

Discourse Network Analysis of Betrayal News Regarding the Presidential Candidate of the Coalition for Change and Improvement on Kompas.com

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Abstract - Political communication is heating up as the 2024 Indonesian Presidential Election approaches. Nine political parties in the Indonesian Parliament (DPR RI) have formed three coalitions: Change and Improvement (Nasdem, Democrat, PKS), Indonesia Maju (Gerindra, Golkar, PAN, PKB), and PDIP (PDI-P, PPP). However, in late November 2023, a sudden shift occurred when Nasdem and PKB supported Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar (Amin). The Democratic Party felt betrayed. This research aims to analyze political parties' communication with the emergence of presidential and vice presidential candidates Amin on *kompas.com*. Researchers examined the communication network digitally using discourse network analysis (DNA). This method used the DNA approach in the context of political communication concepts proposed by Nimmo, including the Communicator, Message, Communication Channel, Audience, and Effect. These five concepts serve as the foundation for analyzing news related to the accusations of betrayal in the Change and Improvement coalition. This research conducts qualitative analysis, providing a depiction of the digital communication lines between communicators within the political party coalitions, especially those most frequently accusing the Amin coalition of betrayal, and rebuttals from the parties accused of betrayal.

Keywords: Anies-Gus Imin; Discourse Network Analysis; Presidential Election; Political Communication; Political Party Coalition.

Introduction

Ahead of the 2024 Indonesian Presidential Election, the political conditions are full of dynamics. Political parties that have seats in the Indonesian House of Representatives need to build political infrastructure. The formation of political parties is generally based on careful and precise political considerations, where each political party considers its strengths and interests. The main objective is to increase the opportunities for political parties to seize greater political power and gain wider public support (Mulyana, 2013).

The General Election Commission (KPU) in Decree Number 518 of 2022 concerning the Determination of Political Parties Participating in the General Election of Members of the People's Representative Council and Regional People's Representative Council and Local Aceh Political Parties Participating in the General Election of Members of the Aceh People's Representative Council and Regency/City People's Representative Council in 2024 has determined 17 (seventeen) political parties that meet the requirements as participants in the General Election of members of the People's

Representative Council and Regional People's Representative Council and 6 (six) local Aceh political parties that meet the requirements as participants in the General Election of members of the Aceh People's Representative Council and Regional People's Representative Council in 2024 (Komisi Pemilihan Umum, 2022).

Presidential and vice presidential candidates can be proposed by political parties or coalitions of political parties as stated in Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, Article 222 states that Candidate Pairs are proposed by Political Parties or Coalitions of Political Parties Participating in the Election that meet the requirements of obtaining at least 20% (twenty percent) of the total number of DPR seats or obtaining 25% of valid votes nationally in the previous DPR member elections. In the results of the 2019 Election, no party obtained absolute votes. Thus, the parties must form a coalition to be able to nominate Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates (Pemerintah Indonesia, 2017).

Thus, nine political parties in the DPR RI have formed coalitions to nominate presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Three coalitions have emerged: the Change and Improvement Coalition (Nasdem, Demokrat, PKS), the Indonesia Maju Coalition (Gerindra, Golkar, PAN, PKB), and the PDIP Coalition (PDI-P, PPP).

The Change and Improvement Coalition was formed in March 2023, with an agreement to nominate Anies Rasyid Baswedan as the 2024-2029 presidential candidate, giving him the mandate to choose his running mate. By June 2023, Anies had chosen Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY) as his vice-presidential running mate. However, just before the candidate registration period in late November 2023, a sudden change occurred when Nasdem partnered with PKB to nominate Anies and Muhaimin Iskandar (Amin).

This move left the Democratic Party feeling betrayed. The Democratic Party has so far appeared to be carrying out political communication that prioritizes the heart. The principle of heart communication is basically protecting one's own heart, and loving oneself, and others. Through heart communication, individuals have a responsibility to manage their emotions. Letting go does not mean giving up, it means understanding that there are things that humans cannot force (Lestari, 2023). It is not an exaggeration if the Democratic Party feels betrayed by the nomination of this new pair of presidential and vice presidential candidates.

