

Critical Discourse Analysis of Teun A. Van Dijk's model on @gerindra's TikTok Content in Gaining Gen Z Votes for Prabowo Subianto in the 2024 Election

Lontar: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi, 2024
Vol. 12 (2), 2024
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DOI: 10.30656/lontar.v12.i2.9300

<https://ejournal.lppmunsera.org/index.php/LONTAR/article/view/9300>

Article History

Submission: Aug 22th 2023

Revised: Dec 28th 2024

Accepted: Dec 30nd 2024

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to outline a critical discourse analysis of ten TikTok contents from @gerindra related to Prabowo Subianto in their efforts to capture Gen Z votes. The high usage of TikTok among Gen Z and its significant role in the 2024 elections, with voting proportions reaching 23%, has substantial implications. This research analyzes the interconnection of discourse and the role of TikTok in the effort to attract Gen Z votes. The study employs Teun A. Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis model, which includes text structure, social cognition, and social context. Data is collected through interviews and categorized based on the research subjects' statements. The subjects reported that in the 2024 elections, Gerindra must adapt to social media trends, particularly TikTok, in order to gain Gen Z support for Prabowo Subianto. This adaptation involves using a "serious yet relaxed" political communication style in their brief, light, and straightforward content. The study finds that Gerindra creates such content to present Prabowo as more humanistic, contrasting with his previously known strict and rigid image.

Keyword: critical discourse analysis, Gerindra, social media TikTok

INTRODUCTION

In today's digital era, advances in information and communication technology have introduced the internet as a communication technology innovation that provides many benefits to society. The important role of this technology has brought human civilization into the digital era. According to Everett M. Rogers, there are four stages of human communication development, where we are currently in the Interactive Communication Era stage, where communication technology occurs between two different media and is facilitated by computers. This has led to the emergence of new media called new media (Juditha & Darmawan 2019).

In communication discourse, the term "new media" refers to media features that are different from those that have existed before (Ramanathan & Hoon, 2015). New media is the evolution of existing new media with digital features that allow users to perform activities and exchange other information. In media communication studies, television, radio, magazines, and newspapers are considered old media, while the internet including social media with interactive content is classified as new media (Prihartono & Suharyo, 2022).

The emergence of new media and technological developments is driven by the increasing number of internet users. With wider and easier access to the internet, people now have greater opportunities to connect with each other, share information, and utilize various digital platforms. Based on data from Kominfo in 2024, more than 220 million people in Indonesia are active internet users. Based on the results of the Indonesia Internet Penetration Survey 2024 published

by APJII, the internet penetration rate in Indonesia increased by 79.5%. Compared to the previous season, where the increase was 1.4%. This figure represents more than 70% of Indonesia's population. This makes Indonesia ranked 11th in the ASEAN and Pacific region in the Network Readiness Index (NRI), especially in the technology pillar. The ranking is based on the distribution of 2G and 4G cellular networks throughout Indonesia (<https://www.komdigi.go.id/>).

This shows the continued growth of the positive trend graph of internet penetration in Indonesia over the past five years which has grown significantly," said APJII Director General Muhammad Arif when announcing the results of the internet survey at the APJII office, Jakarta, on Wednesday (January 31, 2024). Until 2018, internet penetration in Indonesia reached 64.8 percent. Then 73.7% in 2020, 77.01% in 2022, and 78.19% in 2023.

With the increasing number of internet users, it also directly contributes to the increase in social media users. The total number of social media users in 2024 according to data from databoks.katadata.co.id is 191 million users (73.7% of the population) with 167 million active users (64.3% of the population). Indonesians spend an average of 7 hours 38 minutes per day and 81% access it every day. Activities that are often carried out also vary from sharing photos / videos (81%), communication (79%), news / information (73%), entertainment (68%), online shopping (61%).

With the rapid development of technology and internet penetration in Indonesia, social media has become an increasingly important political battleground (Susanto & Irwansyah, 2021). Among the various popular social media platforms, TikTok has shown great potential in gaining votes, especially Gen Z. This is because Gen Z is the majority user of TikTok. This is because Gen Z is the majority user of TikTok. Which based on Business of Apps data states that TikTok users are mostly dominated by 18-24 year olds who reach 34.9% of total users in 2022. Then followed by 25-34 years of age which was recorded at 28.2% and teenage age, namely 13-17 years with a proportion of 14.4% (<https://databoks.katadata.co.id/>).

