APPLICATION OF THEO VAN LEEUWEN'S CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN LIPUTAN6.COM NEWS ON THE DISSOLUTION OF BSNP

Mu'thia Mubasyira[1,a)], Yumna Rasyid[2,b)], Miftahulkhairah Anwar[2,c)]

Universitas Indraprasta PGRI, Indonesia[1)]
Universitas Negeri Jakarta, Indonesia[2)]

muthiamubasyira_9906921003@mhs.unj.ac.id[a)]
yumna.rasyid@unj.ac.id[b)], miftahulkhairah@unj.ac.id[c)]

Abstract
The study was conducted with the aim of analyzing and discussing the use of language in the text of the news discourse on the liputan6.com page on the dissolution of the BSNP (National Education Standards Agency) which was published on September 3, 2021 using the framework of Theo Van Leeuwen's critical discourse analysis model. This research is qualitative research that uses descriptive methods. The data taken in this study uses content analysis. In addition, this research also refers to the study of literature in the form of journals, books and other literature so that a comprehensive and holistic discussion of the research topics raised is obtained. The results of the discussion obtained from this study are based on the category of exclusion and inclusion strategies according to Theo Van Leeuwen. Categories of exclusion strategies include pasivation, nominalization and replacement of sentence clauses while inclusion strategy categories include differentiation-inference, objectivation-abstraction, nomination-categorization, nomination-identification, determination-indetermination, assimilation-individualization and association-dissociation. With an analysis of the use of this category of exclusion and inclusion strategies, audiences can understand how the emphasis of marginalized actors, actors who are championed and power relationships on the process marginalizes or fights for these aspects.

Keywords: News, Critical Discourse Analysis, Theo Van Leeuwen.

Language is a communication tool used by humans to interact with others both in the form of spoken and written language. The existence of language can make humans talk directly or correspond through writing. Communication carried out by humans can be in the form of two-way communication that requires speakers and speech partners. This two-way communication can also be in the form of writing delivered in written form and then the recipient will reply to the message. The means used by humans in communicating are also diverse, one of which can be text or discourse. The term discourse is actually derived from sanskrit i.e. wac, wak, vak which means to say or speak. According to Alwi, et al (in Ethics, 2014:147), discourse is a series of related sentences so as to form a harmonious meaning between those sentences. Leeuwen stated that: "The term 'discourse' is often used to denote an extended stretch of connected speech or writing, a 'text'. ' Discourse analysis' then means 'the analysis of an extended text, or type of text'." (2005:94) While according to Tarigan (in Panggabean, 2016:9), discourse is the most complete and highest or greatest unit of language above sentences or clauses with continuous coherence and high cohesion,

capable of having a real beginning and end.

Discourse in the form of written text can be realized in the form of journals, mass media such as newspapers and magazines as well as fiction books and non-fiction books and so on. Written language as a medium in the process of communicating used by humans to convey messages and thoughts to others. Written language can also be used to fight for interests both in terms of events and certain social groups in order to influence, master, and subdue others. (Oktavia & Silitonga, 2016:202) Social reality is presented in the form of news published through mass media and other news media. Mass media provides information constructed by journalists can be print media or electronic media and online media with the aim to build certain perceptions. This happens because the mass media both print, online, and electronic are actually in the midst of a social reality full of interests, conflicts, and facts that are complex and diverse (Sobur in Chandradewi et al., 2018: 2) Therefore journalists as news writers use straightforward and sharp language in delivering the news they make.

The news delivered is also different. Some smell political, socio-cultural and economic. In presenting news, journalists are influenced by certain groups with a tone and tendency that is in accordance with the perception that wants to be built. One of the news that is still hot to be discussed at this time is about the dissolution of BSNP (National Education Standards Agency) conducted by the Ministry of Education some time ago. The topic of news about the dissolution of the BSNP is conveyed through various mass media and each mass media has certain motives and goals that are used to fight for certain ideologies and marginalize other ideologies. Furthermore, this study will be discussed about the news about the dissolution of BSNP presented by online media liputan6.com. To know and understand the purpose and meaning hidden behind the text of news discourse, it can be done through critical discourse analysis.