This unexpected event became political news that attracted the attention of various parties. This political communication seemed to ignore ethics in political communication. Communication ethics are important because they help convey information accurately, build goodness, and politeness, and show mutual respect so that it becomes a foundation for growing human morals (Haryatmoko, 2007).

The turmoil within the coalition became public consumption. Political communication is generally based on its consequences (actual and potential) that regulate human actions in conflict conditions (Nimmo, 2005). The conflict within the coalition of political parties became the main news in various online media including the news portal *kompas.com* which is the best news portal.

The audience indirectly continued to observe the turmoil in the coalition that supported Anies Rasyid Baswedan. The news of the change in the presidential and vice presidential candidate pairs certainly had a political effect on society. According to Nimmo, there are four important effects of political communication, namely political socialization, political participation, influencing elections, and influencing political policy-making officials (Nimmo, 2006).

Based on the description above, this research aims to analyze the political communication of political parties concerning the emergence of the Amin presidential and vice-presidential ticket on *kompas.com*. The researchers used Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) to examine this political communication network.

Theoretical Framework

The definition of political communication according to Dan Nimmo, Politics comes from the word polis which means country, city, which in totality is a unity between the country (city) and its society. The word polis developed into politics which means citizenship. From the word politics to politera which means citizenship rights. According to Nimmo, Political communication is the process of communication to influence public knowledge, beliefs, and actions related to political issues (Ispandiarno, 2014).

Communication is the transfer of information to obtain responses; coordinating meaning between a person and the audience; sharing information, ideas, or attitudes; sharing elements of behavior, or

modes of life through a set of rules; the process of conveying a message by one person to another to inform or change attitudes, opinions, behavior either directly or indirectly (Nimmo, 2005).

Politics is a collective activity of people who regulate their actions in conditions of social conflict (Varma, 2013). In various ways, people differ from each other, namely in terms of physical, talent, emotions, needs, ideals, initiatives, behavior, and so on. (Cangara, 2009). Sometimes these differences stimulate arguments, disputes, and quarrels. If they consider the dispute serious, their attention is to introduce the conflicting issues, and resolve them; this is political activity. (Rahmat, 2015).

Discourse Networking Analysis is a technique for visualizing discourse, both political and socio-cultural discourses, into a network. Discourse Network Analysis is a combination of category-based content analysis and social network analysis (Laifeld & Haunss, 2017).

This approach allows for the systematic identification of discourse relations in various textual documents such as newspaper articles printed media or transcripts of parliamentary debates. Discourse Networking Analysis combines social network analysis with computer-assisted, qualitative content analysis to analyze the development of actors and ideas relationally and systematically (Breindl, 2013).

Material and Methodology

This study uses a qualitative method that is intended to understand the phenomena, perceptions, motivations, and social contexts of the research subjects. (Sugiyono & Puji Lestari, 2022). The research subjects are individuals involved in this study. In this study, the subject of the study was Anies Rasyid Baswedan.

The paradigm used in this study is constructivism. This paradigm, according to Creswell, is an individual's effort to understand the surrounding environment and see the social reality of social construction itself (Creswell, 2012). The constructivism paradigm is oriented towards understanding that has been reconstructed from the experience and meaning of society about social reality. (Abidin, Yusuf Zainal, 2015)

The object of research is everything that researchers determine to be studied and conclusions drawn. The object of research can be the nature or value of people, objects, or activities that have certain variations (Danandjaja, 2012). This study describes and analyzes the political communication network that occurs in the coalition of political parties in online media, *kompas.com*.

News about the Betrayal of the Presidential Candidates for Change and Improvement Coalition, the Nasdem Party, and the National Awakening Party which carried Anies Rasyid Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar (Amin) as presidential and vice presidential candidates which was widely discussed in the online media *Kompas.com*. The subject of this study was online news in the *Kompas* media which was identified by selecting news with the keyword "Anies Baswedan's Betrayal of the Democratic Party" which was collected from 2 to 10 September 2023.

