

Representation of Power Hegemony in *Mata Najwa's* Exclusive Episode Talk Show: "Ganjar Pranowo and the World Cup"

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Abstract

This research aims to describe the representation of power hegemony in *Mata Najwa's* exclusive episode talk show: "Ganjar Pranowo and the World Cup". The research used a qualitative method. Data analysis was done descriptively. The data collection method used the basic technique of listening and the advanced technique of note-taking. Data validity was done by referential validity test and intrarater reliability. The result of the research shows that there is a practice of power hegemony represented through Ganjar Pranowo's speech. The evidence is found in the description stage seen from the experiential, relational, and expressive values in the vocabulary and grammatical aspects. Meanwhile, the textual structure aspect reveals the participant's controlling device. The interpretation stage contains evidence that the interviewer positions herself as a person who does not take sides with the interviewee by looking at the content of the talk show in relation to the background of the parties involved. The interviewer directs the interviewee to explain clearly the power hegemony that influences his speech. The explanation stage reveals the power hegemony from the strength of party ideology binding the members so that the discourse appears by the speaker. The explanation stage also reveals the social impact of the power hegemony represented through the speaker's speech is the birth of pro and contra groups and the construction of demands for particular elements to become universal.

Keywords: Power hegemony, critical discourse analysis, Norman Fairclough

INTRODUCTION

The U-20 World Cup is an official FIFA soccer championship for national teams under the age of twenty from various countries in the world. The U-20 World Cup was predicted to be a historic moment for Indonesia. This is because Indonesia's presentation is considered good after passing a rigorous selection so that it is accepted by FIFA to hold this biennial *event* on May 20-June 11, 2023. Moreover, this is the first time Indonesia has been trusted by FIFA to host a world-level tournament. If you look back, the appointment of Indonesia to host the U-20 World Cup for the 2021 event was announced at the FIFA Council Meeting in Shanghai, China since November 24, 2019. Covid-19 made this event postponed until 2023 (Setwapres, 2023). The postponement gives Indonesia more time to prepare for the *event*. In fact, Indonesia has

released a logo, mascot, and official song. Unfortunately, FIFA has now officially Indonesia's host status for the U-20 World Cup on March 29, 2023, citing "the current situation" (FIFA, 2023).

Although FIFA did not explain the reasons explicitly, the cancellation of Indonesia as the host of the U-20 World Cup was allegedly due to intervention factors in the form of a rejection number of the Israel U-20 national team participation and security factors. The cancellation led to the impact of opposition from various parties. There are parties who are pro to the decision, but not a few who are against. The cons expressed their disappointment through various media so that there was an explosion of topics (trending) on several social media platforms to riots. Esлами,

Larina, & Pashmforoosh (2023) acknowledge that technological advances, the increasing use of online discourse, and globalization are major forces that influence language practices. The explosion of the topic shows the great public interest in highlighting this phenomenon. Various parties expressed their responses, ranging from players and officials of the Indonesian U-20 national team, government and political figures, public figures, to the general public. This phenomenon has become an arena for mutual attacks and the spread of hoax news. As stated by Allcott, Gentzkow, & Yu (2019), the diffusion of misinformation through social media is a potential threat to the broader aspects of community life. Many parties have correlated this phenomenon with other phenomena to confuse public assumptions. One of them is the correlation between the decision to cancel the U-20 World Cup and the 2024 Presidential Election agenda. Some consider that the cancellation of the event was ridden by political interests by those who have power in the government.

Ganjar Pranowo, the Governor of Central Java, is one of the political figures highlighted as being responsible for the cancellation of Indonesia's host status in the U-20 World Cup. Ganjar openly issued a statement refusing the Israeli national team to play in Indonesia on March 23, 2023, for the ideological reason of supporting Palestinian independence as mandated by Ir. Soekarno. After issuing this controversial statement, Ganjar Pranowo received public criticism, especially through social media. The public assumed that Ganjar Pranowo deliberately rejected Israel to attract attention because he was appointed by his party as a 2024 presidential candidate. However, Ganjar Pranowo denied the assumption that his refusal was based on party command.

Ganjar Pranowo's polemical clarification was carried out with Najwa Shihab in the exclusive episode of *Mata Najwa* program entitled "Ganjar Pranowo and the World Cup" which was aired on Najwa Shihab's Youtube channel. Ganjar Pranowo's clarification video was uploaded on April 4, 2023. The video has been watched more than 7 million times and flooded with nearly one hundred thousand comments. Najwa Shihab's Youtube, which has nearly 10 million subscribers, has become a space for discussing actual issues related to politics, law, social, religion, and other actual issues. Couldry & Curran (Eds.) (2003) say that media power is a label for organizing community resources so that the media sector has independent and significant power over other key sectors of life. The airing of *Mata Najwa* talkshows is one form of media power.

In Ganjar Pranowo's talk show, Najwa Shihab grilled Ganjar with questions related to the power hegemony of political party that is thought to have influenced Ganjar to reject the arrival of the Israeli national team. Gramsci (1971) revealed that language thinking can be a tool to reveal a power. The idea of hegemony is very important because certain social structures of semiotic difference can become hegemonic (Dremel & Matić, 2014). Power hegemony refers to power exercised by a person or group with precision and obedience that can make other people or groups within their power to be peaceful and safe from oppression (Mafrukhi, et al., 2021). The discourse conveyed by Ganjar in responding to the allegations implicitly reveals things that lead to the representation of the

power hegemony. Disclosure of representation can be known through the study of critical discourse analysis (CDA). CDA offers theoretical accuracy to understand discourse in a particular social context (Aini, Baskoro, & Firmonasari, 2021). Meanwhile, Eriyanto (2015) argues that the relationship between power and discourse is urgent to see control. An individual or group influences another individual or group. Through CDA, discursive sources of power, inequality, dominance, and bias can be studied and assessed. The representation of power hegemony in this study uses Fairclough's CDA model which produces a three-dimensional framework, namely discourse as text, discourse as discursive practice, and discourse as social practice (Fairclough, 1989). The selection of Fairclough's CDA model is based on the suitability of the stages to answer the research objectives concretely. In addition, Fairclough's model contains a dialectic between social structure and discourse or social practice which is an important point in the construction of critical discourse so that it can reveal inherent power relations (Munfarida, 2014).