According to Roger (in Paltridge, 2012:186) critical discourse analysis examines the use of discourse in relation to growing issues in society and questions why it is used in a particular way and the implications of using such discourse. Critical discourse analysis also investigates the way language constructs and is constructed by social relationships. Whereas according to Fairlough and Wodak (in Paltridge, 2012:187) critical discourse analysis can include discussion of social and political issues constructed and reflected in discourse, power relations negotiated and conducted through discourse, discourse that reflects and reproduces social and ideological relationships produced and reflected in the use of discourse. In other words, the fundamental understanding of critical discourse analysis not only understands the text of discourse as an object of language study but is also understood as a tool used for certain motives and purposes in accordance with the perceptions that the author wants to build.

In critically analyzing discourse can be done with various frameworks of approach models where each model has specificities and specifications and certain characteristics. In this study the model analysis framework used is a model of critical discourse analysis according to Theo Van Leeuwen. This is because Theo Van Leeuwen's model can be used to see how social events and actors are displayed and how a group that does not have access becomes a constantly marginalized party. Leeuwen stated that: "Representations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended." (2008:28) He presents a critical discourse analysis model that can detect how a group is positioned. How a dominant group is more in control of interpreting an event and its meaning, while another group whose position is low tends to be a poorly described object of meaning. (Eriyanto, 2000:171)

So in this study will be critically analyzed the text of news discourse about the dissolution of BSNP (National Education Standards Agency) constructed by online mass media liputan6.com which was published on September 3, 2021 using the framework of Theo Van Leeuwen's approach model used as a theory and method in analyzing the use of language in the news text. Theo Van

Leeuwen introduces a strategy model of exclusion and inclusion discourse. Both of these discourse strategies will be discussed comprehensively so that holistic analysis is obtained.

METHOD

This research is qualitative research with descriptive methods. According to Sugiyono (2009: 10) qualitative research views the object as dynamic, the result of the construction of thought and interpretation of the observed symptoms, and intact because every aspect of the object has a unity that cannot be separated. While descriptive methods according to Nazir (in Oktavia & Silitonga, 2016: 206) is a way used to examine the status of a group of people, an object, a condition, a system of thought in the present. In addition, the data collected in this study uses content analysis that analyzes the content in the discourse text in depth.

The object of the research to be discussed is the news presented by the liputan6.com about the dissolution of the BSNP (National Education Standards Agency). This news examines the government's decision through the Ministry of Education which was officially dissolved on August 23, 2021 through Permendikbudristek No. 28 of 2021 on the Organization and Working Procedures of the Ministry of Education and Technology. The text of the news discourse will be interpreted and grouped based on the categories of exclusion and inclusion strategies introduced by Theo Van Leeuwen. Then there will be an analysis of exclusion and inclusion categories based on the emphasis of marginalized actors, actors who are championed and power relationships in the process of marginalizing or championing these aspects.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

In this section, there will be a discussion of data analysis, namely as follows:

A. Exclusion

In exclusion strategies, an actor either a person or group is excluded in the talks in the text of the discourse. According to Eriyanto (2000:173) Exclusion is a central issue in discourse analysis. Exclusion is basically the process of how a particular group or actor is not involved in a conversation in a discourse text. The exclusion according to Theo Van Leeuwen is divided into three, namely pasivation, nominalization and replacement of sentence clauses.

1. Pasivation

Pasivation is one of the categories of exclusion strategies in which an actor either a person or group is excluded from the text of the discourse by making sentences in passive form. Through the use of passive sentences, actors can not be present in the text. This is done to protect the actor. The actor is lost in the news because what is more important in the news is the object. The categories of pasivation strategies found in the news about the dissolution of the BSNP include the following:

Passive: *"Kebijakan itu dinilai bisa berdampak buruk pada kualitas pendidikan di Indonesia."*

Active: *"Masyarakat menilai kebijakan itu bisa berdampak buruk pada kualitas pendidikan di Indonesia."*

In this passive sentence that is more emphasized is the object of policy while the policy assessor is missing from the news. The use of the category of pasivasi in the text of the news discourse is carried out with the aim of putting forward ideology about the impact of the policy that is assessed but on the other hand marginalizes the assessor of the policy so that it does not seem important to know. This will certainly be different if you use an active sentence where the actor is displayed at the beginning of the sentence so that it becomes focused and important to know. From this analysis it can be known that there is an ideology and power relations owned by the author so that the actors in this sentence, namely *'masyarakat'*, seem marginalized.