The analysis technique used in this study is the Discourse Network Analysis method. Discourse networking analysis combines qualitative-based content analysis, namely discourse analysis with social network analysis to find out the ideas of actors relationally and systematically (Leifeld, 2017). Philip Leifeild said that Discourse Network Analysis is a methodological development of social networking analysis, but in fact, discourse networking analysis is used in developments related to political phenomena involving governance, state policies, and the like which are often recorded in political discourses.

The JAVA-based software used in this study to identify the news of the Betrayal of the Presidential Candidate for the Coalition for Change and Improvement in the *Kompas.com* media is the Discourse Network Analyzer (DNA) version 3.0.10, developed by Philip Leifeld from the Swiss Federal Institute of Aquatic Science and Technology (Eawag). Then to create network visualization using the Visone network visualization software version 2.26. Visone is a standalone program for the Linux, Solaris, and Windows operating systems. Visone is used for analysis and visualization of network structures in network data sets, such as those exported from DNA software (Eriyanto, 2022).

Result and Discussion

Political communication in Indonesia is heating up with the emergence of three political party coalitions participating in the 2024 elections. The Coalition for Change and Improvement is led by the Nasdem Party, with the Democratic Party and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) joining forces. This coalition supports Anies Rasyid Baswedan, the former Governor of Jakarta (2017–2022), as the

presidential candidate.

Another coalition, the Indonesia Forward Coalition, is spearheaded by the Gerindra Party, the Golkar Party, the National Mandate Party (PAN), and the National Awakening Party (PKB). This coalition endorses Prabowo Subianto as the presidential candidate. The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), due to its 2019 election results exceeding 20%, is the only political party eligible to run for the presidential and vice-presidential elections without forming a coalition with other parties. However, to secure more votes than in the 2019 election, PDIP has invited other parties to join its coalition.

United Development Party (PPP) was the first to join PDIP. Two other parties, Perindo and Hanura, followed suit, but since they did not secure seats in the parliament (DPR RI), their presence did not impact the coalition seat count.

A new model in the 2024 presidential and vice-presidential election process has emerged, where party coalitions first determine the coalition seat count and select the presidential candidate, leaving the vice-presidential candidate to be decided closer to the registration deadline on November 20, 2023.

Three political coalitions are now focusing on the number of votes they can secure to win the presidential and vice-presidential elections on February 14, 2024. Their attention is particularly drawn to two major provinces: West Java and East Java. PDIP is confident that Central Java is a stronghold of its voter base. Similarly, the Anies coalition believes it can dominate West Java due to PKS significant influence in the province. Prabowo feels his support is evenly distributed, except in East Java.

Since PKB establishment by KH Abdurrahman Wahid, East Java has been its largest voter base, primarily from the Nahdliyin community. Therefore, East Java has become a battleground for the three coalitions. Political and religious figures with strong Nahdliyin followings are being considered for the vice-presidential candidate position.

Gus Imin, the nickname for Muhaimin Iskandar, PKB chairman, has been courted by both PDIP and Gerindra. Prabowo hopes that Gus Imin will stay with Gerindra until the registration of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates. PKB has positioned itself as a party whose votes are crucial, giving it more political agility.

The selection of the vice-presidential candidate has become a politically dynamic issue, capturing public attention. Initially, the Democratic Party had hoped that Anies would pair with Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY), the party chairman and the eldest son of former President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). AHY had already introduced himself to the public as Anies potential running mate.

Despite the absence of formal agreements between Nasdem and PKS, the Democratic Party had already put up banners and billboards featuring Anies and AHY as the presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Democratic Party candidates running for legislative seats in the DPR RI, provincial, and local parliaments followed suit.

The shifting dynamics within the political coalition, particularly as they seek to secure votes in key provinces like East Java, led the Anies coalition to search for a vice-presidential candidate. The coalition met with Zannuba Ariffah Chafsoh, known as Yenny Wahid, the second daughter of KH Abdurrahman Wahid, but she declined the offer to join as Anies running mate, instead preferring PDIP or Gerindra.