Research with the topic of examining this kind of social practice has been done so that it emphasizes the purpose of this research. Habibah (2020) conducted a study that aims to see the ideological construction and social context behind the birth of the *Catatan Najwa* text entitled "Trias Politika". The research used Norman Fairclough's CDA perspective. The research revealed that the text voiced disappointment and criticism and built a negative representation of the three government institutions because of the corruption cases that occurred in them. In the practical analysis, the ideology of the text is conveyed and well-received by the public. In the sociocultural practice analysis, the background of the text creation is based on the corruption case committed by the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court as well as other corruption cases that occurred in 2013 and previous years.

Similar research has been conducted by Etikawati (2021). The research aims to describe the representation of police performance on the Novel Baswedan hard water terror case and hegemony efforts in the news on *kompas.com*. The research also implemented Fairclough's CDA model approach. The results of the study revealed several things. First, police institutions are interpreted as having responsible performance represented by material process findings 39%, credibility represented by mental process 30% and verbal process 14%, and cooperative institutions represented by relational process 13% and behavioral process 4%. Second, Polri's direct statements function as hegemonic efforts in the form of convincing, influencing, and controlling other parties.

The novelty of this research idea lies in the appointment of a recent phenomenon. The analysis in this study aims to reveal the representation of power hegemony in Ganjar Pranowo and Najwa Shihab's talk show in the exclusive episode of *Mata Najwa* entitled "Ganjar and the World Cup" by describing the textual dimension (micro), interpreting the practice of discourse (meso), and explaining the sociocultural dimension (macro). The research focus was based on the interest of the public who viewed the talk show video as an important accommodation for clarification of Ganjar's previous statement which was accused of influencing the cancellation of the U-20 World Cup in Indonesia. In addition, interest

can be seen from the various responses that arose after the airing of the talk show video due to Ganjar Pranowo's unsatisfactory statement. In cognitive and social processes, interaction motivates audiences to uncover hidden meanings behind discourses that interpret power relations (Asad, et al., 2021). Therefore, the analysis in this paper is important and interesting to do so that people understand the urgency of critical discourse analysis and gain a breadth of understanding in the field of CDA studies, especially analyzing the representation of power hegemony in the statements of political figures.

THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) Base Concept

Fairclough (2010) reveals that critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a form of transdisciplinary analysis or dialogue between disciplines, theories, and frameworks. The main focus of CDA is the effect of power relations and inequality in producing social errors. Moreover, it looks at the discursive aspects of power and inequality relations, the dialectical relationship between discourse and power, and the effects on other relations in social processes. Therefore, Fairclough (2010) emphasizes that CDA has three basic properties, namely relational, dialectical, and transdisciplinary. CDA can reveal the hidden ideology behind the text.

Discussion of Hegemony in CDA

Behnam (2009) explains that the holders of power (or discourse) exercise and control using language. Similarly, Haider & Gujjar (2021) state that language is a tool to exercise hegemony by elites and discourse is a source of thought to convey defenses of domination. Fairclough (2010) offers a focus on the dialectics of discourse that includes interdiscursive understanding, including hegemony. Hegemony is an interdisciplinary research object in CDA that can be correlated with political theory. Furthermore, the concept of hegemony integrates economics, politics, and ideology in the overall focus of politics and power and the dialectical relationship between classes and class fragments. Hegemony means leadership and domination in various aspects of a society. Hegemony indicates the contradictory and unstable balance of one social force against another to win an agreement. Within the scope of CDA analysis, discourse struggle is directed at promoting elements of hegemony so that democratization and personalization as strategies can be known. In the perspective of hegemony, the process in focus is that local processes can shape and reorder social relations through discourse as well as global integration and disintegration processes that transcend local institutions and discourse orders.

Sketch of Fairclough's CDA Model

Fairclough (1989) provides CDA signs with a three-dimensional framework for analyzing and understanding discourse, namely the dimension of discourse as text, the dimension of discourse as discursive practice, and the dimension of discourse as social practice. If explained in more detail, Fairclough's CDA model includes three concepts. First, every text simultaneously has three functions (representation, relation, and identity). Second, discourse practices include the way media workers produce texts. This refers to discourse makers who show the nature of the network between

other media workers and the pattern of media work as an institution (starting from how to cover, process, to become a discourse in the media). Third, socio-cultural practices analyze three things, namely economics, politics (especially related to issues of power and ideology), and culture (especially related to values and identity). Socio-cultural practices also influence media institutions and discourse. This third practice discusses three levels, namely the situational; institutional; and social levels. The situational level relates to the production and context of the situation. The institutional level relates to internal and external institutional influences. The social level relates to a more macro situation (political system, economy, the overall cultural system of society).

Fairclough's (1989) CDA model consists of three stages or methods, namely description, interpretation, and explanation. Description is the stage of analysis related to the formal properties of the text. The description stage includes vocabulary, grammatical, and textual structural analysis. The interpretation stage deals with the relationship between the discursive process (productive and interpretative) and the text. Meanwhile, the explanation stage deals with the relationship between interaction and social context and the social determination of the production and interpretation process and its social impact.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses a qualitative method. Data analysis is carried out descriptively, positioning the researcher as the main research instrument. The data comes from Najwa Shihab's Youtube video in the exclusive episode of *Mata Najwa* program which contains a 37 minutes talk show recording with Ganjar Pranowo. Najwa Shihab's Youtube channel is <https://www.youtube.com/@NajwaShihab> from the *playlist* titled "Mata Najwa #MelihatLebihDekat". The selected video contains Ganjar Pranowo's clarification on the polemic over Indonesia's cancellation as host of the U-20 World Cup that dragged his name.

