

Critical Discourse Analysis of Online Media News about The Potential of Conflict of Presidential Election 2019

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Abstract - This paper aims to describe the results analysis of ten texts report on the Potential of Conflict of Presidential Election 2019 by using critical discourse analysis approach of Norman Fairclough. The study includes text analysis (description), discourse practice (interpretation), and social practice (explanation). The results of the analysis as follows (1) The structure of the texts report consists of four discourse units: the title, orientation, sequence of events and conclusion. (2) The results of the interpretation indicate what happened, who was involved, what relationship to the raised issue, and what role of the language. (3) The explanation describes the sociocultural conditions consisting of situations when the text report was produced, the influence of the institution involved in the text produced, and the condition of the community related to economic, political, social and cultural interests.

Keywords - critical discourse analysis of Fairclough, text report, online media, description, interpretation, explanation.

I. INTRODUCTION

The journey of time seemed to pass quickly, the presidential election delivered Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla as president and vice president of Indonesia in 2014. Now, it will not be much different as before, Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto have been chosen as the candidate of president in the election 2019. The competition continues to heat up to this day. Attacking on social media between the two axes even gave birth to hashtag #Replace President 2019 against #Stay Jokowi 2019. Therefore, it can be ascertained that the fight could create conflicts among the parties, the supporting masses and opposing masses. If not vigilant, a fierce battle in the presidential election 2019 could be used by a group of irresponsible people who want to tear our national weaving. Namely *NKRI*, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, the Constitution 1945, and *Pancasila*. The presidential election as a five-yearly democratic party must be a momentum for the people to produce leaders who are statesmen.

It is very interesting to investigate how the packaging of news related to the Indonesian Presidential Election is a central issue this year. By utilizing the existing moments, online news media enlivened with various political news presented in such a way as to attract public attention. Not only from the phenomenal news titles but also with the scent of language makes the news more attractive.

This study aims to describe the text of the news concerning "The Potential of Conflict of Presidential Election 2019" by using the main approach of critical discourse analysis of Norman Fairclough's model.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Language is an inseparable part of social life, so discourse analysis needs to pay attention to issues beyond language. Fairclough (1989) argues that language as a social practice has three implications, namely: (1) discourse cannot be separated from society, (2) discourse is a social process, and (3) discourse processes according to conditioned state in society. Reinforced by Fauzan (2015) that linguistic phenomena are social, while social phenomena are linguistic. Summing up from several experts; van Dick (1997, 2008), Fairclough and Wodak (1997), Eriyanto (2001), Badara (2012) and Sumarlam (2015, 2016) characteristics of critical discourse analysis comprise action, context, history, power, and ideology.

a. Discourse is understood as an action, socialized as a form of interaction that has a purpose, expressed consciously, controlled, not something that is out of control or expressed outside of consciousness.

b. In analyzing discourse, the context that needs to be considered is the context of social situations, social practices and intertextuality in the occurrence of a process of mutually affecting dialectically between language and social. According to Van Dijk (2008) the context includes three main things: settings, participants, and communication events.

c. Analysis of critical discourse does not only find out when an event occurred but also want to know more about why the event occurred. The political situation, the atmosphere at the time of the event, and other things surrounding the event are important aspects in the historical context.

d. The context of power is one of the main differentiators between discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis. Eriyanto (2001) argues, any discourse that appears in the form of text, conversation, or whatever, is not seen as natural and neutral, but it is a form of power struggle. Therefore, critical discourse analysis connects with certain social, political, economic and cultural strengths and conditions.

e. Ideology is a central study in critical discourse analysis. Eriyanto (2001) revealed that text, conversation, and others are forms of ideological practices or reflections of certain ideologies. As stated by Badara (2012) Ideology has two opposing meanings, positively and negatively. Positive, ideology is perceived as a world view that states the value of certain social groups to defend and advance their interests. Negatively, ideology is seen as a false awareness, namely the need to commit fraud by reversing people's understanding of social reality. Discourse is not seen as neutral and takes place naturally because in every discourse ideology is always contained to dominate and seize influence.

Thus, critical discourse analysis not only relies on one approach, but also has multidisciplinary in revealing ideology based on a positive self-deployment strategy and negative exposure to others.