In an unexpected move, without prior knowledge from many coalition members and the public, the Anies coalition suddenly announced its pairing with Gus Imin as the vice-presidential candidate. This declaration took place at the Mojopahit Hotel in Surabaya on Saturday, September 2, 2023.

The selection of Gus Imin as Anies running mate appeared to have lacked intensive communication between Nasdem, the Democratic Party, and PKS. As a result, neither of the two other coalition members attended the declaration event in Surabaya. Leaders from both parties expressed surprise at the sudden announcement.

There were three surprising factors for the Coalition for Change and Improvement: (1) Gus Imin and PKB were never part of the coalition from the start, (2) The Democratic Party expected Anies to run with AHY as the presidential and vice-presidential candidates, (3) PKB inclusion in the coalition occurred without the consent of PKS and the Democratic Party.

Declaration of Anies and Gus Imin as candidates sparked harsh criticism and accusations of inconsistency against Anies. The Democratic Party accused Anies of betrayal. SBY, as the party

patron, expressed shock and regret, accusing Anies of violating the agreement to run with AHY.

SBY political communication triggered a wave of protests among Democratic Party supporters, who began tearing down posters, banners, and billboards featuring Anies and AHY. In extreme cases, Anies images were torn apart and burned, with some even going as far as burning Nasdem flags.

This study focuses on the use of the term "betrayal" attributed to Anies Baswedan by Democratic Party communicators. The term was analyzed in news articles published on Kompas.com from September 2 to 10, 2023. Six articles discussed the accusation of Anies betrayal.

Kompas.com articles were analyzed using the Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) method, grounded in Dan Nimmo political communication theory, which consists of five concepts: (1) Communicator, (2) Message, (3) Communication Channel, (4) Audience, (5) Effect.

News from Kompas.com was analyzed sentence by sentence, particularly the sentences from communicators regarding the changes in the presidential and vice-presidential candidates and PKB inclusion in the coalition. Messages, including journalist narratives and direct quotes, were evaluated to determine whether they conveyed positive or negative sentiments.

The analysis found that Democratic Party communicators dominated the discourse, followed by Nasdem. Outside the coalition, both Gerindra and PAN also commented. Messages with negative sentiments mostly came from Democratic Party communicators, with Nasdem being the primary target of negative sentiment.

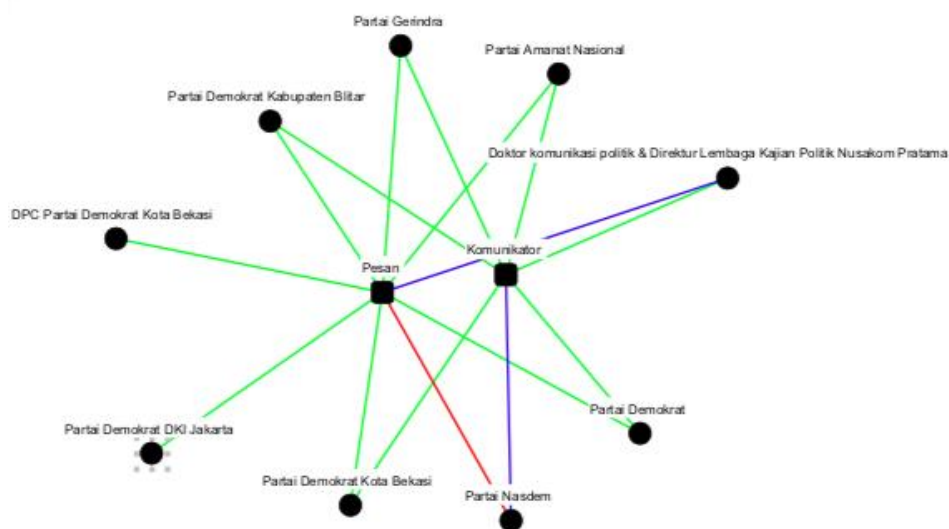


Figure 1. DNA Analysis Results
Source: Author's

Based on the DNA analysis diagram, there are connecting lines between communicators and messages. The analysis of the news on www.kompas.com emphasizes Dan Nimmo's political communication concept, including the communicator, message, media, audience, and effects. Each communicator is linked by lines, indicating either agreement or opposition, showing that the two communicators are connected. The messages delivered are also connected by lines. This shows that the messages conveyed by communicators through kompas.com received responses and had effects from other parties, including Nasdem, PAN, and Gerindra.