The data collection technique used the basic technique of listening and the advanced technique of note-taking. The analysis procedure to achieve the goal of knowing the representation of power hegemony is carried out by adopting the first procedure, namely discourse transcription. The transcribed discourse was then subjected to critical discourse analysis using the Norman Fairclough model. Data validity is carried out by testing the validity and reliability of the data findings. Determination of the truth status of the data tested in this analysis uses referential validity, which connects the accuracy of the data with the support of theoretical reviews and other relevant data. Reliability is tested using intrarater technique, which is observing and rereading the transcription data carefully, repeatedly, and continuously in order to obtain constant data.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The disclosure of the representation of power hegemony in *Mata Najwa's* exclusive episode talk show titled "Ganjar Pranowo and the World Cup" uses Fairclough's model which includes description, interpretation, and explanation stages in three dimensions, namely discourse as text, discourse as discursive practice, and discourse as social practice. The focus of the research

is on Ganjar Pranowo's (GP) speech which shows a representation of the power hegemony that is predicted to be the cause of the cancellation of Indonesia's host status in the U-20 WorldCup.

Dimensions of Discourse as Text: A Description

The description stage looks at the discourse as text and includes analyzing aspects of vocabulary, grammar, and textual structure. Each of these aspects is analyzed by drawing on experiential, relational, and expressive values. Irsyadi (2019) revealed that Fairclough provides recommendations on reviewing the linguistic elements of a text in the first step of text analysis.

Vocabulary

According to Setiawan (2014), vocabulary analysis from the experiential value contained in words looks at the grouping depicted in words, the ideology championed in words, the ideological meaning relationship between words, and metaphors. From the relational value, efforts are made to look at the use of formal and informal words. Furthermore, the analysis refers to the value of expression in the form of positive and negative evaluations.

The analysis starts from expressing the value of experience. The choice of vocabulary is intended to classify and categorize reality. Eriyanto (2015) explains that the choice of vocabulary determines categorization because it relates to how reality is signified in language and how language gives rise to reality. The classification pattern of the representation of power hegemony used in *Mata Najwa's* talk show can be seen in the following fragments.

- (1) Najwa: "...you were named as **one of the parties responsible** for the failure of the World Cup to be held in Indonesia..."
- (2) Ganjar: "Who is this Ganjar actually. I did not sign anything as the **Governor of Central Java**, which was organized in Solo... And of course, maybe, it is associated that we **can contribute a little or a lot to the non-occurrence** of this organization. However, of course, in another context, we **have a stance that I must convey to the public.**"
- (3) Ganjar: "If I can make a *statement* and thwart a job of this magnitude, where is the authority? ... So in my statement, **as a party cadre**, yes I conveyed the story of how the history is, how then the potentials that might harm us. So we encourage that the U-20 can run ... can run, can be held, without Israel. Then how, please let the **government make breakthroughs** negotiate, lobby, so that it can still be held. So, we also want it to be held, like that."
- (4) Ganjar: "...So, we want it to be successful, but I have a **moral, constitutional, party responsibility**..."
- (5) Ganjar: "Today **I am a party cadre and today I am the governor and today I** have nobusiness with others."
- (6) Ganjar: "...I am a **loyal party member.**"

From some of the data representing the classification pattern, two groups of data phrases that show the representation of power hegemony can be highlighted, namely data (1) "one of the responsible parties" which is clarified by data (2) and (5) and data (4)

"moral, constitutional, party responsibility" which is clarified by data (3), (5), and (6). The phrase "responsibility" according to KBBI V means 'the state of bearing everything'. In the context of the first group of data phrases, GP realizes that he has a position as Governor of Central Java so that he is negatively accused by some circles of bearing the consequences of the cancellation of the World Cup in Indonesia because of his actions in giving a statement against Israel. It is not without reason, it is based on the authority GP has as a leader to express statements that have a greater influence than civil society. Meanwhile, in the context of the second group of data phrases, GP, who has power over the Central Java government, is also in the power of his supporting political party because he is positioned only as a party cadre. Therefore, he must do all forms of party agreements. In GP's discourse, he seems to make a self-deprecating statement when his position as governor is associated with his position as a party cadre

Implicitly, the correlation between the two groups of phrases represents the hegemony power of party exercised through the GP with the consideration that the GP's position is closer to the community. The discourse can form a public opinion that the GP upholds the hegemony power of his party. Meanwhile, the GP indirectly places its position in a more marginal pattern, indicated by statements that lead to a weakening of power compared to the party and the government. Furthermore, the GP's obedience to the party to reinforce the ideology of rejecting Israel causes the GP to be responsible for his own statements. The GP appears as a figure who legitimizes the power hegemony. The effect of the power hegemony makes GP's supporters voice the same thing, while other community groups are powerless because the decision to cancel the U-20 World Cup in Indonesia is in the hands of the power holder. The practice of discourse constructs social subjects and social relations including power relations and roles to further the interests of certain social groups (Mafrukhi, et al., 2019).

The analysis continues on ideological words or words that are fought to show the reflection and expression of a group's interests (Setiawan, 2014). In *Mata Najwa's* talk show, the ideological words championed to show the representation of power hegemony are "attitude", "constitutional", and "party cadres" as shown in the following data.

- (7) Ganjar: "... However, of course in other contexts we **have a stance** that I must convey to the public."
- (8) Ganjar: "... So in my statement, **as a party cadre**, yes I conveyed the story of how the history is, how then the potentials that might harm us "
- (9) Ganjar: ". So, we want it to be successful, but I have a **moral, constitutional, party responsibility** "
- (10) Ganjar: "... Well, **our party has a stance**.....".
- (11) Ganjar: "it seems that the **bonding of the party, the party cadres**, then all speak out."
- (12) Ganjar: "It must be with **PDI Perjuangan's stance** on Palestine, on Israel. "
- (13) Ganjar: "Because it's **an attitude**, a decision that must be taken."
- (14) Ganjar: "It's **ideologically constitutional** for PDI Perjuangan."

- (15) Ganjar: "I don't understand, but **I am part of PDI Perjuangan** so **I** have to speak."
- (16) Ganjar: "At least yes. Not only **loyalty to the party**, but also **our very clear constitutional stance**"
- (17) Ganjar: "..... I am a **loyal party member**."
- (18) Ganjar: "...we submit notes, we submit the basics of **constitutional arguments**..."
- (19) Ganjar: "If the party that I catch is definitely in a **constitutional ideological position**, nothing more than that..."
- (20) Ganjar: "...It's more of a **constitutional ideological stance**."

