The Representation Of The 'Emergency Warning' Movement In The Indonesian Media: Narasi TV And TV One News

Diyah Herawati[1], Susana Widyastuti[2], Yeni Artanti[3]

[1,2,3] Master of Applied Linguistics, Yogyakarta State University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
[1]diyahherawati.2023@student.uny.ac.id, [2]susana_widyastuti@uny.ac.id, [3]yenarta@uny.ac.id
Orchid Id number: [1]0009-0001-4778-5314, [2]0000-0002-0617-9094, [3]0000-0003-2673-8006
Corresponding Author*: Diyah Herawati

ABSTRACT:

This study examines how the emergency warning movement in Indonesia is represented in the media outlets Narasi TV and TV One News. Using Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional framework and Van Dijk's ideological square, this research compare mass media depictions at the textual, discursive, and the socio-political levels. The sample comprised eighteen news articles from Narasi TV and TV One News. The results revealed that Narasi TV recognized the Emergency Warning movement as "the ingroup" and the regime's figures as "the outgroup." This can be seen in the absence of any negative predications or reported speech that describes the movement as rebels or illegals. Meanwhile, TV One News depicts the DPR as both an ingroup and an outgroup based on the context presented. Moreover, while Narasi TV delivered the Emergency Warning as a call for public movement and a critical reflection on the state of Indonesian democracy, TV One News adopted a more focus on DPR's procedural action in handling the mass movement without explicitly endorsing or opposing the movement. This study contributes to the understanding that mass media has its own ideology in presenting news and how this ideological view can influence readers to act and participate in the movement. The researcher suggests broadening this study by examining diverse media outlets and audience responses to democratic movements, offering insights into the media's role in shaping civic engagement across cultural contexts.

KEYWORDS: critical discourse analysis, emergency warning movement, mass media, ideology, language.

1. INTRODUCTION

The "Emergency Warning" movement, also known as the "Kawal Keputusan MK" movement, represents a critical moment in Indonesia's contemporary political and social discourse. This movement was initiated by the Indonesian public on August 22, 2024, just a day after an image of the Garuda bearing the words "Emergency Warning" against a blue background was widely shared by netizens on social media platforms such as X, Instagram, and YouTube. The movement was directed mainly to protect the constitution of Indonesia regarding the House of Representatives or DPR's efforts to eliminate the threshold articles and age limit requirements for regional head candidates in Pilkada 2024 (Sukmasari, 2024).

According to Dian (2024), several points of the Emergency Warning movement are as follows: first, the Constitutional Court (MK) granted and permitted the nomination of regional heads by parties with a vote threshold of 6.5-10 per cent of the valid votes according to the population. It also set the minimum age requirement for gubernatorial candidates and deputy gubernatorial candidates at 30 years old at the time of candidate determination. Subsequently, the DPR Legislature convened a meeting on Wednesday, August 21, 2024, to propose changes to the Regional Election Law (UU Pilkada) (Fahmi, 2024; Sukmasari, 2024). The proposed revisions included reinstating a nomination threshold of 20% of DPRD seats or 25% of valid votes and defining the minimum age of regional head candidates as applicable at the time of inauguration rather than at the time of determination (Dian, 2024). These developments were perceived by segments of Indonesian society as contentious, as the Constitutional Court's decisions are intended to be final and binding, as

stipulated by the 1945 Constitution (UUD 1945) (Dian, 2024). Concerns arose that, if rejected by the government and DPR, the Regional Election Law might lack a solid legal foundation.

The outcomes of the DPR meeting were scheduled for further discussion in a plenary meeting on Thursday, August 22, 2024. Public discourse heightened with speculation that the proposed Regional Election Law (UU Pilkada) could facilitate the candidacy of President Joko Widodo's youngest son, Kaesang Pangarep, for deputy governor. In response, images featuring a Garuda emblem on a blue background accompanied by a siren sound and the phrase "Emergency Warning" became prominent across social media platforms (Fahmi, 2024). Civil society groups organized demonstrations on Thursday, August 22, 2024, in various cities, including Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Semarang, and Bandung (Nurani et al., 2024). Later that evening, Deputy Chairman of the DPR RI, Sufmi Dasco Ahmad, announced that the ratification of the Regional Election Bill would be cancelled, affirming that the Constitutional Court's decision would remain in effect. This announcement followed the cancellation of the plenary meeting due to a lack of quorum (Dian, 2024).

Previously, the image of the blue Garuda bird was first uploaded by the collaborative account Najwa Shihab @najwashihab, @matanjwa, and @narasitv on Instagram on August 21, 2024 (Fahmi, 2024; Mujahidin, 2024). This post was then widely shared by netizens on social media platforms such as X, Instagram, and YouTube to echo the call for support to guard the MK (Constitutional Court) decision, which will be annulled by the House of Representatives or DPR RI (Fahmi, 2024). According to the account @narasitv itself, the post featuring the "emergency warning" content had been shared over one million times on Instagram by August 23, 2024 –just a day after it was first published. This rapid dissemination then provokes public action, inspiring both online support and street demonstrations in various cities across Indonesia (Nurani et al., 2024).

However, Narasi TV's vocal stance in amplifying the movement's call to action received mixed responses. While many expressed support, others accused Narasi TV of being politically biased and acting as a paid agent (buzzer) for specific political groups. In response, Narasi TV clarified in its statements that the movement was not about individuals or political affiliations, such as Ahok or Anies, but rather about the Indonesian Constitution, which they argued was at risk. Given this context, the researcher seeks to analyze how the "emergency warning" movement is portrayed by Narasi TV and how this portrayal reflects the underlying ideology of the media outlet. In addition, TV One News has been selected as a comparative news outlet for analysis. As a more conservative media outlet that often emphasizes national stability, TV One News contrasts Narasi TV in representing the movement. This comparison aims to explore the ideology that may be different between the two outlets in their coverage of the "emergency warning" movement. This aligns with van Dijk (2014; Kessar et al., 2021), who stated that media coverage of sensitive events tends to be not only a narrative depiction but also ideologically biased.

The previous study conducted by Abdi and Basaratie (2016) examined how the Yemeni revolution was depicted in 63 selected newspaper headlines from various sources: Tehran Times, Iran Daily, IRNA (Islamic Republic News Agency), and Iran Online (Iranian media); Al-Jazeera and Al-Sharq Al Awsat (Arab media); and Newsweek, Telegraph, New York Times, and USA Today (Western media). The findings indicated that Arab and Western outlets portrayed the Houthis as insurgents responsible for instability and terrorism in Yemen, framing the Saudi regime as taking a defensive stance against the rebels and justifying the Saudi-led coalition's military actions. In contrast, Iranian media emphasized the role of Western and Arab military interventions in Yemen, characterizing them as invasions while sidelining the Houthis and aligning with Iranian and allied perspectives advocating for a resolution to the Yemen crisis.

Looking at how media coverage can shape public perception and opinion, media outlets must carefully choose the language in their news. Wrong depictions of any events or certain parties can lead them to be perceived inappropriately by the public. Considering the stated urgency, the following questions are therefore addressed in this study: (1) how do Narasi TV and TV One News present the "Emergency Warning" through textual and discursive strategies? and (2) what ideological perspectives can be inferred from their portrayals? By comparing the representation strategies of Narasi TV and TV One News, this study contributes to a deeper understanding of the relationship between media, language, and political power in Indonesia.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Many studies have aimed to reveal how news outlets present certain parties in their news through textual and discursive strategies and how ideology is portrayed through news coverage. First, a study conducted by Kessar et al. (2021) explored how international media outlets, France 24 and Al-Jazeera, represented the Algerian Hirak Protest Movement. Using Fairclough's three-dimensional framework and Van Dijk's ideological square, the researchers analyzed 24 articles from the two platforms. Both media portrayed the Algerian protesters as the "ingroup" and the regime's figures as the "outgroup." However, Al-Jazeera emphasized the movement's peaceful nature, while France 24 focused on police presence and the detention of protesters. Additionally, Al-Jazeera was found to depict the protests more explicitly and objectively compared to France 24, which highlighted sensitive topics and used passivized constructions to foreground its ideological stance. The socio-political analysis attributed these differences to historical, economic, and political factors influencing the two outlets.