In the diagram generated from the two-mode network application, which connects two variables, communicators and messages, featured on kompas.com, nine communicators appeared in the news after Anies Baswedan and Gus Imin declared their candidacy as presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Six communicators were from the Democratic Party, one from Nasdem, one from Gerindra, and one from the National Mandate Party (PAN).

There are three connecting lines red, green, and blue. The green line indicates that the communicator is conveying a message agreeing with the accusation of betrayal in the coalition. An interesting finding from this DNA analysis is that the parties agreeing with the accusation of betrayal are not only the Democratic Party but also Gerindra and PAN.

Democratic Party agrees that Amin (Anies–Muhaimin) betrayed the agreement between Anies and SBY to nominate AHY as their candidate. However, the emergence of messages from Gerindra and PAN, which are also marked in green, indicates that they agree with the betrayal of the Anies–Muhaimin pair. This is because, before PAN joined the Indonesia Maju coalition, only Gerindra and PKB were part of it. Both had agreed to nominate Prabowo as president and Gus Imin as vice president.

Indonesia Maju coalition gained additional support after Golkar and PAN joined, making the coalition stronger. However, with Golkar and PAN inclusion, the vice-presidential candidate issue changed. Originally, the vice-presidential candidate slot was reserved for Gus Imin, but it shifted to another candidate who had not yet been publicly announced.

Vice-presidential candidate changes in the Indonesia Maju coalition were seen by Gus Imin as a setback. Therefore, Gus Imin welcomed Nasdem invitation to pair with Anies as vice president, forming the Amin pair. This is reflected in the DNA analysis diagram, where the connecting lines for PAN and Gerindra communicators turned green.

Nasdem, on the other hand, displayed a neutral stance regarding the communicators accusing Anies of betrayal, as seen in the blue lines representing Nasdem communicators. The message conveyed rejected or expressed negative sentiment toward the accusations of betrayal by the Democratic Party, PAN, and Gerindra regarding Anies decision to select Gus Imin as his running mate.

Nasdem argued that from the beginning, there was no agreement between Nasdem and the Democratic Party to nominate AHY as vice president of the Change and Reform Coalition. The idea of nominating AHY as vice president came from SBY, while Nasdem and PKS had not yet reached an agreement. PKS was waiting to be involved in discussions regarding the vice-presidential candidate, even though PKS had already declared its commitment to joining the Change and Reform Coalition.

In the kompas.com news, there was also a communicator from the political research institute Nusakom Pratama, who expressed a neutral sentiment regarding the accusations of betrayal involving Anies and the selection of Gus Imin as vice president. The blue line connecting the political research institute with the neutral message also connects to the communicators. This shows that the communicators delivering positive or agreeing sentiments toward the accusations of betrayal, as well as those with negative sentiments, were interconnected. The news coverage on kompas.com was balanced, featuring.

Conclusions

The 2024 Indonesian presidential election has created a dynamic political landscape with three coalitions nominating prospective candidates. The Coalition for Change and Improvement, led by Nasdem Party, supports Anies Rasyid Baswedan, while the Indonesia Maju Coalition, headed by Gerindra, backs Prabowo Subianto. PDIP, a dominant party from the 2019 elections, may run independently or join forces with others. A key feature of this election is the strategic importance of provinces like West Java and East Java, with the choice of vice-presidential candidates adding further complexity.

Political communication has been shaped by discussions of betrayal, especially regarding Anies Baswedan's candidacy. A Discourse Network Analysis revealed that the Democratic Party played a significant role in these conversations, often expressing negative sentiments. While Nasdem has remained neutral, Gerindra and PAN aligned in supporting accusations of betrayal related to the changing dynamics within coalitions. This reflects the evolving nature of political discourse as the campaign progresses.

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