GP mostly uses the word "attitude" which refers to the meaning according to KBBI V as 'actions based on stance or belief'. The word "attitude" is used to express consistency in rejecting Israel's participation in the U-20 World Cup in Indonesia. In addition, GP used the word "constitutional" which means 'according to or regulated by the constitution' which supports the word "ideological" or 'relating to the ideology/way of thinking of a person or group'. Both words were repeatedly uttered by GP to provide affirmation when asked questions related to the reasons for rejecting Israel. In the context of the full talk show, GP denied that the reason for issuing a statement of rejection was due to party intervention, especially intervention from the leader. However, the emergence of these two ideological words marks a contradictory point. On the other hand, "party cadre", which means 'a person who is expected to play an important role in the party', further clarifies the indication of party interference in the GP's rejection stance. This is because the GP's position is within the power of the party so that it must behave in accordance with the party's constitution. The meaning of 'party cadre' is similar to 'party member'. More precisely, cadres are also party members. The difference lies in the level of responsibility carried out. GP repeatedly states his position as a member and party cadre (who is obedient) to limit his power in giving statements. The representation of power hegemony shows that the power possessed by a person or institution can control the attitudes and material lives of others (Mafrukhi, et al., 2019).

Analysis related to meaning relations found forms of synonymy and hyponymy used in GP's speech in *Mata Najwa's* talk show. Synonymy is the similarity of word meaning or the relationship of similarity of lexical meaning between a word and another word. Hyponymy is a relationship of meaning between smaller and larger or between specific (subordinate) and general (superordinate) (Widdowson, 2000). The forms of synonymy and hyponymy that appear in the discourse mark the existence of pairs of words that do not conflict. In fact, the words have close meanings. This indicates the function of strengthening or affirming meaning.

- (21) Ganjar: "... So, *by law*, we follow the **rules**, both our **constitutions** participate and we do not forget the history of the "red coat"."
- (22) Ganjar: "... It will be **noisy**, it will be **crowded**. What more can we get, so."

Data (21) and (22) show meaning relations in the form of synonymy. According to data (21), the meaning of the word "rule"

and the phrase "constitution" can be juxtaposed. Both are noun categories. Semantically, both have meanings that refer to hegemony because rules or constitutions are made by the authorities to regulate actions or actions that must be carried out. In his speech, GP wants to emphasize that the reason underlying the statement of rejection of Israel is the rule or constitution. The rules or constitution mentioned by GP in the context of his speech are made by the state and his party. This is a product of the representation of power hegemony. Meanwhile, data (22) shows the meaning relation between the adjectives "noisy" and "crowded" which both have negative semantics. These words are used by the GP to strengthen the reason for the rejection of Israel by describing the possible situations that will occur if they do not ignore the rules or constitutions that have been made so that Israel continues to visit Indonesia. GP validates the strength of the hegemonic power product by practicing ideology. In addition to the meaning relation in the form of synonymy, data that shows hyponymy is illustrated in data (23).

- (23) Ganjar: "I let my friends express everything. Yes, they are **angry**, yes, they **protest**, they **berate**, they **cuss**, they even get to the point where they talk very politically, they don't like the party, they don't like the GP, and so on."

Data (23) shows hyponymy in the words "angry", "protest", "berate", and "cuss" which have semantically negative connotations. The three words have conceptual similarities to describe expressions of disappointment in the context of some parties being disappointed with the GP's statement rejecting Israel and thus canceling the U-20 World Cup in Indonesia. GP is fully aware of the strong negative consequences of his authority to convey a statement of rejection so that GP allows himself to be attacked by various expressions as long as he has conveyed the ideological construction of the power hegemony attached to him. In the concept of hegemonic power practices, this kind of consequence has become the meaning of power conceptually related to the inequality of the control capacity of a text production and distribution in a certain socio-cultural context (Mafrukhi, et al., 2019). The emergence of pro and contra responses in the practice of power hegemony is natural.

Metaphor analysis in the vocabulary aspect looks at the choice of metaphors that contain certain ideologies and are used in discourse. According to Setiawan (2014), the types of metaphors are nominative, predicative, and sentence. The following data shows the existence of nominative and predicative types of metaphors found in *Mata Najwa's* talk show that represent the power hegemony.

- (24) Ganjar: "As a party member, I know. So, I did not participate. But when then it feels like there is no progress, then as it seems that the bonding of the party, party cadres, then all **speak out**."
- (25) Ganjar: "... Definitely with PDI Perjuangan's stance on Palestine, on Israel... the party will definitely make that effort because we have an **extension** in the parliament..."

- (26) Ganjar: "... That's the fact that happened and the government today in Israel does feel **very right-wing** so that the potential for conflict will be very high..."
- (27) Ganjar: "...Let's **sit down** then. Let's invite political parties, invite national leaders, religious leaders, sit together so that there will be a consensus from the nation to address it."
- (28) Ganjar: "Maybe so. It could also be Mrs. Nana's imagination and then traced it. In Javanese science, it's called '*otak-atik gathuk*'. Yes, just try to tinker with it to make it fit, like that. But yes, once again, in that question, the candidate is already clear too."
- (29) Ganjar: "Not directly, but I conveyed my permission through several e... what is the name of the **door** that can enter Mr. Jokowi, there are several ministers I conveyed I want to convey this *statement* because it is a code of ethics for me."
- (30) Ganjar: "... So, who is this Ganjar, whether Wayan Koster, who is this Wayan Koster can stop. Is there another scenario. What about the other objectors. Are they contributors or just because of me. If it's because of me, can I then just decide today to **turn it on** again without Israel finishing, you compete, like that, Mrs."