Afterward, Randy and Briones (2017) scrutinized two online news articles reporting on the Moro Islamic Liberation Front's (MILF) submission of findings regarding the 2015 "Mamasapano Incident" in the Philippines. Using Fairclough's critical discourse analysis framework, they investigated the relationship between internal discourse features and external social practices. The analysis revealed ideological and social distinctions among actors such as the Philippine Senate, SAF troopers, MILF members, and civilians. While maintaining institutional neutrality as news reports, the articles also conveyed evaluative stances through the use of adjectival phrases. The study concluded that these reports reflected power dynamics between the Philippine government and the MILF.

Another study was conducted by Afzaal et al. (2019), who combined critical discourse analysis and corpus methods to study how Pakistani media constructed narratives about the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). The findings showed that Pakistani newspapers frequently portrayed China in a positive light, using terms like "brotherhood" and emphasizing the strong, albeit complex, relationship between the two nations. The study highlighted how media discourse contributed to the ideological framing of China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and CPEC as a major economic project.

In contrast to the previous studies that primarily focused on international media representations, this research focuses on Indonesian media to delve deeper into how local outlets report on political and social movements. This perspective is critical because, while public support for the Emergency Warning movement has been significant, there is also notable opposition. Critics have accused the media of bias, suggesting that coverage of the movement is driven by anti-government sentiments or financial incentives, as seen in the comments in the collaborative accounts of @najwashihab, @matanjwa, and @narasitv on Instagram.

3. METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Data Collection

The researchers searched news databases in Narasi TV and TV One News using five related key terms: peringatan darurat (emergency warning), RUU Pilkada, Pilkada 2024, Revisi UU Pilkada, and Kawal Putusan MK. Finally, a total of 18 news articles were selected with the inclusion criteria; 9 articles were taken from Narasi TV, and 9 articles were taken from TV One News with closely related themes. The selection criteria were as follows: first, the news articles must cover the main events that follow the emergency warning movement, namely how the first image of garuda against a blue background with 'peringatan darurat' (emergency warning) sign was first spread, how the movement is reported in several cities, and how the final Election Law (UU Pilkada) was decided by the General Election Commissions (Komisi Pemilihan Umum). Secondly, the reported events can be seen on both Narasi TV and TV One News. The researchers considered analyzing the whole article from the headline to the text.

The rationale behind choosing Narasi TV is that it is the first media outlet to spread the image of an emergency warning on its collaborative account on Instagram (Fahmi, 2024), which was then widely spread by netizens on other social media such as X, Facebook, and YouTube. According to Gautama (2021), Narasi TV's vision is Constructive Optimism, which

means it presents as a medium capable of criticizing various problems that exist around it and providing solutions to them. Despite its vocal in criticizing the government, especially regarding this emergency movement, Narasi TV was then questioned by many netizens for being driven by anti-government sentiments or financial incentives, as seen in the comments in the collaborative accounts of @najwashihab, @matanjwa, and @narasitv on Instagram. Moreover, due to its contrast with TV One News, which tends to highlight the impact of an action on wrongdoing or weaken the motivation behind the action, TV One News was also selected to see the ideological differences between these two news outlets.

3.2 Theoretical framework and Data Analysis

The researchers adopted Van Dijk's Ideological Square (Van Dijk, 1998) and Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model (Fairclough, 1989, 1995) to analyze the sample of the study. Van Dijk's framework focuses on portraying the "ingroup" (positive depiction of "Us") and the "outgroup" (negative depiction of "Them"). Positive referential and predicational strategies are linked to the "ingroup," while negative representations are tied to the "outgroup" (Afzal and Harun, 2015). This framework was used mainly to examine how Narasi TV and TV One News aligned themselves with the opposing sides of the crisis: The Emergency Warning Movement and the DPR. The analysis applied the Ideological Square to textual and discursive data, integrated with Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model. According to Fairclough (1995), discourse, whether spoken or written, is a discursive event intertwined with both discursive practices and the broader socio-cultural context. His model comprises three stages: description (textual analysis), interpretation (discursive strategies), and explanation (social analysis).

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The articles' analysis is divided into three sections: textual analysis, discursive strategies, and social analysis. First, the researchers analyze the textual components: lexicalization, passivization, and repetition. Next, presupposition and intertextuality as discursive strategies are analyzed, discussed, and exemplified. The socio-political analysis is discussed in the last section of this sub-chapter.

4.1 Textual Analysis

4.1.1 Lexicalization

According to Fairclough in Chiad (2022), lexicalization is an idea that implies the wording processes that signify or lexicalize the world differ in place, time groups, and people. This idea can encode the ideological differences in vocabularies in representing the world (Fairclough, 1989). In this study, lexicalization analysis entails the referential and predicational strategies analysis used by Narasi TV and TV One News writers and editors. Referential strategy is used to construct or name the individual or group as social actors (Konopka, 2019; Kessar et al., 2021), while predicational strategy is how these constructions or names are described in terms of certain characteristics or qualities attributed to them (Konopka, 2019). This predication could be stereotypical, evaluative attributions of positive and negative traits in the linguistics form implicitly or explicitly (Konopka, 2019). In naming or constructing an entity, the predication strategy answers the questions "How is the entity described?" and "What adjective is associated with the entity?" (Salahshour, 2023). Finally, the referential and predication strategies are used to describe the Emergency Warning Movement and the government, which can be found in Table 1 and Table 2 for each.

As Table 1 shows, Narasi TV and TV One News employ different referential and predicational strategies to describe the Emergency Warning Movement. This difference reflects both media's ideologies, which underpin their discourse. This is in line with Fairclough's statement in Santoso (2018) that lexicalization in referring to the name, or, in this case, the Emergency Warning Movement, is to construct and signify social relationships, beliefs, and knowledge.

Narasi TV's referential strategies for describing the movement utilize neutral terms like "Aksi #KawalPutusanMK dan Peringatan Darurat" (#KawalPutusanMK Action and Emergency Warning) and "Gelombang Protes" (waves of protests),

which highlight the public opposition to the government's actions in efforts to maneuver the Constitutional Court's decision, which was deemed not in accordance with the Indonesian constitution. This referential also extends to inclusive terms such as "kita" (we) and "seluruh lapisan warga sipil" (all layers of civil society), which suggest solidarity among Indonesians against perceived injustice done by the DPR. Furthermore, terms like "demo tolak revisi UU Pilkada" (demonstrations rejecting the revision of the Regional Election Law) are used repetitively to emphasize the clear purpose of the movement of protest. Moreover, predications such as "yang terjadi di sejumlah titik di Indonesia" (...that occurred in several locations in Indonesia) and "yang terjadi di beberapa kota di Indonesia" (that took place in several cities in Indonesia) attribute proactive and collective agency to the movement that gives a sense of legitimate and univied civil response to political events in Indonesia.

Table 1. Naming and Predications used by Narasi TV and TV One News to describe the Emergency Warning Movement