2. Nominalization

Nominalization is one category of exclusion strategies for eliminating certain social groups or actors through the use of nouns. As the name implies, this category is related to converting verbs into nouns by giving the addition 'pe-an'. The categories of nominalization strategies found in the news about the dissolution of the BSNP include the following:

Nominalization: *"Permendikbud No. 28/2021 yang mengatur pembubaran BSNP merupakan turunan dari Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 57 Tahun 2021 tentang Standar Nasional Pendidikan."*

Verbal: *"Permendikbud No. 28/2021 yang ditetapkan untuk membubarkan BSNP merupakan turunan dari Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 57 Tahun 2021 tentang Standar Nasional Pendidikan."*

In the above sentence that uses the nominalization category there is in the use of the addition *'pe-an'* in the word *'pembubaran'*. The nominalization category is basically changing verbs that mean the action /activity *'membubarkan'* into nouns that mean the event *'pembubaran'*. This is done with the aim of emphasizing an event in the news to the audience so that actions that always contain elements of the perpetrator can be eliminated and not displayed. The use of the added 'pe-an' indicates the existence of an ideology that the author wants to hide or an ideology that the author wants to raise because the use of this addition eliminates actors who are perpetrators in the act of 'dispersing'.

3. Sentence Clause Replacement

The category of exclusion strategy by using sentence clauses can be done to replace the subject or actor. Here the use of sentence clause can serve as a substitute for actors. The categories of sentence clause replacement strategies found in the news about the dissolution of the BSNP include the following:

Sentence Clause: *"BSNP juga menetapkan standar tenaga kependidikan untuk memastikan bahwa guru-guru yang mengajar di kelas berkualitas dan kompeten."*

Without Sentence Clause: *"BSNP juga menetapkan standar tenaga kependidikan untuk memastikan hal itu."*

In sentences with sentence clause highlighted by teachers who are used to replace the perpetrator. With the presence of sentence children, the reader's attention will be distracted to the issues raised in the sentence child. This is certainly different from the second sentence without the sentence so that the emphasis displayed will be different. By using this strategy the perpetrator of the sentence clause in the sentence above, namely *'guru-guru'* become impressed marginalized by the author. One of the causes may be due to the author's desire to cover up or give rise to a particular ideology.

B. Inclusion

In the inclusion strategy discussed how an actor either group or someone is featured in the text of the discourse reported. Inclusion according to Theo Van Leeuwen is divided into seven categories, namely: differentiation-inference, objectivation-abstraction, nomination-categorization, nomination-identification, determination-indetermination, assimilation-individualization and association-dissociation.

1. Differentiation-Indifferentiation

In the category of differentiation and inference, events or actors can be displayed in the discourse text independently but can also be contrasted by showing other events or actors in the discourse text. According to Leeuwen, the presence of events or actors other than those reported in the text can be a marker of how a group or actor is represented through the text of the news

discourse. The categories of differentiation-differentiation strategies found in the news about the dissolution of the BSNP include the following:

Diferentiation: *"Orangtua, guru enggak disiapin ngajar selama pandemi dan lucunya lagi katanya ahli program digitalisasi sekolah tapi minta siswa untuk tatap muka."*

Indiferentiation: *"Orangtua, guru enggak disiapin ngajar selama pandemi dan lucunya lagi katanya ahli program digitalisasi."*

The use of differentiation categories in the news quotes is intended with the aim that the emphasis and focus of the news is sidetracked not only to the subjects shown, namely parents and teachers but contrasted with other actors, namely students. Whereas if the news quote does not use the category of differentiation of eating that appears is the subject displayed at the beginning of the sentence as written in the indifferentiation sentence in the sentence below. Based on the above analysis, it can be known that there are power relations that the author wants to emerge through the use of this category of strategies.