Nominative metaphors are shown in data (25), (26), and (29). GP's statement according to data (25) uses the word "extension" which is associated with the meaning of 'continuation' to pass on responsibilities or tasks from the leader to trusted people or subordinates. In this context, GP acknowledges that within the party there are segments to lobby the government for efforts to maintain the ideology being fought for. Indirectly, GP acknowledges that he is one of the manifestations of the segment. The statement in data (26) uses the phrase "far right" in the context of describing Israeli politics. The phrase is associated with the meaning of 'moderate parties or groups'. This political system thinking is characterized by the dominant traditional values associated with religion and the preservation of individual rights by limiting the power of the government. GP uses nominative metaphors to explain his reasons for rejecting Israel's arrival. In addition to the reasons for preserving ideology, the GP seems to show concern about the erosion of the ideology that has been defended (currently his party is declared the ruler of parliament) so that it is even more compelled to refuse. Statement (29) highlights the word "door" which is associated with the meaning of 'a way or cause to convey a point. The GP mentioned that he had tried to ask President Jokowi for permission before giving a statement of rejection. Despite denying the assumption that GP was ordered by the party leader or had met with the leader or Jokowi in expressing opposition to Israel, GP and President Jokowi are members of the same party and thus subject to the power hegemony of the party as seen in GP's next statement.

Ganjar: "I don't see that. If the party that I catch is definitely in a constitutional ideological position, nothing more than that. Because if it is a tug of war in the sense of political interplay, **Mr. Jokowi**

met Mrs. Mega many times, many times, I even saw the last photo of him **meeting** at the palace, previously talking plants, eating together many times. I think both of them can communicate very well, very well. So, no, for me."

GP provided information that President Jokowi and party leader often meet and build communication. This shows that the "door" that the GP seeks to Jokowi is the same as opening the "door" to the party leader. The nominative metaphors that have been described contain the experiential meaning of concrete power hegemony from the party to its members.

Another experiential meaning of power hegemony is seen in the findings of predicative metaphors in data (24), (27), (28), and (30). Data (24) refers to the predicate "speak out" which, according to the context of the discourse, means 'participate in determining something'. GP admitted that the rejection of Israel had actually been considered for a long time by his party, but there was no progress in taking action. Furthermore, groups that have well-established emotional ties (bonding) to the party and party cadres make an agreement simultaneously. Data (27) in the word "sit" in the imperative sentence contains the explicit meaning of 'discussion together to make a consensus'. As per data (30), the highlighted imperative verb is "turn on". The word is explicitly associated with the meaning 'to be carried out or continued'. In the context of data (27) and (30), the GP as a government official realizes the ownership of the power to run or stop the event, but he also realizes that there is a more authoritative power hegemony. GP again humbles himself by mentioning an equivalent position to I Wayan Koster (Governor of Bali). GP and Koster both served as governors, both expressed opposition to Israel and came from the same party.

On the other hand, data (28) contains the Javanese metaphor "*othak-athik gathuk*" which can be interpreted as 'matching something as a sign to answer a phenomenon'. GP used the phrase when asked to respond to the public assumption that there was an order from the party to GP to give a statement of rejection of Israel because there was an intention from the party leader to nominate GP as president of Indonesia in 2024 so that he was tested for loyalty. GP responded neutrally, neither confirming nor denying. GP invited the public to interpret. In fact, "*othak-athik gathuk*" has a negative connotation because it can provoke the phenomenon of the presence of people or groups who make arbitrary interpretations so that it becomes risky when drawing conclusions based on aspects of group interests.

Relational value analysis found that the choice of formal words is done with the use of foreign terms, which creates an impression of power, position, and status (Setiawan, 2014). Although the talk show was conducted in an informal situation, the use of formal words dominated. In fact, English political technical words, including those in the form of code mixes, are used in almost the entire content of the discourse. Evidence of the use of formal words in GP's speech is presented in data (31).

- (31) statement, no!, co-host, well-prepared, effort, output, injury time, meeting, cover, bonding, by law, complicated, Inter-Parliamentary Union, review, event, awareness, last

minute, city agreement, house agreement, sorry, event, merchandise, justify, protect, trumps, pink, spirit, political interplay, up and down, rebound, men-delete, person, surf, caption, all in all in, print, create event, cynical, track-record

GP's use of foreign terms according to data (31) shows the impression that there is power in GP as a government official who has political authority. This also creates an intellectual impression so that GP adds value to the appropriateness of speaking and becomes a competent resource person in his field. Although the issue raised in the talk show was a sporting event, the speaker was a political person so there was a lot of use of political technical terms. For example, the term political interplay means 'an effort to interact/influence each other in politics'.

The findings of the analysis of the value of expression in the form of positive and negative evaluations see the use of vocabulary implicitly to evaluate reality through depictions or classification patterns (Setiawan, 2014). The use of evaluation vocabulary is vocabulary that functions to judge someone. The following is the expression value data from GP's statement.

- (32) Ganjar: "... Surely the government has something to say about that because I saw Mrs. Foreign Minister, Minister of Youth and Sports Teen Dream, and then the Leader of PSSI. They **have efforts** and have been ordered by the President to make efforts as well."
- (33) Ganjar: "... Well, **our party has attitude.** "
- (34) Ganjar: "**Definitely with PDI Perjuangan's stance** on Palestine, on Israel. the party must make that effort because we have an extension in the parliament. "
- (35) Ganjar: "Yes, people can judge anything from an answer like that, but until today the fact is so and everyone is waiting and we know that matters like that are **Mrs. Mega's business**, finished. I am an **obedient** party member."
- (36) Ganjar: "Our path is one that we can communicate with the government.
- (37) Ganjar: ". Because if it's a tug of war in the sense of political interplay, Mr. Jokowi has met Mrs. Mega many times, many times, I even saw the last photo of him meeting at the palace, previously talking plants, eating together many times. **I think the two of them can communicate very well, very well "**
- (38) Ganjar: "...then I think **PDI Perjuangan is very carefully calculating**"

In this context, GP's position in giving statements is still part of the party members and representatives of the party, thus conveying the positive side of the party as has been found in the analysis of experiential and relational values. GP also positively assesses the performance of the government and state institutions that have

made breakthrough efforts as an option so that Israel does not come to Indonesia (data 32). The efforts in question came from the orders of President Jokowi, who is in the same party with the GP. GP's positive evaluations were mostly made to the party, the party leader, and party members as seen in data (33), (34), (35), (36), and (37). GP considers that the steps taken by the party and himself are correct, without any rebuttal or criticism. The representation of power hegemony is in the positive expression expressed by GP. GP's direct statements can be a tool for hegemony. Etikawati (2021) states that the media has the power to hegemony, supported by narratives and interview results.