Media	Naming	Predication
Narasi TV	1. Aksi #KawalPutusanMk dan peringatan darurat (#KawalPutusanMK Action and Emergency Warning) 2. Perlawanan masyarakat (people's resistance) 3. Seluruh lapisan warga sipil (all layers of civil society) 4. Massa aksi (protest crowds) 5. Demonstrasi (demonstration) 6. Kita semua (all of us) 7. Warganet (netizen) 8. Gelombang protes berbagai pihak di berbagai wilayah di Indonesia (waves of protests from various parties across regions in Indonesia) 9. Demo tolak revisi UU Pilkada (demonstrations rejecting the revision of the Regional Election Law) 10. Ribuan massa aksi (thousands of protestors) 11. Aksi demonstrasi (protest action) 12. Demo skala besar (large-scale demonstration)	1. ... yang terjadi di sejumlah titik di Indonesia pada Kamis (22/8/2024) (...that occurred in several locations in Indonesia on Thursday (August 22, 2024) 2. ... yang terjadi di beberapa kota di Indonesia (...that took place in several cities in Indonesia) 3. ... yang membawa spanduk dan alat peraga seperti alat pemenggal kepala, lengkap dengan gambar wajah Presiden Joko Widodo (... carrying banners and props such as a guillotine replica, complete with an image of President Joko Widodo's face)
TV One News	1. Masyarakat Indonesia (Indonesian society) 2. Seluruh elemen Masyarakat yang telah mengawal putusan MK (all elements of society that have defended the MK's decision) 3. Gerakan 'Peringatan Darurat' ('Emergency Warning' Movement) 4. Warganet (netizens) 5. Gelombang protes (waves of protests) 6. Masyarakat dari berbagai lapisan (people from various backgrounds) 7. Gelombang rakyat (people's wave) 8. Gelombang protes dari rakyat (waves of public protest) 9. Demo rusuh (riotous demo) 10. Aksi demonstrasi penolakan revisi undang-undang Pilkada (Demonstration against the revision of the election law) 11. Aksi menentang revisi UU Pilkada (Action against the revision of the Election Law)	1. ... yang telah mengawal putusan MK (... who have defended the MK's decision) 2. ... yang masih terasa terkait putusan MK terbaru (... that is still being felt in relation to the latest MK decision) 3. ... yang tumpah ruah serentak demonstrasi (flooding the streets simultaneously)

12. Demonstrasi (demonstration) 13. Unjuk rasa (rally)	

Similarly, TV One News employs neutral referential to describe participants as "Masyarakat Indonesia" (Indonesian society), "gelombang rakyat" (people's wave) and "demonstrasi" (demonstration). However, terms like "demo rusuh" (riotous demo) and "unjuk rasa" (rally) occasionally introduce subtle negative tone that impliey unrest or potential chaos. Despite this, there still are positive predications, such as "Masyarakat dari berbagai lapisan yang telah mengawal putusan MK" (people from various backgrounds who have defended MK's decision), which acknowledges the people's active role to ensure constitutional adherence. The predication such as "tumpah ruah serentak berdemonstrasi" (flooding the streets simultaneously) also highlights the scale and intensity of the protest that portrays the movement as a significant collective event.

What can be concluded from these findings is that while both media outlets use similar referential such as "gelombang protes" (wave of protest) and "demonstrasi" (demonstration), their predications differ in their sense. Narasi TV describes the movement as a cohesive, legitimate struggle against political issues, while TV One News balances acknowledgment of the public's complaints with occasional references to potential disruption. This contrast in referring and predicating reflects ideological differences between these media, namely Narasi TV affiliates itself with the Emergency Warning Movement as the ingroup. On the other hand, TV One News did not show its affiliation with the Emergency Movement clearly, and this can be seen from the presence of both positive and negative tones in describing the Emergency Warning Movement.

Table 2. Naming and Predications used by Narasi TV and TV One News to describe the regime's figures

Media	Naming	Predication
Narasi TV	1. Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (DPR) RI (House of Representatives) 2. DPR dan pemerintah (House of Representatives and government) 3. Monster kekuasaan (power monster) 4. Kolaborasi kelam antara DPR dan pemerintah (dark collaboration between the DPR and the government) 5. Keluarga Presiden Jokowi dan para kroni koalisinya (President Jokowi's family and his coalition cronies) 6. Elite-elite politik Indnonesia (Indonesian political elites) 7. Mereka (they are) 8. Politik dinasti (dynastic politics)	1. … yang akan menganulir Keputusan Mahkamah Konstitusi (MK) (which will annul the Constitutional Court (MK) decision) 2. Manuver … (maneuvering…) 3. Hasil "kebut semalam" … (the result of the 'overnight rush'…) 4. … telah melakukan Tindakan inkonstitusional (… has taken unconstitutional actions) 5. … yang berada di lingkaran kekuasaan (… who are in the circle of power) 6. … adalah peringatan darurat bagi kita semua (… is an emergency warning for all of us) 7. … menganulir UU Pilkada (… annulling the election law) 8. … mengakali UU Pilkada (…circumvent the election law) 9. … mengubah UU Pilkada (…change the election law) 10. … yang menolak putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi (MK) terkait syarat usia calon kepala daerah dan ambang batas partai (…who rejected the decision of the Constitutional Court (MK) regarding the age requirement for regional head candidates and party thresholds) 11. … yang disebut Tengah dibangun oleh Presiden Joko Widodo jelang masa akhir jabatannya (… which is said to be built by President Joko Widodo towards the end of his term of office) 12. … sebagai pembangkangan konstitusional (… as constitutional defiance)

TV One News	1. DPR (House of Representative) 2. Pihaknya Bersama pemerintah dan penyelenggara pemilu (The party together with the government and election organizers) 3. Badan Legislasi DPR RI dan pemerintah (House of Representative and the government)	1. … penuhi janji kepada Masyarakat soal polemic RUU Pilkada (… fulfill the promise to the public about the polemic of the Pilkada Bill) 2. … telah memenuhi janji kepada Masyarakat dengan menyetejui Rancangan Peraturan KPU (has fulfilled the promise to the public by approving the Draft KPU Regulation.) 3. … membatalkan pengesahan Rancangan Undang-Undang (RUU) Pilkada (…. canceling the ratification of the Draft Election Law (RUU)) 4. … yang menganulir putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi (MK) yang mengubah ambang batas syarat pencalonan kepala daerah.(… which annulled the decision of the Constitutional Court (MK) that changed the threshold for regional head candidacy requirements)

As Table 2 clearly shows, the DPR and the government are portrayed differently by Narasi TV and TV One News, which reveal different ideologies of both media. Narasi TV refers to the DPR and the government using various terms, from formal ones, namely "Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (DPR) RI" (House of Representatives) to emotionally charged predications such as "monster kekuasaan" (power monster) and "kolaborasi kelam antara DPR dan pemerintah." This lexicalization leads to highlighting the negative sense of the outgroup parties adhered to by Narasi TV, and in this case, is the DPR and the government.

In contrast, TV One News utilizes both negative and positive tones in predicating the DPR and the government, and these different tones are according to what the news presents. First, the negative and critical tones can be seen from the presence of terms like "menganulir putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi" (Annul the Constitutional COurt (MK) decision). This only occurred when the news explained the background of how the Emergency Warning Movement began. When reporting this issue, TV One News adheres to the DPR and government as the outgroup as it highlights the DPR's negative. However, the presence of positive predicating strategies terms like "penuhi janji kepada Masyarakat" (has fulfilled the promise to the public) and "membatalkan pengesahan RUU Pilkada" (…. canceling the ratification of the Draft Election Law (RUU)) also occurred. This positive predication only appeared when the news explained the DPR's response after emergency warning actions broke out in several cities in Indonesia as a form of the DPR's responsibility to respond to the occurring issue. These lead to the positive depiction of DPR and the government, and thus, it can be said that in this context, TV One News adheres to DPR and the government as the ingroup. To sum up, TV One News adopted a different approach; it recognized the DPR and the government bot as ingroup and outgroup as proposed by van Dijk (1993) according to the context being presented. Although it acknowledged the public's movement of complaining about the government, it did not completely alienate the DPR and the government, instead portraying them as entities that could be reformed and remain within group boundaries. Accordingly, the ingroup for Narasi TV was the Emergency Warning Movement or the public, a group that is depicted positively. Meanwhile, TV One News acknowledges the government both as the ingroup and outgroup, according to the context the news is about.

4.1.2 Passivisation
At the textual analysis level, passivisation helps reveal a discourse's language transformation (Weiwei and Weihua Qinhuangdao Branch, 2015). This technique allows the text producer to background the agents while foregrounding actions or outcomes. Analyzing how media outlets' news reporters and editors use this can reveal their ideological stance by shifting focus and obscuring accountability. Some examples of passivisation from both Narasi TV and TV One News media outlets were selected and analyzed.

(a) Sebab, RUU Pilkada ini dinilai akan melancarkan jalan putra bungsu Presiden Joko Widodo, Kaesang Pangarep untuk mencalonkan diri sebagai cawagub. (Narasi TV)
Because, this Pilkada Bill is considered to be smoothing the way for President Joko Widodo's youngest son, Kaesang Pangarep, to run as a vice governor.

