' responses in a report that appears unexpectedly and has not been touched on in this study. For example, public responses or readers or responders in the online news comment column. Comments or responses in the comments column of an online news play an important role in the meaning of an online news.

Analysis of response text is interesting to reveal and examine further, because it relates to the understanding of the public or readers of a news report. This can be done through text analysis by tracing and showing the context of the media and the context of the communication situation on the Internet, as suggested by Herring (2007). in analyzing computer-mediated discourse or what is known as computer-mediated discourse analysis (CMDA). According to him, the notion of interactive discourse in the context of CMD is more about the characteristic effects of computer technology on language use, as an embodiment of social practice, so that the characteristics and characteristics contained in computer media and Internet channels are also attached to the characteristics and characteristics of interactive discourse.

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Penilai



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