Grammatical

Grammatical analysis in discourse also includes experiential, relational, and expressive value analysis (Setiawan, 2014). In the analysis of experiential value, the use of positive-negative sentences is highlighted. In certain cases, experiential value is expressed in negative sentences (Fairclough, 1989). The question that should be raised is "why GP prefers negative sentences if the value of experience can be expressed in positive sentences" as shown in the following data.

- (39) Ganjar: "... And of course, maybe, it is associated that we can contribute a little or a lot to the **non-occurrence** of this event....."
- (40) Ganjar: "... And **if I'm not mistaken**, I read the story about the **disapproval** and so on in the media around March 11, **if I'm not mistaken**. It will be taken by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. That means, there are already efforts and indications."
- (41) Ganjar: ".....So, *by law* we follow the rules, both the constitution we participate in and we **do not forget** the history of the "red coat". "
- (42) Ganjar: "Mrs., almost everything is **not a concern** because this is a ball (emphasizing the word ball) "
- (43) Ganjar: "Yes, definitely. That must have been a consideration for everyone. So we have calculated well on the choices and this is indeed a choice that is **not easy**"
- (44) Ganjar: "**I never doubt** the decisions I make."

The negative marker vocabulary found is "no". Data (39) to (44) perform a "manipulative" and even "ideological" function. The negative word of data (39) "no organization" has a positive form of "cancellation". The negative word in data (40) "if not wrong" has a positive form of "true", while "disapproval" has a positive form of "rejection". In data (41), the negative word "not forget" has the positive form "remember". The negative word "not noticed" as per data (42) has the positive form "ignored". Data (43) contains the negative word "not easy" has the positive form "difficult", while data (44) the word "never doubt" has the positive form "sure". In the context of their use, these negative words contain nuances of euphemism. Normatively, the choice of form is more appropriate in political communication that is more honest and open. Therefore, the choice of form has ideological significance.

The data shows that the selection and utilization of negation forms by the GP as a political elite performs a manipulative function because their use is forced while positive forms are available. There is also a form of negation that performs an ideological function because its use is forced and fought for through various discourse-producing political activities. Negative forms function ideologically when the value of that experience serves power (Fairclough, 1989). As in data (39), (40), and (42), GP uses negative word choice to represent the power hegemony in a more subtle or cryptic way. Meanwhile, the word "if I am not mistaken" in data (40) chosen by GP indicates the purpose of securing assumptions and avoiding misrepresentation. The statements in data (41), (43), and (44)

contain negative word choices that seem to concretize the GP's efforts to implement party ideology. Negative words provide more emphasis.

The second value in the grammatical aspect is relational value. Setiawan (2014) reveals that this value is related to the way grammars encode signals of reciprocal social relations by discourse producers. This section focuses on revealing the use of sentence types based on function (declarative, imperative, and interrogative). The following are the results of the analysis of sentence types in the *Mata Najwa* exclusive episode talk show with Ganjar Pranowo presented in Table 1.

Table 1 Sentence Type Findings in Mata Najwa's Exclusive Talk Show Episode: "Ganjar Pranowo and the World Cup"

No.	Sentence Type	Total Data	Sample Data
1.	Declarative	225	Ganjar: "Yes, people can judge anything from an answer like that, but until today the fact is so and everyone is waiting and we know that matters like that are Mrs. Mega's business, finished. I am an obedient party member."
2.	Imperative	14	Ganjar: "I called Mr. Koster (Governor of Bali), I called. Uh, Mr. Koster, after this there is the World Beach Games, right? "Oh, yes." August if I'm not mistaken. Israel is participating, you know. Please talk about it now so that then we have ways that can be done better, not inviting responses that will harm our national interests! ..."
3.	Interrogative	27	Ganjar: "... So, who is this Ganjar? Can Wayan Koster, who is Wayan Koster, stop this? Is there another scenario? Whatabout the other objectors? Are they contributors or just because of me? ..."

Based on Table 1, the dominant type of sentence in GP's speech is declarative sentence with 225 occurrences. Declarative sentences in the talk show are interpreted as information conveyed by Ganjar Pranowo as a resource person to the desired parties, namely the interviewer (Najwa Shihab) and the audience. As an example of declarative sentence type data, in the context of answering Najwa Shihab's question related to proving loyalty to the party whether it was because of the presidential candidacy ticket that issued a statement of rejection of Israel, GP provided information that the matter of the nomination ticket was the business of Mrs. Mega as the party leader. He admitted that he did not know about the matter. However, on the other hand, GP called himself an obedient party member. According to KBBI V, the word "obedient" means 'always submissive'. If correlated in the context of the sentence, obedient means always submitting to the party leader.

The speech title represents the power hegemony over the social reality that is happening and becoming a polemic, namely the cancellation of Indonesia's host status in the U-20 World Cup because of the political interests of a group. The dominance of

declarative sentences used by the GP shows that he wants to provide explanations and straighten out public assumptions by securing the party's image, albeit implicitly. From GP's statement in the talk show, several expressions were found that showed the power hegemony that influenced his rejection statement.

GP's statements in the talk show made extensive use of the pronouns "we" and "us". The pronoun "we" shows an attempt to build a relationship between GP, Najwa Shihab, and the audience. GP tries to invite others to construct the discourse and ideology that he conveys. On the other hand, the pronoun "we" includes GP and all segments of the party. The pronoun "we" marks the group as well as its interests.

The third value in the grammatical aspect is expressive value. Fairclough (1989) explains that expressive modality functions to show the authority of the text producer regarding the possibility or truth of reality representation. This section focuses on analyzing the emergence of the modalities of truth, desire, and necessity contained in *Mata Najwa's* talk show with Ganjar Pranowo. Data on the findings of modality usage are presented in Table 2.