This critical discourse analysis is focused on three analyzes, namely; text analysis, analysis of discourse practices and analysis of sociocultural practices described as follows.

a. Text Analysis

Focusing on the use of language to track the themes raised in the news that reflects ideology. The use of language includes the use of words, metaphors, and sentence structures used by the text producer.

b. Analysis of Discourse Practices

At this level, the analysis of discourse practices is done by looking for the meaning of the relationship between the interpretation of the text and the interpretation of the context. Text interpretation is carried out in four levels: utterance, speech meaning, local coherence, and discourse integrity. At the level of speech, researchers identify the use of words and sentences using grammatical knowledge. At the level of speech meaning, researchers identify utterances by using semantic and pragmatic knowledge. At the level of local coherence, researchers identify the interrelationships between words and sentences using understanding of the use of cohesion. At the level of discourse integrity, researchers identify text globally by using schemata.

Interpretation of context is carried out at two levels: context of situation and intertextuality. At the context of the situation, the researcher identifies the context of the situation by observing the social influence on the text. At the level of intertextuality, researchers investigate text intertextuality by comparing the existing text with the text that appeared before.

c. Analysis of Sociocultural Practices

Analysis of sociocultural practices is an analysis of the relationship between discourse practices and social context. This analysis aims to find an explanation of the results of the interpretation by referring to the sociocultural conditions around the produced text consisting of three parts: situational, institutional and social.

III. METHOD

Fairclough (1989, 1995) developed a framework for analyzing critical discourse into three dimensions: text analysis, analysis of discourse practices, and analysis of sociocultural practices. Text analysis covers three functions, representation functions, relations and identities. Analysis of discourse practices is related to how to produce and consume text. Sociocultural practices analyze two political and cultural matters that also influence media institutions and their discourse. The discussion of sociocultural practices includes three levels, namely the situational, institutional, and social levels. The situational level is related to production and the context of the situation. Institutional level related to the influence of institutions internally or externally. The social level is related to more macro situations, such as the political system and the overall cultural system.

The methods used include: (1) linguistic descriptions of texts in terms of language, (2) interpretation of the relationship between the production process and the consumption of text and the text and (3) an explanation of the relationship between discursive processes (production and consumption of texts) and sociocultural processes.

IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This section presents the analysis of the news text concerning the potential of conflict of the presidential election 2019 begins with the description of the structure of the news text, the theme of the news text, the grammar of news texts, interpretations and continued explanations.

1. Description

a. News Text Structure

This study shows that the structure of the news text consists of four discourse units, namely the news title, orientation, sequence of events, and closing. As an example of the news text (1) in *Kompas.com, Jakarta* (Wednesday, 27/12/2017), entitled "*Konflik Politik 2019 Semakin Besar, Jika...*". The construction of the text built by the four units of discourse has different functions and forms a single type of text, namely the news text.

The first part, the title, serves to show important events that occurred. This section determines whether or not an event is made into the news. News text must provide interesting, important and phenomenal information. The more controversial, the more interesting news to be exposed.

The second part, orientation, is the part that introduces the initiation of the events reported. In this case, the core of the event is that the political conflict in 2019 could become increasingly acute, coupled with political tensions in the 2017 DKI Jakarta regional election.

The third part, the sequence of events, becomes the most important part of the news text because it is this part that describes in detail the main events that occur including; participant, time and place of incident.

The fourth part, closing, serves to close the delivery of information to the events that occurred. For example, one text of the news is closed with a suggestion as follows. "The need for social institutions outside politics that are able to moderate politics."

b. News Text Theme

From the search results on the internet media, found 10 news texts from 8 sources that have the main theme regarding the potential of conflict of the presidential election 2019 with several sub-themes of development. The theme/sub-theme in question, chronologically based on the reporting time is as follows:

- 1) Konflik Politik 2019 Akan Semakin Besar (Source: <https://nasional.kompas.com>, Wednesday 27/12/2017, 06.36 WIB)
- 2) Peta Konflik Pemikiran Menjelang Pilpres 2019 (Source: <http://redaksiindonesia.com>, Friday, 12/01/2018, 14.15 WIB)
- 3) Jokowi Vs Prabowo di Pilpres 2019 Memicu Konflik di Masyarakat (Source: <https://nasional.kompas.com>, Monday 26/2/2018, 21.57 WIB)
- 4) Persaingan Jokowi dan Prabowo di Pilpres 2019 Memicu Konflik (Source: <https://Indowarta.com>, Tuesday 02/27/2018)
- 5) Potensi Konflik Meningkat Jelang Pilpres 2019 (Source: <http://akurat.co>, Thursday, 03/15/2018, 00.35 WIB)
- 6) Potensi Konflik Membesar Jelang Pilpres (Source: www.benarnews.org, Monday, 04/30/2018)
- 7) Pilpres 2019 Ciptakan Disintegrasi Sosial dan Konflik Horizontal (Source: <http://www.swamedium.com>, Sunday, 08/08/2018)
- 8) Daerah Rawan Konflik Pilpres 2019 (Source: <http://kabar24.bisnis.com/nasional>, Thursday 09/08/2018, 15:27 WIB)
- 9) Perang Tagar Pada Pilpres 2019 (Source: <https://breakingnews.co.id>, Wednesday 05/09/2018, 02.34 WIB)
- 10) Konflik Antar Pendukung *Pilpres 2019* (Source: <http://jatimnow.com>, Monday, 30/09/2018, 16.43 WIB)

c. News Text Grammar

The analysis is focused on modalities, positive and negative sentences used in news texts produced by both the media and participants or the involvement of discourse. According to Perkins (1983), modality is not only the attitude of the speaker/speaker to the proposition, but also the attitude of the speaker/speaker to the event. Modalities are the assessment/attitude of the speaker, like or dislike, reject or accept, agree or disagree (or may be neutral in the middle), which contains ideology (ideas, opinions, ideas, beliefs) from speakers. It shows the position where the speaker side. Referring to

Alwi's (1992) research, modality which also shows the attitude and standpoint of producing text can be classified into four sub-categories, namely intentional modality, epistemic modality, deontic modality and dynamic modality. From observing 10 news texts, it can be presented to the four sub-categories of modalities as follows.

a. Intentional modalities, related to the meaning of desire, hope, invitation, request:

1. *Ia **berharap**, Jokowi mampu menjaga profesionalitas dan soliditas TNI-Polri jelang 2019 agar konflik politik tak membesar* (Source: 1/27/12/2017)
2. *Jika nantinya wacana tersebut tidak tercapai, Arsul **berharap** Pilpres 2019 bisa berlangsung dengan kondusif* (Source: 3/26/2/2018)
3. *"Kalau misalnya Pak Jokowi maju sendiri, ya **permintaan** PPP seperti itu* (Source : 3/26/2/2018 and 4/27/2/2018)
4. *Namun, jika wacana ini tidak terwujud, dia **mengharapkan penyelenggaraan** Pilpres 2019 akan tetap kondusif.* (Source: 4/27/2/2018)
5. *oleh karena itu polri **mengajak** seluruh lapisan masyarakat untuk terlibat aktif dalam 'cooling system' yang digagas guna menjaga kesejukan menjelang pesta demokrasi lima tahunan.* (Source: 5/15/03/2018)
6. *Karena itu, Ray **berharap** elit politik tidak membiarkan potensi gesekan di masyarakat.* (Source: 6/30/04/2018)
7. *Karena itu kita **berharap** polisi dapat menangkap para pelaku," katanya.* (Source: 6/30/04/2018)
8. *Ketua Yayasan Setara Institute, Hendaradi, **berharap** pemerintah dan aparat penegak hukum bertindak tegas untuk mencegah berulangnya intimidasi karena perbedaan pandangan politik.* (Source: 6/30/04/2018)
9. *"Aparat **hendaknya melakukan** tindakan polisional lebih memadai untuk mencegah agar peristiwa serupa tidak terulang," pungkasnya.* (Source: 6/30/04/2018)
10. *"**Mari** kita hindari konflik horizontal dari perbedaan dua tagar tersebut.* (Source: 09/05/09/2018)
11. *Gerakan ini **diharapkan tidak memicu** terjadinya konflik horizontal antar pendukung setiap pasangan calon.* (Source: 10/30/09/2018)
12. *Cak Imin, panggilan akrab Muhaimin Iskandar **berharap** masyarakat bisa menjaga situasi tetap kondusif dan damai, selama pelaksanaan Pilpres 2019 mendatang.* (Source: 10/30/09/2018)
13. *Mantan Menteri Tenaga Kerja dan Transmigrasi ini **mengajak** kepada seluruh pendukung setiap pasangan calon, untuk menikmati proses pilpres dengan gembira.* (Source:10/30/09/2018)
14. *selain itu Cak Imin juga **mengajak untuk berkompetisi** dengan sehat dalam pilpres mendatang.* (Source: 10/30/09/2018)

b. Epistemic modality, related to knowledge and trust/beliefs, which can mean possibility/ reliability, necessity, certainty:

1. *Menurut Arif, konflik politik pada 2019 **bisa jadi** semakin meruncing jika beberapa hal masih terjadi.* (Source:1/27/12/2017)
2. *Kedua, **harus ada kepuasan** masyarakat terhadap pembangunan.* (Source:1/27/12/2017)
3. *Ketiga, peluang konflik pada 2019 **akan membesar** jika pemerintah gagal pada tiga hal, yakni penegakan hukum, penegakan Hak Asasi Manusia (HAM), dan antikorupsi.* (Source: 1/27/12/2018)
4. *Arif menilai, prestasi hukum Jokowi **akan stagnan** jika masih mempertahankan Menteri Hukum dan HAM serta Jaksa Agung dari unsur politisi.* (Source: 1/27/12/2018)
5. *Selama itu dilakukan, **tidak akan pernah** prestasi hukumnya Jokowi bagus," kata dia.* (Source: 1/27/12/2018)
6. *Jadi bila di pilpres 2014 menyuguhkan pertarungan figur dua politisi (Jokowi vs Prabowo), namun di pilpres 2019 **akan lebih menyuguhkan** pertarungan ideologis yang mana figur dari Nasionalis Konservatif yang **akan diusung sudah akan berganti** tak lagi Prabowo, melainkan figur yang lain.* (Source: 2/12/01/2018)
7. ***Ini tentu** jauh lebih menarik daripada pilpres 2014 yang lebih didominasi oleh pertikaian perasaan daripada pemikiran, atau dengan kata lain perang antara suka (like) dan tidak suka (dislike) pada sosok Jokowi atau Prabowo.* (Source: 2/12/01/2018)
8. *"Kalau Pak Jokowi dan Pak Prabowo lagi **pasti** segresinya akan setajam (pilpres) 2014,"...(Source: 3/26/2/2018 and 4/27/02/2018)*
9. *Arsul juga **menepis kepastian pencalonan** Ketua Umum PPP Muhammad Romahurmuziy sebagai pendamping Jokowi.* (Source: 3/26/02/2018)
10. *"Saya kira kalau bagi Gerindra kami **akan solid mendukung** Prabowo menjadi calon presiden , " ujar Fadli Zon saat ditemui di kompleks Parlemen, Senayan, Jakarta,..."(Source: 3/26/02/2018)*
11. *Fadli mengatakan, dengan pencalonan Prabowo sebagai capres **akan memberikan pilihan** bagi masyarakat sebagai pemilih.* (Source: 3/26/02/2018)
12. *Sebab, jika Prabowo dicalonkan dengan Jokowi, maka **tidak akan ada kekuatan** penyeimbang.* (Source: 3/26/02/2018)
13. *...persaingan yang terjadi antara Jokowi Widodo (Jokowi) dan Prabowo Subianto dalam Pilpres 2019 mendatang **akan memungkinkan** adanya konflik horizontal yang cukup terlihat di kalangan masyarakat.* (Source: 4/27/02/2018)