Based on the latest generational analysis by Pew Research Center, the current generation including Gen Z are those born in 1992-2012 and have a significant role in the 2024 General Election. According to data from the General Election Commission (KPU), the National Permanent Voter List (DPT) for the 2024 Election is 204,807,222 people (Hutauruk et al., 2024). Of the total approximately 56,45% are young voters which include Gen Z and millennials around 106,358,447 people. Where generation Z contributed 23.3% of the vote.

Analyzed from Gen Z's enthusiasm in participating in the 2024 elections through TikTok social media, it was revealed from the Kompas.id news page, that Gen Z chose Prabowo Subianto because of the massive "Gemoy" phenomenon that was so effective in targeting young people on TikTok social media. According to the results of the Kompas R & D survey on February 14, 2024, 65.9% of Gen Z aged 26 and under voted for Prabowo-Gibran because it presented a representative offer to Gen Z even though it was only a gimmick, but it was effective in inspiring them. Although, Prabowo was previously known for his authoritarian, dictatorial nature, and was named as a human rights violator during his time in the military, and Prabowo was also known for his unsuccessful food estate program.

With the connection between political phenomena and Gen Z reaction patterns, the researcher examines 10 TikTok @gerindra contents in critical discourse analysis using Teun A. Van Dijk's model. This analysis identifies obvious features in the text that are used to decode and interpret the ideology conveyed through grammar in the discourse. This indicates the relationship between text, power, and culture (Hindarto, 2022).

This research aims to analyze a political phenomenon with a focus on 10 TikTok @gerindra contents and how critical discourse analysis can reveal hidden ideologies represented in digital society related to the phenomenon. The analysis of the 10 TikTok @gerindra contents was conducted through a qualitative research approach, using discourse analysis from Teun A. Van Dijk who divides discourse into three dimensions, namely: text, social cognition, and social context (Fitriana et al., 2019). The text dimension relates to @gerindra's TikTok content about Prabowo

Subianto (Pratiwi et al., 2020). At the social cognition level, the focus is on the production of TikTok @gerindra content, elements of power and action. Meanwhile, the social context dimension studies the discourse that develops from the way Gen Z responds to current political phenomena.

Gerindra's use of TikTok social media illustrates the shift in political communication strategies that increasingly rely on social media as the primary means of reaching target audiences (Prihartono & Suharyo, 2022). TikTok social media offers a creative and interactive content format, which allows political parties to express their messages in a way that is more interesting and relevant to Gen Z (Azizah & Rustono, 2020). However, this phenomenon also raises questions about how political messages are packaged, presented and received by audiences who tend to have different preferences and media consumption behaviors compared to previous generations.

To understand how TikTok @gerindra content influences Gen Z's support for Prabowo Subianto, it is important to apply an analytical approach that can explore the relationship between text, social cognition, and social context (Juditha & Darmawan, 2019). The critical discourse analysis model developed by Teun A. Van Dijk offers a comprehensive theoretical framework to evaluate how political texts in social media not only convey information, but also shape public views and attitudes (Fitriana et al., 2019). This model emphasizes the importance of understanding the structure of the text, the meaning contained, and the power of ideology in building social representations.

Based on this, discourse games are often targeted for public consumption (Rosida, 2021). In discourse analysis, the focus is not only to examine the text, but also includes the involvement of inner construction as part of the body of discourse (Sajjad, 2015). From a linguistic perspective, texts should reflect social and individual processes, involving how they are produced, realized, and placed in a social context (Nasih & Abboud, 2020). The relationship between discourse and the role of TikTok social media lies in the attempt to reach the Gen Z vote. In this context, social media is considered to have a bias and benefit from its position (Zulmi, 2017). informasi tentang skandal atau tindakan kontroversial dapat menyebar dengan cepat dan luas.