Table 2 Modality Findings in Mata Najwa's Exclusive Episode Talk Show: "Ganjar Pranowo and the World Cup"

Num.	Modality Type	Total Data	Sample Data
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1.	The truth	39	"Yes, I don't know that much detail. That's what I said at the beginning. Certainly with the PDI Perjuangan's stance on Palestine, on Israel ... the party must have made that effort because we have an extension in the parliament. There are those of us in the executive, surely the communication has been carried out for a long time whether then we get a good response, well that's why it seems like this incident must occur, these statements must occur."
2.	The desire	35	Ganjar: "... Let's sit down then! Let's invite political parties, let's invite national leaders, religious leaders, sit together so that then it becomes the consensus of the nation to address it! ..."
3.	The must	16	Ganjar: "I don't understand, but I am part of PDI Perjuangan so I have to speak. "

The modality of truth dominates the findings in speech degree with 39 data. The modality of truth identifies a truth through the proposition produced by the producer of the text. For example, the modality of truth is characterized by the words "surely" and "already". The word "surely" means 'fixed, certain, must', while the word 'already' means 'has happened'. In the context of the data example, GP tried to provide information when asked about his sudden rejection statement. GP informs that his party has been trying for a long time to communicate the rejection of Israel in the U-20 World Cup, but did not get a response from the parliament, which made the party segment, including GP, give a statement of rejection through the media. The use of truth modality shows the GP's attitude and perspective supporting the party's actions. The dominance of truth modality data indicates the function of supporting the GP's statement so that it seems more convincing.

From the results of the analysis of grammatical aspects that look at experiential, relational, and expressive values, it increasingly

shows the representation of power hegemony in Ganjar Pranowo's statement. GP as part of the party has an ideological responsibility to the party so that all forms of statements he makes to the public cannot be separated from the influence of this ideology.

Textual Structure

Mustika & Mardikantoro (2018) argue that textual structure analysis is an activity of sorting and organizing texts. In line with this opinion, Liu & Guo (2016) argue that when dealing with CDA, the first step is to describe the formal and structural characteristics of the text. Textual structure analysis focuses on uncovering the conventions of social interaction by examining participant control by looking at four participant control devices. The participant control devices are interruption, assertion, topic control, and formulation (Setiawan, 2014). The amount of data is not calculated per sentence but per one dialog utterance spoken by Ganjar Pranowo.

Table 3 Findings of Participant Control Devices in Mata Najwa's Exclusive Talk Show: "Ganjar Pranowo and the World Cup"

Num.	Device Type	Total Data	Sample Data
1.	Interruption	1	Ganjar: "Yes, but whether..."
2.	Affirmation	1	Ganjar: "Output for?"
3.	Topic controller	14	Ganjar: "Is this just about making money? Are we not calculating other things and my other calculations are various, which I conveyed 4 points earlier, there are violations of Permenlu for me in the regions for us regional heads, do we want to ignore that? Just for the sake of money? Not at all. How are our relations and consistency in the defense of the nation's independence from oppression from colonialism. Is that our only consideration? So I say yes in that context, there are many perspectives that we can use to assess this decision."
4.	Formulation	40	Ganjar: "Yes, definitely. That must have been a consideration for everyone. So we have calculated well on the choices and this is indeed a choice that is not easy. Again, it didn't happen from the beginning in 2019, after we

			found out that Israel passed, if not, then not."
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The results of analyzing the textual structure of the text show that the dominating type of participant control device is formulation. Formulation is a device that can be achieved by reformulation (Setiawan, 2014). The purpose of formulation is to check understanding, control the way of understanding, and limit the choices of participants. The finding of data dominance in formulation relates to the context of a talk show intended for clarification so that GP as a resource person who has a position tries to provide understanding to convince arguments to interviewers and audiences. In an effort to control participants, the GP uses formulation to explain his background in issuing controversial statements based on the party's constitution. Based on the example data, GP reformulated the answer marked by the conjunction "then", limiting the options as well as checking the participants' understanding by using "right" repeatedly. This is done to limit rebuttals.

Dimensions of Discourse as Discursive Practice: Interpretations

Noermanzah, Emzir, & Lustyantje (2017) explain that the discourse practice dimension requires intertextual analysis that bridges text analysis and discourse practice. This analysis is carried out simultaneously with text analysis and examines how texts are produced and consumed by society. The interpretation stage seeks to interpret the text with the correlation of discourse practices carried out. Eriyanto (2015) explains that this stage does not analyze the text descriptively, but is interpreted by correlating how the text production process is made. After the dimensions of discourse as text are found, this section describes the findings of content and language in *Mata Najwa's* talk show with Ganjar Pranowo in relation to the media production process. The description stage has found the representation of power hegemony of party in GP's explicitly expressed statements. The interpretation stage will further concretize the findings.

In the implementation of the talk show, several parties were involved. The interviewer was Najwa Shihab (NS) as well as the owner of Narasi Media and the interviewee Ganjar Pranowo (GP). NS is well known as a public figure in Indonesian journalism who often conducts interviews and debates with major figures. NS is the founder of PT Narasi Media Sahwahita since early 2018, the company is engaged in journalism and mass media. NS expressed a commitment to become a journalist who dares to speak the truth and make his media can echo the public voice (Wijaya, 2022). One of Narasi's visions is constructive optimism to become a media capable of criticizing and providing solutions to various problems in reality. Narasi oversees Najwa Shihab's Youtube channel with one of the programs in the form of *Mata Najwa*. This talk show program is hosted by Najwa Shihab to discuss phenomenal issues that are in the center of public attention by presenting related sources.

Meanwhile, the resource person in the spotlight is Ganjar Pranowo (GP). GP currently serves as the second-term Governor of Central

Java. He has a background in law education (S1) and political science (S2) (Jatengprov, 2023). When he was active in GMNI (Indonesian National Student Movement), GP admired Soekarno. Initially, in 1996, PDI had an internal conflict between supporters of Soerjadi and Megawati Soekarnoputri as a representation of Bung Karno's lineage, Ganjar was in the camp of Megawati, who has been the current Leader of PDIP since 1993. GP became a PDIP sympathizer and then began to advance his political career since 2004 as a member of Commission IV of the House of Representatives for Agriculture, Plantations, Forestry, Marine, Fisheries, Food. On April 21, 2023, GP was announced by the leader to be the presidential candidate from PDIP for the 2024 presidential election.