14. Dia berpendapat jika duet antara Jokowi dan Prabowo dilakukan maka hal tersebut **akan dapat menjadi** solusi untuk melakukan pencegahan adanya segregasi yang cukup tajam di dalam kalangan masyarakat. (Source: 4/27/02/2018)
15. Dalam pilpres 2019 nanti, dia menegaskan bahwa PPP juga **tidak akan bersi keras mencalonkan** kadernya untuk mendampingi Jokowi. (Source: 4/27/2018)
16. Dia mengatakan, jika ketua umumnya maju sebagai capres, maka masyarakat sebagai pemilih **akan diberikan pilihan**, hal itu karena Jika Prabowo disandingkan dengan Jokowi maka **akan muncul** kekuatan penyeimbang. (Source: 4/27/02/2018)
17. “Tentu perkiraan intelijen yang disampaikan jelas bahwa memasuki pesta demokrasi, potensi konflik **akan semakin meningkat**,” kata Karopenmas Divisi Humas Polri. (Source: 05/15/03/2018)
18. Jika mesin yang sudah panas itu **akan mudah menyala** bila terus dipicu dengan tuas starter. (Source: 05/15/03/2018)
19. Potensi konflik sosial dikhawatirkan **akan membesar** jelang pemilu legislatif (Pileg) dan pemilihan Presiden (Pilpres) di Indonesia tahun 2019 mendatang. (Source: 06/30/04/2018)
20. Tapi dengan semakin digaungkan, **akan semakin besar** pula potensi gesekan,” katanya. (Source: 06/30/04/2018)
21. Mabes Polri menyatakan **akan menindaklanjuti** setiap laporan dari masyarakat terkait aksi persekusi tersebut. (Source: 06/30/04/2018)
- 22.” Tentu akan kita proses sesuai dengan ketentuan,” ujar Kepala Divisi Humas Mabes Polri Setyo tentang laporan-laporan yang mereka terima. (Source: 06/30/04/2018)
23. “Penyusup selalu ada. Biasa. Nanti pun **akan rapi**. (seperti) Aksi 212 bisa dikoordinasikan dengan baik. Kita **akan saling mengingatkan**,” tambahnya. (Source: 06/30/04/2018)
24. Tentu pancingan Jokowi **akan dijawab** oleh kelompok pendukung penantang dengan seruan siap menyambut tantangan Jokowi. (Source: 07/05/08/2018)
25. Pendukung penantang dari kelompok Islam, **tentu tidak akan takut** dengan tantangan Jokowi. (Source: 07/05/08/2018)
26. Mungkin dalam rapat-rapat bersifat massa, **akan meneriakkan Jihad** sebagai jawabnya. (Source: 07/05/08/2018)
27. Kepala Divisi Humas Mabes Polri Irjen Setyo Wasisto mengungkapkan pemetaan tersebut **akan dilakukan** Kepolisian setelah pasangan capres-cawapres mendaftarkan diri ke Komisi Pemilihan Umum (KPU). (Source: 08/09/08/2018)
28. “Jadi nanti kami lihat perkembangannya dulu, kalau sudah tahu masing-masing paslonnya, baru kita bisa petakan daerah pendukung dan tidak mendukung, kami **akan petakan betul-betul** agar pengamanan bisa tepat sasaran,” tuturnya. (Source: 08/09/08/2018)
29. Ajang pemilihan presiden 2019 sejatinya **akan dilaksanakan** pada April 2019 mendatang. (Source: 09/05/09/2018)

c. Deontic modalities, related to the meaning of obligations, permits, orders/restrictions/ warnings:

1. **Elit harus meredam** agar tidak berkembang lebih jauh. (Source: 6/30/04/2018)
2. “Pemerintah DKI Jakarta, khususnya gubernur dan wakil gubernur **harus mengevaluasi** secara adil penggunaan CFD dan ruang public lain untuk kegiatan kampanye politik,” katanya dalam pernyataan tertulis yang diterima BeritaBenar. (Source: 6/30/04/2018)
3. Selain itu, kesigapan aparat kepolisian, lanjut Hari, dibuktikan dengan keluarnya surat telegram Kabaintelkam Mabes Polri tanggal 30 Agustus 2018 nomor: STR/1852/VIII/2018, di mana kegiatan dua tagar tersebut **dijijinkan** selama masih dalam ketentuan dan syarat-syarat dalam menyampaikan pendapat sesuai aturan yang berlaku dan tidak menimbulkan kegaduhan.
4. “Tentunya dengan ruang demokrasi saat ini yang semakin membaik, semua komponen masyarakat dan umat **harus** saling menjaga agar konflik horizontal dihindari agar demokrasi tidak tercederai oleh orang maupun kelompok yang coba mengganggu persatuan Indonesia,” tuturnya. (Source: 9/05/09/2018)
5. Adapun persetujuan dua tagar dalam gerakan sebelum berlangsungnya Pilpres 2019 itu juga **harus saling melengkapi** untuk tujuan positif kebangsaan, bukan saling menghadang dengan kekuatan fisik. (Source: 09/05/09/2018)
6. Kekuatan dua tagar **harus menunjukkan** tawaran ide dan gagasan kebangsaan bukan saling menyerang kelemahan satu sama lain. (Source: 09/05/09/2018)
7. Persatuan Indonesia **harus dikedepankan** untuk menyambut Pilpres 2019,” tutupnya. (Source: 09/05/09/2018)

d. Dynamic modality, related to the meaning of ability:

1. Pemilu 2019 juga menjadi momentum apakah demokrasi di Indonesia **bisa terkonsolidasi** atau atau justru mengalami kemunduran. (Source: 01/27/12/2017)
2. Hal itu **bisa dijawab** oleh sikap elit politik terkait penerimaan terhadap power sharing. (Source: 01/27/12/2017)
3. Ini **bisa dilihat** dari bermunculannya konflik politik yang bertemakan SARA. (Source: 02/12/01/2018)
4. Apabila hal ini terus dibiarkan, Djayadi menilai **dapat membahayakan** kondisi sosial masyarakat. (Source: 06/30/04/2018)
5. Menurut Djayadi, aksi persekusi massa itu sangat berbahaya dan mengancam demokrasi karena **bisa saja hal serupa meluas** di sejumlah daerah lain. (Source: 06/30/04/2018)

6. Aksi 212 **bisa dikoordinasikan** dengan baik. (Source: 06/30/04/2018)
7. Memang seharusnya dalam situasi seperti sekarang, Indonesia **dapat bebas** dari ancaman konflik tajam tersebut dengan keputusan Mahkamah Konstitusi dalam persyaratan Presidential Threshold 0% pada Pilpres 2019. (Source: 07/05/08/2018)
8. Setyo menjelaskan jika pasangan capres-cawapres sudah mendaftarkan diri ke KPU, maka pemetaan wilayah konflik horizontal **bisa lebih mudah** dilakukan. (Source: 08/09/08/2018)
9. "Jadi nanti kami lihat perkembangannya dulu, kalau sudah tahu masing-masing paslonnya, baru kita **bisa petakan** daerah pendukung dan tidak mendukung,...(Source: 08/09/08/2018)
10. Cak Imin, panggilan akrab Muhaimin Iskandar berharap masyarakat **bisa menjaga situasi** tetap kondusif dan damai, selama pelaksanaan Pilpres 2019 mendatang. (Source: 10/30/09/2018)

Ideology, modality, and positive/negative sentences. The news text quote provides textual evidence that the use of modality is one vehicle for building ideology because modality shows subjective/collective attitudes of producing news texts on an event. Viewed from the modality sub category (both expressed in positive and negative sentences), it is clear that the use of epistemic modalities dominates the news, which is 29 data. Meanwhile, the use of the three other modalities, namely 14 data intentional modalities, 7 data deontic modalities and 10 data dynamic modalities.

Epistemic modality represents the attitude of producing text related to knowledge and belief in a non-factual proposition and event in the form of "possibility or reliability, and necessity".

In the ten texts of the news reviewed, the production of text consists of three main parties; namely the stronghold of Jokowi's supporters, the stronghold of Prabowo's supporters, the government and political observers. Ideology built through the use of modalities and positive/negative sentences by the three camps is as follows.

a. The stronghold of Jokowi's supporters

1. Consider the existence of intimidation and persecution from groups with the #2019 GantiPresiden. (Edi Repki Watung, a Jokowi's volunteer)

Not found any statements or direct quotes from figures from the 10 texts reviewed.

b. Prabowo's supporters

1. The Gerindra Party has unanimously supported Prabowo as a candidate of President in the election 2019 (Fadli Zone Deputy Chairperson of the Gerindra Party)
2. Prabowo is a balancing force for Jokowi (Fadli Zon Deputy Chairperson of the Gerindra party)
3. Regarding Jokowi emotionally provoking the mass of Prabowo's supporters (Yudi Syamhudi Suyuti, Chair of the Presidential Change 2019 National Commission)

c. Government, Political Experts, Police Apparatus

1. Political conflict in 2019 can get even hotter (Arif Susanto, Political Observer from Paramadina University)
2. Appointing the attorney general from a politician is the fault of Jokowi (Arif Susanto, Political Observer from Paramadina University)
3. The professionalism of the TNI and Polri influences the chances of conflict in the 2019 election (Arif Susanto, Political Observer from Paramadina University)
4. Need social institutions outside politics that are able to moderate politics (Arif Susanto, Political Observer from Paramadina University)
5. Communities need to be actively involved in maintaining security ahead of the five-yearly democratic party (Bridgen Polri Mohammad Iqbal)
6. All components of society and people must take care of each other so that horizontal conflicts do not occur (Hari Purwanto, Chair of the People's Democracy Study)
7. The strength of two hashtags must show the offer of national ideas rather than attacking each other's weaknesses. (Hari Purwanto, Chair of the People's Democracy Study)