(b) Bahkan, mereka juga menyinggung politik dinasti yang disebut tengah dibangun oleh Presiden Joko Widodo jelang masa akhir jabatannya (Narasi TV)
In fact, they also mentioned the dynastic politics that President Joko Widodo is said to be building towards the end of his term of office.

(c) Pembahasan itu dinilai tak sesuai dengan Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi yang diputuskan pada Selasa (20/8) terkait dengan pilkada, yakni Putusan MK Nomor 60/PUU/XXII/2024 dan Nomor 70/PUU-XXII/2024 (TV One News)
(The discussion is considered to be incompatible with the Constitutional Court Decision decided on Tuesday (20/8) related to the regional elections, namely Constitutional Court Decision Number 60/PUU/XXII/2024 and Number 70/PUU-XXII/2024)

The use of passive voice in the sentences above (**is considered** and **is said**) reflects the reporters' tendency toward backgrounding the agent who gives an opinion of the critical statement. By leaving the agent unidentified, it led to presenting the critical statement as a widely shared opinion. While the discourse backgrounding the agent who states the opinion, it foregrounds the outcomes of action to focus on the significant events and their implications that subtly direct the audience's emotional and analytical responses. The choice to leave agents unnamed in this passivisation resonates with a theory proposed by van Dijk (1993) of ingroup and outgroup dynamics. The public (ingroup) is described as a victim of institutional failings, while the DPR (outgroup) is portrayed as responsible for the problems that are currently occurring.

Moreover, passivisation can also be found the the news articles published by both Narasi TV and TV One News in the examples below

(d) RUU Pilkada sedianya akan disahkan pagi ini (22/8/2024) melalui rapat paripurna. (Narasi TV)
(The Pilkada Bill was originally to be passed this morning (22/8/2024) through a plenary meeting)

(e) Dia juga memastikan PKPU Nomor 8 Tahun 2024 tentang Pencalonan Kepala Daerah akan disahkan sebelum 27 Agustus 2024 (TV One News)
(He also ensured that PKPU Number 8 of 2024 concerning Regional Head Candidacy would be passed before August 27, 2024)

As can be seen in (d) and (e), Narasi TV and TV One News use passivation to foreground institutional actions and background the actor of the actions. In Narasi TV, phrases such as the **"RUU Pilkada sedianya akan disahkan pagi ini"** (Pilkada Bill "will be approved") emphasize the explanation of quick and controversial decision-making without mentioning DPR as a responsible party for the approval. Similarly, TV One News implemented passivation to background the actor who ratified the regulation while still emphasizing the competence and progress of the institution. This can be seen from "He **also confirmed that PKPU Number 8 of 2024... will be approved before 27 August 2024"** which puts forward procedural schedules and shows DPR's reliability and responsiveness. This passivisation, in this case, avoids criticism of specific individuals and frames the DPR and government as part of a group aligned with institutional legitimacy. These different strategies illustrate how passivisation functions as a linguistic tool to align narratives with each outlet's ideological orientation, with TV Narrative amplifying critical complaints and TV One News maintaining subtle support to the government and the DPR.

4.1.3 Repetition

At the textual analysis level, repetition is used by repeating the same idea using the exact similar terms or sometimes using paraphrasing. In the critical discourse perspective, the use of this strategy by the text producer is to emphasize certain ideas intentionally with the purpose of influencing the readers. As stated by van Dijk (2008), repetition "may have the specific function of drawing special attention to specific meaning and hence to enhance the possibility that these are being

constructed as important parts of intended event models" (p. 192). Moreover, repetition also shows quantity, affirmation of ideas, intensity, and rhythm forming (Kone, 2019). Thus, the researchers focus on repetition in news articles of both media to reveal their tendency to repeat certain ideas as well as their hidden ideology. Though it is a qualitative study, the researchers support the findings with simple statistics. The following examples present repeated main ideas in news articles from Narasi TV and TV One News

(a) MK tolak permohonan persyaratan batas usia calon kepala daerah (Narasi TV)
    Constitutional Court rejects application for age limit for regional head candidates
(b) Jika syarat usia dihitung berdasarkan putusan MK, Kaesang tidak memenuhi syarat. (Narasi TV)
    If the age requirement is calculated based on the Constitutional Court's decision, Kaesang does not qualify.
(c) Putusan MK … menegaskan bahwa batas usia minimum calon kepala daerah dihitung sejak penetapan pasangan calon oleh Komisi Pemilihan Umum (KPU) (TV One News)
    The Constitutional Court's decision … emphasizes that the minimum age limit for regional head candidates is calculated from the determination of candidate pairs by the General Elections Commission (KPU)
(d) MK menegaskan bahwa syarat usia calon kepala daerah harus terpenuhi pada saat penetapan pasangan calon peserta Pilkada oleh KPU. (TV One News)
    The Constitutional Court emphasized that the age requirement for regional head candidates must be met at the time of the determination of candidate pairs participating in the Pilkada by the KPU.
(e) Sehari sebelumnya, MK dalam putusan … terkait ambang batas (threshold) pencalonan kepala daerah menghapus ketentuan bahwa hanya partai politik yang memiliki kursi di DPRD yang dapat mengusung pasangan calon di pilkada. (Narasi TV)
    The day before, the Constitutional Court in a decision … related to the threshold for regional head candidacy removed the provision that only political parties that have seats in the DPRD can carry candidate pairs in the regional elections.
(f) Putusan MK … mengubah ambang batas pencalonan partai politik atau gabungan partai politik untuk mengusung pasangan calon kepala daerah dan calon wakil kepala daerah. (TV One News)
    The Constitutional Court's decision … changed the nomination threshold for political parties or coalitions of political parties to carry regional head and deputy regional head candidates.
(g) Dengan perubahan ini lebih banyak partai politik yang dapat mengusung calon gubernur dengan modal suara yang lebih rendah.
    With this change, more political parties can carry candidates for governor with lower voting capital.

From the samples above, it can be seen that both Narasi TV and TV One News similarly exhibit repetition of the terms "batas usia" (age limit), "syarat usia" (age requirement), and "partai politik" (political party). The repetition of these terms is not surprising because the Constitutional Court (MK) decision regarding the Regional Election Law (Perpu Pilkada) that DPR will annul concerns these issues: the age limit and the political party (Hariyanto, 2024). Despite these similarities, the repetition frequency of each term in Narasi TV and TV One News is different. Thus, this contrast reveals divergent emphases between both media outlets.

Narasi TV repeats the terms "batas usia" (age limit) and "syarat usia" (age requirement) 15 and 10 times for each, significantly more than TV One News, which repeats it only 5 and 2 times for each. This difference shows that Narasi TV foregrounds the issue of age limits to emphasize the controversy surrounding the MK decision and its implications for younger political candidates, such as Kaesang Pangarep. In contrast, TV One News repeats "gabungan partai politik" (a coalition of political parties) 23 times, compared to Narasi TV's 6 repetitions. This indicates that TV One News foregrounds the political mechanisms and institutional dynamics involved in the Perpu Pilkada issue, such as the role of party coalitions in candidate nomination processes. According to the theory of ingroup and outgroup by Van Dijk (1998), the repetition of certain terms, especially when it is used to foreground the self-positive representation and background other-negative representation, serves to construct media outlets' social affiliations and reinforce ideological divides. Narasi TV's repetition of "batas usia" (age limit) situates the public as the ingroup to amplify public dissatisfaction and critique

institutional power, whereas TV One News tends to emphasize party coalitions to describe the issue within procedural and institutional narrative.

4.2 Discursive Analysis

4.2.1 Presupposition

According to Van Dijk (1998), the analysis of presuppositions helps to reveal the writer's or speaker's ideology and beliefs of what they want the reader to take as a given. Thus, in critical discourse analysis, this analysis is a valued-laded. In this analysis, the researchers focus on the lexical presupposition of news articles in both media outlets. The lexical presupposition is chosen as the focus as it is the most important type in critical analysis as it reflects the media's doctrine (Van Dijk, 1998; Kessar et al., 2021). When the speaker produces a sentence, the other meaning of the uttered sentence can also be understood through the analysis of presupposition. For instance, saying "the public did it again," presupposes that previously, the public has done it.