2. Objectivation-Abstraction

This element of discourse deals with the question of whether information about an event or social actor is displayed by giving concrete clues or whether it is an abstraction. The categories of abstraction-objectivation strategies found in the news include the following:

Abstraction: *"Ada banyak hal yang harus jadi perhatian kemendikbudristek ketimbang mengeluarkan kebijakan kontraproduktif."*

Objectivation: *" Ada dua hal yang harus jadi perhatian kemendikbudristek ketimbang mengeluarkan kebijakan kontraproduktif."*

The use of many words in sentences that use categories of abstraction makes different meanings for the audience than using objectivation sentences by using the word 'dua' because by making abstractions of events or actors that are actually quantitatively small with abstractions communicated as if they were many. With the use of abstraction categories, other actors will be marginalized. Based on this analysis can be seen how the author seeks to bring up or marginalize certain ideologies so that the impression captured by the reader between sentences that use abstraction and objectivation strategies becomes different.

3. Nomination-Categorization

In this category of nominations and categorizations discussed how actors are displayed in the text of discourse with what is or by using various categories such as showing important characteristics of a person in the form of religion, status, physical form and so on. The categories of nomination-categorization strategies found in the news include the following:

Categorization: *"BSNP sebagai lembaga mandiri, profesional dan independen keberadaannya masih sangat dibutuhkan untuk mengawal agar pendidikan di Indonesia tidak kehilangan arah."*

Nomination: *"BSNP keberadaannya masih sangat dibutuhkan untuk mengawal agar pendidikan di Indonesia tidak kehilangan arah."*

By bringing up the category of independent, professional and independent institutions, it will form a perception that the BSNP image is good and qualified so that this is made to emphasize the quality of BSNP. While in sentences that use nomination strategies, tendencies and tones are conveyed to neutral audiences so that the image depicted in sentences that use categorization does not appear. The use of this strategy gives the impression to the reader that the author has a certain motive by explaining or describing the actor in the above sentence either

wants to bring up a certain ideology or marginalize other ideology.

4. Nomination-Identification

This category of strategy is almost the same as nomization-categorization but the difference here is the identification process is done by giving sentece clause as an explanation. This is usually done by using the hyphens 'yang' and 'dimana'. The categories of nomination and identification strategies found in the news about the dissolution of the BSNP include the following:

Identification: *"Akan ada masalah besar bagi pendidikan di Indonesia setelah BSNP ini dibubarkan. Sebab, tak ada lagi partisipasi masyarakat yang bersifat independen dalam dunia pendidikan."*
Nomination: *"Akan ada masalah besar bagi pendidikan di Indonesia setelah BSNP ini dibubarkan. Sebab, tak ada lagi partisipasi masyarakat dalam dunia pendidikan."*

In sentences that use the category of identification strategies there is an emphasis on the community that is the focus of the conversation by using the phrase *'yang bersifat independen'* so that the accepted meaning that there is a non-independent society that cannot participate. So the ideology emphasized through the identification highlighted, namely an independent society, becomes clearer and more straightforward. Based on the above analysis, it can be seen how the author through the use of this strategy seeks to emphasize an event that occurs especially about the perpetrator of the event.

5. Determination-Indetermination

In the use of this category, the actors or events mentioned may be clearly conveyed but can also be unclear or anomin. This anonymous can happen because the author of the news has not found any evidence specifically about actors or events so it is safer if written anonymously. Other purposes may be due to pressures from others who want the perpetrator to be constructed anonymously. The citations of the categories of determination and indetermination in the news include the following:

Determination: *"Sejumlah praktisi pendidikan pun menilai pembubaran BSNP ini menyalahi UU Sisdiknas."*
Indetermination: *"Praktisi pendidikan, Indra Charismiadj pun menilai pembubaran BSNP ini menyalahi UU Sisdiknas."*

The use of the word a number indicates the sentence uses a category of determination strategy that indicates that the actor is displayed anonymously. This according to Leeuwen is done to form generalizations and not specific. The generalization effect becomes even greater when the word used indicates plural. In contrast to sentences that use the category of indetermination where the actor named Indra Charismiadi is specifically displayed so that the audience gets an emphasis on the actor. In the above quote, the use of the category of determination is intended to marginalize the perpetrator/actor of an action. From this exposure it can be known that the author seems to want to marginalize the actor of the perpetrator in the above sentence with a specific purpose or motive.