2. Interpretation

It is the analysis of relations between the text and the practice of discourse by viewing the text as a production process. Interpretation is done by utilizing the sources of interpretation and various interpretation principles (Sumarlam, 2013) so that it

can produce an accurate interpretation. In addition, researchers can also conduct intertextuality studies (Fairclough, 1992, 1995), which examines the relationship between one news text and other news texts that are related, as well as the background context for the birth of a text. This study was based on ten texts from eight news sources. The ten news titles and media sources are as follows.

- (1) *Konflik Politik 2019 Akan Semakin Besar, Jika...* (<https://nasional.kompas.com>, Wednesday 27/12/2017, 06.36 WIB)
- (2) *Peta Konflik Pemikiran Menjelang Pilpres 2019* (<http://redaksiindonesia.com>, Friday, 12/01/2018, 14.15 WIB)
- (3) *Jokowi Vs Prabowo di Pilpres 2019 Dinilai Bisa Kembali Picu Konflik di Masyarakat* (<https://nasional.kompas.com>, Monday, 26/2/2018, 21.57 WIB)
- (4) *Persaingan Jokowi dan Prabowo di Pilpres 2019 Bisa Picu Konflik Lagi?* (<https://Indowarta.com>, Tuesday, 27/02/2018)
- (5) *Polri: Potensi Konflik Semakin Meningkat Jelang Pilpres 2019* (<http://akurat.co>, Thursday, 15/03/2018, 00.35 WIB)
- (6) *Potensi Konflik Dikhawatirkan Membesar Jelang Pilpres* (www.benarnews.org, Monday, 30/04/2018)
- (7) *PT 20 % Pilpres 2019 Ciptakan Disintegrasi Sosial dan Konflik Horisontal* (<http://www.swamedium.com>, Sunday, 05/08/2018)
- (8) *Pilpres 2019: Polri Petakan Daerah Rawan Konflik Setelah Capres-Cawapres Daftar di KPU* (<http://kabar24.bisnis.com/nasional>, Thursday, 09/08/2018, 15.27 WIB)
- (9) *Konflik Horizontal Melalui Tagar di Pilpres 2019* (<https://breakingnews.co.id>, Wednesday, 05/09/2018, 02.34 WIB)
- (10) *Pilpres 2019, Ketum PKB: Jangan Ada Konflik Antar Pendukung* (<http://jatimnow.com>, Monday, 30/09/2018, 16.43 WIB)

From the ten headlines, all titles contain negative values, such as (1) *konflik politik semakin membesar*, (2) *konflik pemikiran menjelang pilpres* (3) *pilpres 2019 picu konflik di masyarakat* (4) *pilpres 2019 picu konflik lagi* (5) *potensi konflik meningkat jelang pilpres* (6) *potensi konflik membesar jelang pilpres*, (7) *Pilpres 2019 ciptakan disintegrasi sosial dan konflik horisontal*, (8) *rawan konflik pilpres 2019*, (9) *konflik horizontal melalui tagar* and (10) *jangan ada konflik antar pendukung*.

Further interpretation related to Potential of Conflict of Presidential Election 2019 can be expressed by looking at the relationship between texts in brief as follows. The 2014 elections left political polarization that had an impact on the public. A similar pattern can be repeated in the 2019 elections plus political tensions that occur in the DKI Jakarta regional elections in 2017. The battle of two major patterns of thought in this country makes the political climate to be hot. This can be seen from the emergence of political conflicts with SARA themes. Video distribution and false news containing insults, slander and defamation of leaders and officials (Thursday, March 15 2018). Even the persecution that only happened in social media, began to be shown in crowded places that occurred in the arena of Car Free Day (CFD) in Jakarta, Sunday 29 April 2018. Clash between anti-Jokowi masses wearing T-shirts that read #2019GantiPresiden with presidential support groups who are wearing #DiaSibukKerja shirts.