After the researchers analyzed the presupposition of news articles in both media, it was found that Narasi TV relied heavily on presupposition (76%) compared to TV One News (24%) as shown in Table 3. Below are examples of some presuppositions taken from different news articles of Narasi TV and TV One News:

(a) Sebab, putusan MK tersebut dapat menggagalkan pencalonan putra ketiga Presiden Joko Widodo, Kaesang Pangarep sebagai calon wakil gubernur (cawagub) Jawa Tengah.

This is because the Constitutional Court's decision could thwart the nomination of President Joko Widodo's third son, Kaesang Pangarep as a candidate for deputy governor (cawagub) of Central Java. (Narasi TV)

(b) MK tolak permohonan persyaratan batas usia calon kepala daerah

The Constitutional Court rejects the request for age limit requirements for regional head candidates. (Narasi TV)

(c) Namun, pengesahan tersebut batal dilakukan usai gelombang protes dari rakyat disampaikan. (TV One News)

However, this ratification was canceled after a wave of protests from the people was conveyed.

(d) Doli pun menyampaikan terima kasih kepada seluruh elemen masyarakat yang telah mengawal putusan MK agar diakomodasi dalam peraturan terkait penyelenggaraan Pilkada 2024.

Doli also expressed his thanks to all elements of society who have overseen the Constitutional Court's decision so that it is accommodated in regulations related to the implementation of the 2024 regional elections. (TV One News)

In (a), the news writer implies that Kaesang Pangarep, President Joko Widodo's third son, intends to run as a deputy governor candidate yet the Constitutional Court's decision directly impact his eligibility. The next presupposition, (b), presupposes that a request made by the DPR to the Constitutional Court regarding age limits for regional head candidates yet the MK as the authority disagree over it. Then, the terms "was canceled after a wave of protests" in (c) implies that a wave of protest in Emergency Warning Movement was influential in causing the cancellation of planned ratification. The news writer foreground the power of public demonstrations to influence political actions in Indonesian context. In sentences (d), it implies that the society actively participated in ensuring the Constitutional Court's decision was accomodated, and thus it isappreciated by Doli, a member of DPR RI. This statement presupposed collaboration of society and institution to uphold judicial decisions in Indonesia.

Table 3. The frequencies and percentages of presuppositions utilized by Narasi TV and TV One News

The Media Outlet	Frequencies	Percentages
Narasi TV	41	76%
TV One News	13	24%

The presuppositions found in the news article of Narasi TV and TV One News provide a picture of Indonesian political landscape which is experiencing a decline in democracy, primarily due to the DPR's decision perceived as failing to uphold

the constitution in Indonesia. Further analysis reveals that the portrayal of the Emergency Waring Movement in safeguarding the Constitutional Court's decision underscores the success in protecting constitutional values in Indonesia. Overall, the use of presuppositions in both news outlets aims to position the public or the movements supporting the Constitutional Court's rulings as the ingroup, while casting the DPR as the outgroup. However, TV One News does not feature statements as critical or assertive as those presented by Narasi TV.

The presuppositions found in the news article of Narasi TV and TV One News provide a picture of the Indonesian political landscape that experienced a decline in democracy, primarily due to the DPR's decision perceived as failing to uphold the constitution in Indonesia. Further analysis reveals that the portrayal of the Emergency Waring Movement in safeguarding the Constitutional Court's decision underscores the success of protecting constitutional values in Indonesia. Overall, the use of presuppositions in both news outlets aims to position the public or the movements supporting the Constitutional Court's rulings as the ingroup, while casting the DPR as the outgroup. However, TV One News does not feature statements as critical or assertive as those presented by Narasi TV. However, as stated by Van Dijk (1998), the more the media utilizes the presupposition strategies, the more examples of hidden ideology are noticeable.

4.2.2 Intertextuality

In the level analysis of discursive strategy, intertextuality invloves producing fragmentasy and ill-defined happenings (Fairclough, 2008). It is done when the news writers linked their text to the other texts explicitly or implicitly by referring to them or incorporating elements of them (Farrelly, 2020). According to Richardson (2007), analyzing intertextuality implies the analysis of different types of reported speech, including direct and indirect speech and scare quotes.

4.2.2.1 Direct and Indirect Speech

Whether the news writer uses direct or indirect speech, it similarly involves transmitting what has been said by the other. The difference only lies in the way the speech is being reported. When the writer uses direct speech, the writer copies another's words or statement exactly as it is (Richardson, 2007). In contrast, when the writer adopts the indirect speech strategy, the writer paraphrases what has been said, as stated by Fairclough (2003), that indirect speech paraphrases the content of what was said or written, not the actual words used.

Table 4. The frequencies and percentages of direct and indirect speech used by Narasi TV

Reported Voices	Direct Speech		Indirect Speech	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Hacker	4	20%	1	3%
DPR RI (House of Representatives)	5	25%	13	40%
MK (Constitutional Court)	1	5%	6	18%
KPU (Election Commision)	3	15%	4	12%
Sekjen Partai (Party secretary general)	3	15%	1	3%
Media Asing (foreign media)	4	20%	7	21%
Direktur Eksekutif Perkumpulan untuk Pemilu dan Demokrasi (Perludem) (Executive Director of the Association for Elections and Democracy (Perludem))	-	-	1	3%
Total	20	100%	34	100%

Table 5. The frequencies and percentages of direct and indirect speech used by TV One News

Reported Voices	Direct Speech		Indirect Speech	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
DPR RI (House of Representatives)	10	26.3%	5	20%
Indonesian Netizen	4	10.6%	-	-

MK (Constitutional COurt)	5	13.2%	5	20%
KPU (Election Commission)	3	7.9%	3	12%
Sekjen Partai (Party secretary general)	3	7.9%	2	8%
Media Asing (Foreign media)	9	23.6%	5	20%
POLRI (police)	4	10.5%	5	20%
Total	**38**	**100%**	**24**	**100%**

As shown in Tables 4 and 5, Narasi TV employs direct speech less frequently (20 occurrences) compared to indirect speech (34 occurrences). Conversely, TV One News tended to use direct speech (38 occurrences) compared to indirect one (24 occurrences). This difference reflects the distinct strategies of each media outlet in presenting voices that carry ideological implications.

In presenting its news articles, Narasi TV predominantly utilized direct speech of the ingroup (the society and the movement) for critical and emotive statements such as those representing public dissent or critique of the government's Actions. It Can Be Seen From The Example Below

(a) "Permainan Sudah Selesai, Dan Kami Di Sini Untuk Merebut Kembali Apa Yang Seharusnya Kamu Miliki, Kami Memiliki Senjata Terkuat Yang Bisa Menghancurkan Apa Pun, Kekuatan Rakyat," Demikian Bunyi Penggalan Pesan Tersebut. (Narasi Tv)

"The Game Is Over, And We Are Here To Take Back What Is Rightfully Yours, We Have The Strongest Weapon That Can Destroy Anything, The Power Of The People," Reads A Fragment Of The Message.

(b) "Hari Ini Kita Turun Bersama Untuk Melawan Ketidakadilan 'Bersatu Kita Teguh, Berpecah Kita Runtuh, Atau Kita Akan Kehilangan Negeri Ini Selamanya'" (Narasi Tv)

"Today We Come Together To Resist Injustice 'Unite We Strong, Divide We Fall, Or We Will Lose This Nation Forever'"

As seen in (a) and (b), direct quotes from emails allegedly misused by the insider of DPR foreground the need for justice and are highlighted to mobilize the public to participate in the Emergency Warning Movement to guard the Constitutional Court's decision. On the other hand, direct speech on TV One News is frequently used to emphasize official statements from authoritative figures like DPR leaders, the KPU, or government representatives. This strategy highlights a sense of reliability and institutional authority and is used by TV One News to present a measured and neutral narrative. The examples can be seen as follows:

(c) "Kami sudah memenuhi janji kami. Jadi, tidak ada lagi keraguan ya pada masyarakat Indonesia...," kata Doli di Kompleks Parlemen. (TV One News)

"We have fulfilled our promise. So, there is no more doubt in the Indonesian people ...," said Doli at the Parliament Complex.