6. Assimilation-Individualization

Categories of assimilation and individualization strategies are intended to question whether the reported social actors are clearly indicated by their categories or not. Assimilation occurs when in the news is not a specific category of social actors mentioned in the news but the

community or social group in which a person is located. Association is basically a language device that is used as if there is a generalization effect instead of individualization giving rise to the specification effect. The categories of assimilation-individualization strategies found in the news about the dissolution of the BSNP include the following:

Individualization: *"Bekas anggota BSNP, Doni Koesoema mengatakan dampak buruk dibubarkannya BSNP bisa terjadi lantaran pengembangan dan evaluasi keterlaksanaan standar pendidikan sulit diukur objektivitasnya."*

Asimilation: *"Bekas anggota BSNP mengatakan dampak buruk dibubarkannya BSNP bisa terjadi lantaran pengembangan dan evaluasi keterlaksanaan standar pendidikan sulit diukur objektivitasnya."*

The first sentence is an individualization sentence because there the category of former BSNP members is specifically displayed. This is different from the second sentence in the form of assimilation where the subject of the actor shown refers to a former BSNP member in general. One effect of assimilation is the creation of public opinion because assimilation is often related to identification, how a person identifies himself with the group being reported. In the above quote the reported group are former members of the BSNP. While the use of this category of individualization strategies is intended to emphasize actors who explain former BSNP members who so that the audience gets specific information about the actor who performs the act. Based on this explanation, it can be known that there is an ideology that the author wants to marginalize through the use of assimilation and individualization strategies.

7. Association-Dissociation

The use of categories of association and dissociation strategies in a discourse text is intended to answer the question of whether an actor or a party is self-displayed or is he or she connected to another larger group. Association refers to the meaning when in the text of the news discourse, social actors are associated with the larger association or group in which the social actor is located. On the contrary, in dissociation, this does not happen. The citation of the association-dissociation category in the news of the dissolution of the BSNP included the following:

Association*: "Eksistensi BSNP juga bagian representasi dari ketelibatan unsur masyarakat dalam mengawal kualitas penyelenggaraan pendidikan. Jika unsur ini kemudian dihilangkan maka akan membuat rumusan kebijakan pendidikan menjadi ruang sunyi bagi suara-suara dari para perintis dan aktivis pendidikan."*

Dissociation: *"Eksistensi BSNP juga bagian representasi dari keterlibatan unsur masyarakat dalam mengawal kualitas penyelenggaraan pendidikan."*

In sentences that use the category of association strategies, the appearance of actors of pioneers and educational activists is associated with elements of society as a larger group. Association strategies make meaning global because they make audiences imagine and connect imaginarily with the broader community. This is done with the aim of marginalizing actors, pioneers and education activists. While in sentences that use dissociation strategies this does not happen because the sentence is not associated with other groups. Based on this analysis, it can be seen that by using the strategy of association and dissociation, the author seeks to emphasize certain events so that the power relationship is created as depicted in the sentence above.

CONCLUSION

The news about BSNP which was officially dissolved by the Ministry of Education on August 23, 2021 was presented on the liputan6.com page and published on September 3, 2021. This news portal is interpreted based on the categories of exclusion and inclusion strategies using the framework of Theo Van Leeuwen's analytical approach model. The model of critical discourse analysis according to Theo Van Leeuwen is relevant to be used as a theory and method in analyzing the use of language in the text of the news discourse contained on the liputan6.com page about the dissolution of BSNP (National Education Standards Agency). Exclusion strategy categories include pasiva, nominalization and replacement of sentence children. Inclusion strategy categories include differentiation-differentiation, objectivation-abstraction, nomination-categorization, nomination-identification, determination-indetermination, assimilation-individualization and association-dissociation. With an analysis of the use of this category of exclusion and inclusion strategies, audiences can understand how the emphasis of marginalized actors, actors who are championed and power relationships on the process marginalizes or fights for these aspects.

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