3. Explanation

It is an analysis of the relationship between discourse practices and social context. Explanation aims to find an explanation of the results of the interpretation in the description and interpretation stages. At this level, researchers explain the relationship between trends in the text, complexity in discourse practices, and processes in social change. In addition, the researcher also explained the results of the interpretation by referring to the socio-cultural conditions which consisted of three important parts, namely (i) Situational, namely the situation when a text was produced. (ii) Institutional, namely observing macro matters in the community related to Indonesia's economic, political, social and cultural interests.

(i) Process of Situations Change

The national political temperature is getting hotter towards the struggle for the number one seat of the Republic of Indonesia in 2019. This is triggered by the hashtag warfare (hashtag /#) on social media. The #2019 overtakes and #Jokowidua priode or #diasibukkerja war often dominate cyberspace. Even the two hashtags are expressed in the form of shirts. Two camps showcased each other's shirts bearing the two hashtags. For those who are pro-President Joko Widodo, the # 2019 hashtag is an opportunity to drive the masses. Even the # 2019 presidential declaration was made in Jakarta. As for the cons, the hashtag is classified as premature. Besides not knowing who was supported to replace Jokowi, the hashtag also became one of the triggers of horizontal conflict. The chronology of the event originated from a group that uses a hashtag shirt to enter the Car Free Day (CFD) event. In viral videos, the group looks intimidating to people who wear shirts with #diasibukkerja. There are even women who bring their children to be intimidated. Political warfare marked with hashtags indicates that social media is not only limited to expression space, but has become a political arena. It is said that because social media has become the most effective domain to drive public opinion. Moreover, Indonesia is one country that is relatively high using the internet.

(ii) Process of Institutional Change

In dealing with the phenomenon of hashtag warfare that is currently crowded on social media, some parties ranging from experts to political leaders oppose the sustainability of this phenomenon because it is considered to disturb peace in the community. The hashtag war that "has become a reality of political communication in the public space in the political years in Indonesia" is considered "unproductive" and causes undesirable consequences such as "horizontal conflict, especially towards, when and after the 2019 Presidential Election" because of the community those involved in the hashtag war impressed "they have downgraded each other."

(iii) Process of Social Change

It is almost certain that the 2019 presidential election will be a battle for Jokowi's and Prabowo's camps after both officially accept the party's mandate as presidential candidate. On the other hand, most political parties that have seats in parliament have expressed official and semi-official support towards "only" to Jokowi and Prabowo. The emergence of these two poles has a negative impact on the relations of socio-political life of the people at the grassroots level. They seemed to be constantly being led by the two-pole elite political competition situation, which led to the "split" of the people. When the atmosphere began to be deserted by political issues, then there were political maneuvers fired by political elites so that the temperature of the feuds re-heated.

On the other hand, some people are tired and fed up with various political elite maneuvers that are often unethical and beyond ordinary reason. The political elites did not tire of issuing a reply saying between the camps in the name of criticism-clarifications-for the sake of the people and so forth.

The presidential election battle will result in a losing camp and a winning side. If before the presidential election it was not conducive, would it continue to produce an uncomfortable atmosphere for the losers and the winner? While after the presidential election all the energy components of the nation are actually used for development, not fighting. This is an important thing, it is a pity if the party of the people a day causes five years and so on the people are hostile.

V. CONCLUSION

This study was conducted to reveal the representation of power that was built in the news texts produces the following conclusions.

1. The structure of the texts consists of four discourse units contains: title, orientation, sequence of events, and closing.
2. The use of modalities is dominated by epistemic modalities compared to three other modalities, namely intentional, deontic and dynamic modalities. Epistemic modality represents the attitude of participants to propositions and events in relation to the possibility /reliability in the form of predictions that will occur in the presidential election of Indonesia 2019, and what should be done or not done by the discourse stakeholders concerned. The use of these modalities in positive or negative sentences represents certain ideologies.
3. The text has been described needs to be interpreted intertextually to achieve a more comprehensive conclusion. Interpretation covers four dimensions: what happens, who is involved, what is related to the issue raised, and what is the role of language in the event.
4. In this case, the analyzer explains the results of the interpretation by referring to the sociocultural conditions which consist of three important parts, namely (a) the situation when the news text is produced, (b) the influence of organizational institutions (three camps involved) on the text produced, and (c) macro matters in Indonesian society related to economic, political, social and cultural interests.

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