(d) "Pengesahan revisi UU Pilkada yang direncanakan hari ini tanggal 22 Agustus.. BATAL dilaksanakan, oleh karenanya pada saat pendaftaran pilkada pada tgl 27 Agustus nanti yang akabn berlaku adalah tanggal 27 Agustus nanti yang akan berlaku adalah keputusan JR (Judicial Review) MK yang mengabulkan gugatan Partai Buruh dan Partai Gelora," tulis Sufmi Dasco Ahmad di akun X pribadinya. (TV One News)

"The ratification of the revision of the Pilkada Law planned for today, August 22... Therefore, at the time of the election registration on August 27, the decision of the Constitutional Court's JR (Judicial Review) which granted the lawsuit of the Labor Party and the Gelora Party will apply," wrote Sufmi Dasco Ahmad on his personal X account.

Afterward, the dominant use of indirect speech on Narasi TV allows for editorial input to blend the reporter's perspective with the reported facts. This strategy aligns the narrative with the public's perspective to reinforce the critique of the DPR and the government's policy. In contrast, TV One News utilized an indirect speech strategy to summarize official statements or background information. This allows the procedural aspects of legislative decisions are be foregrounded in

the news articles. Moreover, it maintains neutrality of the news' content while providing narratives that underline institutional efforts to address public concern regarding the constitution in Indonesia. The examples of indirect speech in Narasi TV and TV One News are as follows

(e) Menurut Direktur Eksekutif Perkumpulan untuk Pemilu dan Demokrasi (Perludem) Titi Anggraini menggambarkan tindakan DPR sebagai pembangkangan konstitusional. (Narasi TV)

According to the Executive Director of the Association for Elections and Democracy (Perludem) Titi Anggraini described the DPR's action as constitutional defiance.

(f) Mereka (Baleg DPR), kendati melawan nalar akal sehat, berdalih bahwa putusan MK maupun MA adalah dua opsi yang sama-sama valid untuk diadopsi dalam revisi UU Pilkada. (Narasi TV)

They (Baleg DPR), although against common sense, argue that the decisions of the Constitutional Court and the Supreme Court are two equally valid options to be adopted in the revision of the Pilkada

(g) Doli mengatakan disetujuinya rancangan PKPU yang mengakomodasi putusan MK ... dapat menjadi jawaban dari keresahan publik setelah Rancangan Undang-Undang Pilkada dibatalkan DPR RI. (TV One News)

Doli said the approval of the draft PKPU that accommodates the Constitutional Court's decision ... can be the answer to public unrest after the Pilkada Bill was canceled by the DPR RI.

(h) Wakil Ketua DPR RI Sufmi Dasco Ahmad mengatakan DPR akan mengikuti putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi (MK) jika RUU Pilkada belum disahkan menjadi UU hingga 27 Agustus 2024. (TV One News)

Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives Sufmi Dasco Ahmad said the House will follow the decision of the Constitutional Court (MK) if the Pilkada Bill is not passed into law until August 27, 2024.

Sample (e) shows that the indirect speech utilized by the news writer merges the reporter's voice with the experts' perspective by embedding the writer's critique within the statement. As in (f), the use of indirect speech in the DPR RI Baleg's statement regarding the DPR RI's views on the decision of the Regional Election Bill also supports the tone of the TV narrative writer to foreground the DPR's actions which consider the MA and MK decisions are similar. Meanwhile, in (g), the indirect speech introduces a paraphrased version of Doli's statement by summarizing his position without directly quoting him.

This strategy combines the speaker's statement into the journalist's narrative to blend the institutional voice with what the media perceive as its ideology. As it portrays the DPR as responsive and solution-oriented, TV One News aligns the DPR with the ingroup, according to the ideological framework proposed by Van Dijk (1998). Lastly, in sample (h), the use of indirect speech of Sufmi Dasco Ahmad's speech is to foreground the image of DPR that will follow the decision of the Constitutional Court by combining it with the reporter's narrative.

From the analysis, it can be inferred that Narasi TV utilized indirect speech dominantly rather than direct speech which allows news writers to convey their criticism to the DPR and the government but use paraphrases of other's statements. This approach leads to positioning the DPR as an outgroup and creates a narrative of opposition between the people and the institution. On the other hand, TV One News uses direct speech strategy more frequent than the indirect one to highlight voices from DPR and describe it as cooperative and focused on finding solutions. This positions the DPR and the government as part of an ingroup working to maintain constitutional integrity. These strategies show how the two media outlets present the same events differently and thus it can influence how the readers perceive the issues by by using direct and indirect strategies in presenting the speech being reported.

4.2.2.2 Scare Quotes

The use of square quotes in news usually begins with a quotation mark, just as a direct quotation. However, the difference is that the words around the quotation mark in scare quotes are considered special for some reason or are not being used in a traditional way. It is used to alert the readers of word that may not mean what the readers think it does. Below are examples of scare quotes found in Narasi TV and TV One News

(a) Hasil "kebut semalam" DPR RI akan dibahas dalam sidang paripurna yang digelar pada Kamis (22/8/2024). (Narasi TV)

The results of the House of Representatives' "overnight scramble" will be discussed in a plenary session held on Thursday (22/8/2024).

(b) Menanggapi kejadian tersebut, publik diramaikan dengan gambar Garuda berlatar belakang biru dengan suara sirine tanda bahaya dan tulisan "Peringatan Darurat". (Narasi TV)

In response to the incident, the public was enlivened by an image of Garuda on a blue background with the sound of a distress siren and the words "Emergency Warning"

(c) dominasi koalisi partai besar yang belakangan cenderung ingin melahirkan calon tunggal versus kotak kosong, atau setidaknya versus calon "boneka". (Narasi TV)

the dominance of the coalition of major parties which recently tends to want to produce a single candidate versus an empty box, or at least versus a "puppet" candidate.

(d) Gerakan 'Peringatan Darurat' tengah trending topic di sejumlah media sosial, Rabu (21/8/2024). (TV One News)

The 'Emergency Alert' movement is a trending topic on several social media, Wednesday (21/8/2024).

(e) Gelombang protes beberapa hari terakhir muncul karena Baleg DPR sempat tidak akan mengakomodasi putusan MK di dalam revisi UU Pilkada. (TV One News)

The wave of protests in the last few days arose because the House of Representatives' Legislative Body (Baleg) was not going to accommodate the Constitutional Court's decision in the revision of the Pilkada Law.

(f) Gerakan "Peringatan Darurat" Trending di Medsos Buntut Putusan MK Soal Ambang Batas Calon Kepala Daeraah (TV One News)

"Emergency warning" movement trending on social media in the aftermath of the Constitutional Court's ruling on the threshold for regional head candidates.

In (a), the term "kebut semalam" (rushed overnight) refers to the DPR's action, which was described as hasty and unplanned, in annulling the Constitutional Court's decision regarding the Regional Election Law. It implies the writer's skepticism or criticism as the process was considered rashed and lacked proper consideration. Similarly, the term "peringatan darurat" (emergency warning) refers to the public's reaction to the political crisis in Indonesia. Narasi TV employs this scare quotes here to distance itself from fully supporting the term and to give an idea that it is a public sentiment rather than an exact state of emergency. Another notable use of scare quotes found in Narasi TV is the term "boneka" in the context of political dominance by major parties. It implies doubt and perception of public rather than an established fact.

Afterward, scare quotes found in TV One News as in (d) and (f) refers to a trending topic on social media regarding the Constitutional Court's decision, DPR's effort to annul the constitution, and the public dissent. This term distance TV One News from fully supporting the term. Though this term similarly used by TV One News, the implication of TV One News in presenting this terms is different with Narasi TV does. TV one News deploy this term with more neutral tone to give an idea that such phrase is a phenomenon rather than a critique or validation of the public's sentiment. Likewise, the term "gelombang protes" (wave of protests) shows the perception of protests as a unified public movement to give a scare tone of such movement regarding DPR's action which annul the MK decision.