The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) is a political party in Indonesia. PDIP originated from the Indonesian National Party (PNI) which was founded by Ir. Soekarno on July 4, 1927 (PDIP Lampung, 2023). On January 10, 1973, the PNI, joined by the People's Consultative Party of Many (Murba Party), the Indonesian Independence Support Association (IPKI), the Indonesian Christian Party (Parkindo), and the Catholic Party, renamed themselves the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI). The name change from PDI to PDIP by Megawati Soekarnoputri took place on February 1, 1999, to participate in the elections. Based on the Indonesian Political Indicator (IPI) survey released on April 30, 2023, PDIP is still the political party with the highest electability in Indonesia with 23.9% (Indikator, 2023). PDIP is also the political party that dominates parliament.

Based on the findings of Najwa Shihab's background data as the interviewer and media owner and Ganjar Pranowo as the interviewee and PDIP party member, the representation of power hegemony in the talk show obtained from the description stage shows a red thread. GP, who consistently denied the existence of an order from the party leader in his statement of rejection of Israel's participation in the Indonesian U-20 World Cup, showed contradictory statements when asked to mention the reasons. GP always mentions that his statement is based on the party's constitutional ideology. In several talk show statements, he also mentioned that the rejection stance had become a joint agreement of all party members. This means that the GP is implementing the party's agreement consciously. Thus, the power hegemony of party is represented through the GP. The party has the right to organize its members. On the other hand, party members, especially party cadres, are obliged to carry out these rules to maintain group ideology for certain purposes. Hegemony truly shows a contradictory and unstable balance between one social force against another to win an agreement.

Furthermore, Najwa Shihab, who is known for her strong journalism background, chose Ganjar Pranowo as a resource person because of his expertise, political actions, and loyalty to the party, as well as his great political reputation. Not surprisingly, it was GP's rejection statement that was considered the most attention-

grabbing and invited public response. The airing of the talk show was in line with the vision to criticize problematic issues in reality. In asking questions, NS positioned herself as a person who did not take sides with the speaker. Instead, NS represented the public's questions because he took examples of phenomena that were widely discussed on social media to express opposition to GP's answers. NS directed GP to explain clearly the power hegemony that influences.

Dimensions of Discourse as Social Practice: An Explication

The explanation stage aims to strengthen the explanation of the results of the interpretation stage by connecting text production with sociocultural practices as well as the resulting social impacts (Eriyanto, 2015). The interpretation stage shows that there is a practice of political party power hegemony represented through Ganjar Pranowo's statement as a partycadre. The representation of the power hegemony is revealed through the *Mata Najwa* talk show produced by Narasi and aired on the Najwa Shihab Youtube channel. Narasi as the media that produces the show does not take sides with the speakers or their supporting groups, which is represented from Najwa Shihab's point of view in being an interviewer. However, Narasi became the media that conveyed public assumptions regarding the GP's sudden rejection of Israel so that the public assumed that the GP was driven by the party leader to increase electability in order to welcome support in the 2024 presidential election.

When looking at sociocultural practices, the power hegemony can be highlighted from the strength of party ideology binding its members. A party leader has full authority to organize his party. The party leader will also emphasize party ideology to all members. This is based on the fact that the party's goals and interests can be implemented with simultaneous support from all segments of the party. This practice is an implementation of the code of ethics. In line with the text of the Seminar on the Honorary Court of the DPR RI presented by Komarudin Watubun, PDIP as a political party strictly regulates the enforcement of the code of ethics and party discipline. Furthermore, Article 20 Section (2) of the PDI-P Articles of Association states that "every party member who is elected and sits in a political position is a party officer who must submit and obey party rules and orders according to their level" (Watubun, 2021). The party constitution further clarifies the power hegemony of party over its members. According to PDIP rules, no matter how high the position of party members in the government, they are still members who must submit to the PDIP.

Looking further, the GP's normative answer in the talk show based on the strength of maintaining the party's ideology has indeed been built strongly in him. According to the results of the interpretation stage analysis, GP has admired the figure of Ir. Soekarno since the beginning of his political career. In fact, GP and the party leader, Megawati Soekarnoputri, have had a good relationship since the 1996 internal conflict. GP's statement against Israel can be interpreted as evidence of loyalty. Anti-Israel ideology has taken root in the GP party camp and has been used as the party's ideology since Ir. Soekarno founded the left-leaning PNI. Remember, the

incident of Israel's refusal to enter Indonesia was also done by Soekarno during the organization of the Asian Games IV in 1962.

Moody & Eslami (2020) reveal that language creates politics. This means that political activities always include the systematic manipulation of language to formulate and carry out specific political agendas. Politicians use language to create intimacy with constituents by demonstrating personal and emotional similarities so that audiences will feel that they are members of the same group as the political leader. At the same time, political leaders must demonstrate expertise and authority to validate themselves. Therefore, the GP creates such a discourse in the talk show. The social impact of the power hegemony represented through GP's speech is the birth of pro and contra groups and the construction of demands for particularelements to become universal.

CONCLUSIONS

The findings and discussion of the representation of power hegemony in *Mata Najwa's* Exclusive Episode Talk Show: "Ganjar Pranowo and World Cup" shows the existence of power hegemony practices represented through Ganjar Pranowo's speech. Evidence is found in the description stage seen from the experiential, relational, and expressive values in the vocabulary and grammatical aspects. Meanwhile, the textual structure aspect reveals the participant's controlling device. The interpretation stage contains evidence that the interviewer positions herself as a person who does not take sides with the interviewee by looking at the content of the talk show in relation to the background of the parties involved. The interviewer directs the interviewee to explain clearly the power hegemony that influences speech. The explanation stage reveals the power hegemony from the strength of party ideology binding its members. The explanation stage also reveals the social impact of the power hegemony represented through the speakers' speeches, namely the birth of pro and contra groups and the construction of demands for particular elements to become universal.

Based on the findings and conclusions of this study, there is an urgency for more research related to the power hegemony in politics, especially looking at the speech of political figures that close to the public to better understand the current political orientation and how the science of critical discourse analysis is useful in it. This can increase knowledge and stimulate critical thinking.

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