As shown above, Narasi TV utilized scare quotes to emphasize public criticism and draw attention to institutional failures, and align itself with the public as the ingroup. On the other hand, TV One News applied the scare quotes to maintain a neutral tone and create distance from dramatic description of DPR and government. By doing so, TV One News subtly backgrounds the significance of public protest while reinforcing the credibility of the government and DPR. These approaches reveal the different perspective and strategies of the two media outets in Indonesia in presenting the same event.

4.3 Socio-political Analysis

After the researchers finished analyzing the text level and the discursive strategies, the following step is analyzing the socio-political that entails relating the general findings derived from the previous stages. Thus, the historical, political, and economic context are taken into consideration. Giving and explanation of the socio-political context aims to reveal the

hidden ideology in the news articles. Moreover, it also unveil the difference in the way the Emergency Warning Movement was depicted.

4.3.1 Economic Context

Narasi TV provide narratives that are critical of the DPR and government institutions in reporting related to the "Emergency Warning action". This position is closely related to the media's economic strategy which focuses on urban and reformist audiences, especially the younger generation and middle class who tend to be skeptical of power. This is in accordance with the vision of Narasi TV as stated in Boer (2019), that Narasi TV employs Constructive Optimism, means that Narasi TV is present as a medium to criticize various problems that exist around it but alsoprovide solutions to these problems. By providing this critical views the readers, it lead this media to position the public and mass of Emergency Warning Movement as the ingroup and DPR as the outgroup. This positioning not only supports Narasi TV's branding as a reform-oriented media platform but also amplifies its alignment with public grievances and its target audience.

In contrast, TV One News, as an older media than Narasi TV, is more likely to show its news with a more conservative political view and prioritize national stability. Therefore, their news tends to positioned itself with the public and the government based on the news context. This approach allows TV One News to align with the government and institutional actors when reporting on certain events like the Emergency Warning Movement. At the same time, TV One News avoids entirely discrediting public protests by depicting them as a natural part of democratic discourse. This strategic positioning helps TV One to maintain its image as a balanced and mainstream news outlet for prioritizing national unity and stability on its narratives.

4.3.2 Political Context

Narasi TV in its news articles shows the dissatisfaction of young Indonesians with democratic values that are not in line with the constitution in Indonesia. Narasi TV's support for taking part in this action is in line with the profile written on Narasi TV's own website, namely as a medium that wants to mobilize the younger generation. At the level of textual and discursive strategy, it is concluded that Narasi TV positions the DPR and the government as out-groups by portraying their actions as a threat to constitutional integrity. This is in line with Narasi TV's vision of supporting democratic reform.

TV One News, on the other hand, balances its narratives by presenting the DPR as both an outgroup and an ingroup, depending on the context. Its reporting on public protests often acknowledges dissent but avoids overt criticism to portrays the DPR as capable of reform and alignment with constitutional principles. This dual approach reflects TV One News' attempt to mediate between public grievances and institutional legitimacy as it targets more diverse audience.

5. CONCLUSION

According to the researchers' best knowledge, there is no study to date has examined the Indonesian media coverage of the Emergency Warning Movement (2024) from a critical discourse analysis perspective. Thus, this research open up new horizons for further studies on the representation of the Emergency Warning Movement by media networks. The present inquiry examined a sample of news articles published by two influential and popular media outlets in Indonesia, namely Narasi TV and TV One News. The selected news articles were analysed under the banner of Van Dijk's Ideological Square (Van Dijk, 1998) and Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model (Fairclough, 1989, 1995).

The research at hand supports previous claims that media discourse analysis provides insight towards the hidden ideology and propaganda that media intend to transmit (van Dijk, 1993; Van Dijk, 1998; Fairclough, 2003, 2008; Kessar et al., 2021). The findings of this study go along the same lines with Boer (2019; Gautama, 2021; Michael and Rusdi, 2024) who concluded that Narasi TV Narasi chooses constructive optimism as its way of doing media and thus it beliefs that it is common for a media to criticize various things. Referring to this, the largest segmentation of Narasi is millennials and young people. Meanwhile, TV One News provided professional and credible reports via holding a neutral stance (Paramita, 2013). The results of the present inquiry have implications for the Indonesian readers. In that, readers must

pay attention to the content of news articles particularly those related to sensitive issues, and be aware of the hidden ideologies that media outlets intend to transmit.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

FUNDINGS

REFERENCES

1. Abdi, R. and Basaratie, A. (2016) 'A Critical Analysis of the Representation of Yemen Crisis in Ideologically-Loaded Newspaper Headlines', GEMA Online® Journal of Language Studies, 16(3), pp. 37–52. Available at: https://doi.org/10.17576/gema-2016-1603-03.
2. Afzaal, M. et al. (2019) 'Examining Pakistani news media discourses about China–Pakistan Economic Corridor: A corpus-based critical discourse analysis', Cogent Social Sciences, 5(1). Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2019.1683940.
3. Afzal, N. and Harun, M. (2015) 'A Critical Analysis of Newspaper Editorial Discourse on the Portrayal of Uprising in Libya and Syria', Academic Research International, 6(4). Available at: www.savap.org.pk243www.journals.savap.org.pk.
4. Boer, R.N. (2019) 'Mata Najwa dan Strategi Najwa Shihab untuk Memasarkan Narasi.tv.', Ultimacomm: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi, 11(2), pp. 109–128. Available at: https://doi.org/10.31937/ultimacomm.v11i2.1178.
5. Chiad, M.A. (2022) 'Investigating lexicalization in American and Iranian newspapers tackled Qassem Suleimani and Abu Mahdi Al-Muhandis' Killing: A critical analytical perspective', Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies, 18(1), pp. 511–522. Available at: https://doi.org/10.52462/jlls.199.
6. Dian, R. (2024) 'Poin Rangkuman #KawalPutusanMK dan Peringatan Darurat yang Perlu Diketahui', Narasi TV, 20 August. Available at: https://narasi.tv/read/narasi-daily/poin-rangkuman-kawalputusanmk-dan-peringatan-darurat-yang-perlu-diketahui (Accessed: 20 November 2024).
7. van Dijk, T.A. (1993) 'Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis', Discourse & Society, 4(2), pp. 249–283. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926593004002006.
8. Van Dijk, T.A. (1998) Ideology and Discourse: A Multidisciplinary Introduction. Sage. Available at: www.dissoc.org.
9. van Dijk, T.A. (2008) Discourse and Power. London: Macmillan Education UK. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-07299-3.
10. van Dijk, T.A. (2014) '"Critical Discourse Studies: A Sociocognitive Approach." In Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis, ed.', in The Discourse Studies Reader. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 389–399. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1075/z.184.79dij.
11. Fahmi, Q. (2024) 'Peringatan Darurat Garuda Biru: Awal Kemunculan dan Artinya', Universitas Muhammadiyah Jakarta, 22 August. Available at: https://umj.ac.id/just_info/peringatan-darurat-garuda-biru-awal-kemunculan-dan-artinya/ (Accessed: 11 November 2024).
12. Fairclough, N. (1989) Language and Power. London: Longman.
13. Fairclough, N. (1995) Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language. London: Longman.
14. Fairclough, N. (2003) Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research. 1st edn. Routledge.
15. Fairclough, N. (2008) 'The language of critical discourse analysis: reply to Michael Billig', Discourse & Society, 19(6), pp. 811–819. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926508095896.
16. Farrelly, M. (2020) 'Rethinking intertextuality in CDA', Critical Discourse Studies, 17(4), pp. 359–376. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2019.1609538.
17. Gautama, F. (2021) Alur Kerja Researcher Dalam Pembuatan Konten Program dan Media Sosial Narasi TV. Thesis. Universitas Multimedia Nusantara. Available at: https://kc.umn.ac.id/id/eprint/16768 (Accessed: 18 November 2024).
18. Hariyanto, A. (2024) 'Ini Dua Poin Revisi UU Pilkada Putusan MK yang Dianulir DPR Hingga Peringatan Darurat Viral di Media Sosial', Radar Semarang Jawa Tengah, 21 August. Available at: https://radarsemarang.jawapos.com/nasional/725002293/ini-dua-poin-revisi-uu-pilkada-putusan-mk-yang-dianulir-dpr-hingga-peringatan-darurat-viral-di-media-sosial (Accessed: 2 December 2024).

19. Kessar, S. et al. (2021) 'The Representation of the Algerian Hirak Protest Movement in the International Media: France 24 and Al-Jazeera', Cogent Social Sciences, 7(1). Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2021.1930646.

20. Kone, A. (2019) 'Repetitions in Soekarno's speech', in Proceedings of the 2nd Workshop on Language, Literature and Society for Education. EAI. Available at: https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.21-12-2018.2282777.

21. Konopka, A. (2019) '„Us" and „them" in the language of conservative islamophobia - referential and predicational strategies in Polish right-wing press discourse on the migration crisis in 2015', Studia Humanistyczne AGH, 18(1), p. 33. Available at: https://doi.org/10.7494/human.2019.18.1.33.

22. Michael, M. and Rusdi, F. (2024) 'Komunikasi Instagram Narasi.tv dengan Generasi Z melalui Empat Pilar Media Sosial', Koneksi, 8(1), pp. 75–82. Available at: https://doi.org/10.24912/kn.v8i1.27559.

23. Mujahidin, M. (2024) 'Gerakan "Peringatan Darurat" Trending di Medsos Buntut Putusan MK Soal Ambang Batas Calon Kepala Daerah', TV One News, 21 August. Available at: https://www.tvonenews.com/berita/nasional/238579-gerakan-peringatan-darurat-trending-di-medsos-buntut-putusan-mk-soal-ambang-batas-calon-kepala-daerah?page=all (Accessed: 20 November 2024).

24. Nurani, S.K. et al. (2024) 'Aksi Massa Menyala di Sejumlah Daerah Kawal Putusan MK dan Darurat Demokrasi, Apa Tuntutan Mereka?', Tempo, 28 August. Available at: https://www.tempo.co/politik/aksi-massa-menyala-di-sejumlah-daerah-kawal-putusan-mk-dan-darurat-demokrasi-apa-tuntutan-mereka~15026 (Accessed: 11 November 2024).

25. Paramita, S. (2013) Televisi dan Berita Konflik di TV One Television and TV One News Conflict, Gedung Utama Lantai. Available at: https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/222431-none-5594970e.pdf (Accessed: 6 December 2024).

26. Randy, R. and Briones, Y. (2017) A Demonstrative Analysis of News Articles Using Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis Framework. Available at: https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.33508/bw.v5i1.1117.

27. Richardson, J.E. (2007) 'Critical Discourse Analysis: War Reporting', in Analysing Newspapers. London: Macmillan Education UK, pp. 178–219. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-230-20968-8_7.

28. Salahshour, N. (2023) 'The Referential and Predicational Construction of Migrants in New Zealand Print Media', Journal of Research in Applied Linguistics, 14(1), pp. 77–94. Available at: https://doi.org/10.22055/RALS.2023.18069.

29. Santoso, W. (2018) 'Examining a News Discourse of a Female Politician in Indonesia: Fairclough's Model of Critical Discourse Analysis and its Implication in English Language Teaching', Journal of English Language and Culture, 9(1). Available at: https://doi.org/10.30813/jelc.v9i1.1453.

30. Sukmasari, N.M. (2024) 'Dua Putusan MK Jadi Sumbu Pergerakan Aksi Massa dan Viral Peringatan Darurat', TEMPO, 24 August. Available at: https://www.tempo.co/politik/dua-putusan-mk-jadi-sumbu-pergerakan-aksi-massa-dan-viral-peringatan-darurat-16329 (Accessed: 11 November 2024).

31. Weiwei, W. and Weihua Qinhuangdao Branch, L. (2015) 'Critical Discourse Analysis of News Reports on China's Bullet-Train Crash', Studies in Literature and Language, 10(2), pp. 1–8. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3968/6401.

APPENDIX A

Titles of news articles taken from Narasi TV

No.	Titles	Translated Titles
1.	Heboh Email DPR Diretas, Begini Penjelasan Sekjen	DPR Email Hacked, Here's the Secretary General's Explanation
2.	Poin Rangkuman #KawalPutusanMK dan Peringatan Darurat yang Perlu Diketahui	Summary of #KawalPutusanMK and Emergency Alert Points to Know
3.	Peringatan Darurat, Saatnya Rakyat Bergerak	Emergency Alert, Time for the People to Move
4.	Apa Maksud dari Unggahan "Peirngatan Darurat" dan Hubungannya dengan Putusan MK?	What is the meaning of the "Emergency Alert" post and its relation to the Constitutional Court Decision?
5.	KPU Tegaskan Ikuti Putusan MK Soal UU Pilkada	KPU Affirms to Follow the Constitutional Court's Decision Regarding the Election Law
6.	Apa Saja Isi Draf RUU Pilkada yang Dikebut Pemerintah-Baleg DPR?	What are the contents of the draft election bill that is being rushed by the government and the House of Representatives?

7.	Pencalonan Kaesang Batal, PSI Dukung Gerindra Usung Ahmad Lutgfi-Taj Yasin di Pilkada Jateng	Kaesang's candidacy canceled, PSI supports Gerindra's nomination of Ahmad Lutgfi-Taj Yasin in Central Java elections
8.	5 Media Asing yang Menyoroti Demo Tolak RUU Pilkada Lengkap Beserta Isi Beritanya	5 Foreign Media Highlighting the Demo Rejecting the Pilkada Bill Complete with the Content of the News
9.	Apa Saja yang Perlu Dibawa Saat Demo Kawal Putusan MK Hari Ini?	What to bring to the demonstration to guard the Constitutional Court's verdict today?

Appendix B

Titles of news articles taken from TV One News

No.	Titles	Translated Titles
1.	Ahmad Doli Klaim DPR Penuhi Janji kepada Masyarakat Soal Polemik RUU Pilkada: Kita Sudah Punya Peraturan yang Lengkap	Ahmad Doli Claims DPR Fulfills Promises to the Public Regarding the Polemics over the Pilkada Bill: We Already Have Complete Regulations
2.	Gerakan "Peringatan Darurat" Trending di Medsos Buntut Putusan MK Soal Ambang Batas Calon Kepala Daerah	"Emergency warning" movement trending on social media in the aftermath of Constitutional Court ruling on threshold for regional head candidates
3.	Rapat KPU dan DPR Tiba-Tiba Dimajukan di Tengah Gelombang Protes Terkait Putusan MK di UU Pilkada, Ada Apa?	KPU and DPR Meeting Suddenly Adjourned Amidst Waves of Protests Regarding the Constitutional Court's Decision on the Election Law, What's Going on?
4.	Hari Ini DPR Gelar Rapat Paripurna Agenda Tunggal Putuskan RUU Pilkada	DPR Holds Single Agenda Plenary Meeting to Decide on Regional Head Election Bill Today
5.	Waketum DPR Dasco: Pendaftaran Calon di Pilkada 2024 Gunakan Putusan MK	Waketum DPR Dasco: Candidate Registration in 2024 Regional Elections Using Constitutional Court Decision
6.	Revisi UU Pilkada Perjalanan dari Meja Hakim MK Hingga Baleg DPR	Revision of Pilkada Law Journeys from Constitutional Court Judge's Desk to DPR Legislative Body
7.	PSI Soal Kaesang Pangarep Naik Jet Pribadi ke Amerika Serikat Saat Demo Rusuh tentang RUU Pilkada di DPR: No komen	PSI about Kaesang Pangarep taking a private jet to the United States during the chaotic demonstration about the Pilkada Bill in the House of Representatives: No comment
8.	Media Korea Bahas Aksi Demonstrasi RUU Pilkada: Demokrasi dan Supremasi Hukum Indonesia Kembali Terancam Kemunduran	Korean Media Discusses the Demonstration on the Election Bill: Indonesia's Democracy and Rule of Law Threatened Again
9.	Pengamanan Aksi Demo Tolak Revisi UU Pilkada Sesuai SOP, Kadiv Propam Polri Pastikan Tidak Ada Anggota yang Melanggar	Security for demonstrations against the revision of the regional head election law in accordance with SOP, Kadiv Propam Polri ensures that no members violate the law