RESEARCH METHODS

In understanding how language and discourse provide insight into larger social dynamics through the TikTok social media platform, the researcher uses a qualitative research methodology with a critical discourse analysis approach from Teun A. Van Dijk. Critical discourse analysis according to Teun A. Van Dijk (Eriyanto, 2015) refers to the use of language in action as well as interrelated text patterns in several dimensions: namely (1) text, (2) social cognition, and (3) social context. The text dimension analyzes how text structures and discourse strategies are applied to emphasize certain themes (Zulmi, 2017). Text analysis involves three levels that support each other, namely macro structure, superstructure, and micro structure (Eriyanto, 2015). The social cognition dimension examines how the process of text induction on content involves the individual cognition of the content creator. And the social context investigates how the development of discourse related to an issue that develops in society. The description of Van Dijk's model is as follows:

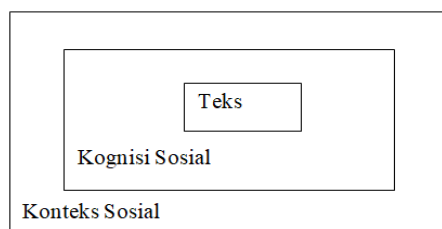


Image 1 : Van Dijk's Discourse Analysis Framework
Source : Eriyanto, 2015 : 225

In Van Dijk's view, discourse analysis does not only focus on the text structure, because the discourse structure itself reflects or shows various meanings, views, and ideologies. To reveal the meaning hidden in the text, it is necessary to analyze cognition and social context. So in this

analysis, it is not only focused on the text alone, but also needs to reveal the meanings, views, and ideologies that are personally owned by the author. Therefore, a deep understanding of social cognition is needed to understand these aspects further. In addition, aspects of social context are also needed to understand how a discourse is produced and constructed by society. Because to understand a discourse, it is not enough just to consider it from an individual point of view, but also requires a response or response from society to the discourse. This social dimension refers to how discourse develops in the context of society. In text analysis, it is important to do intertextuality by observing how a discourse related to a topic is produced and built in society. Van Dijk said that in social analysis there are two important aspects, namely power and access. The data collection process in this study used an interview technique with key informants who are TikTok @gerindra content creators related to Prabowo Subianto. Non-participant observation was also conducted on @gerindra's TikTok social media account to identify 10 contents to be analyzed based on the highest number of likes in each month since Prabowo Subianto and Gibran officially registered as 2024 Presidential Candidates on October 25, 2023 - February 14, 2024.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION
TikTok @gerindra content

A critical discourse analysis of 10 TikTok @gerindra contents related to Prabowo Subianto through Teun A. Van Dijk's approach can understand how political messages are structured and delivered to gain Gen Z votes for Prabowo Subianto. The text dimension, examining how text structures and discourse strategies are used to emphasize certain themes, has three levels of mutual support, namely macro structure, superstructure, and micro structure. The social cognition dimension analyzes the text induction process that involves the individual cognition of the content creator. And the social context studies how the discourse building on an issue develops in society (Eriyanto, 2015). The following are the 10 TikTok @gerindra contents analyzed.



Image 2 : 10 TikTok Content @gerindra
 Source : TikTok Account @gerindra

Text Analysis

1. Thematic (Macro Structure)

Teun A. van Dijk defines thematic or topic as the macro structure of a discourse that reflects the main idea or core idea in the text. In this context, topic is an element that provides an overview of the main focus of a discourse (Eriyanto, 2015). In 10 TikTok contents @gerindra towards Prabowo Subianto in the 2024 Election carries a theme with the narrative "Gemoy" with the concept of joyful. The theme with the "Gemoy" narrative is considered a thematic element because it presents a new and fun approach to political campaigning. In other words, "Gemoy" as a campaign topic reflects the macro structure of Gerindra's political discourse on her TikTok content. This indicates that the clarity and appeal of this campaign can be understood through its topic. The concept of cheerfulness becomes a measure of clarity and a key characteristic of the campaign, as the topic serves to provide an overview and direction of the larger discourse.

2. Schematic (Superstructure)

Teun A. van Dijk defines superstructure or schematic as the general form of a discourse text. Schematic functions as a strategy for speakers to emphasize certain parts of the discourse that they want to convey and hide or reduce emphasis on unwanted parts. In the 10 TikTok contents @gerindra related to Prabowo Subianto used the "Gemoy" trend as the main scheme in structuring the content narrative designed to improve Prabowo's image. This schematic chose to accentuate the humorous, funny, and adorable aspects of Prabowo, as a way to attract Gen Z's attention and change the negative perception towards him. By highlighting the "Gemoy" aspect, the content strategically de-emphasizes the negative character traits that Prabowo is known for, such as being rigid, strict, and known for being authoritarian and dictatorial.

3. Semantics (Micro Structure)

Teun A. van Dijk explains semantics as the meaning to be shown in the text, which includes setting, details, intentions, and presuppositions. In this context, semantics deals with how meaning is constructed and conveyed in discourse, as well as how certain elements influence the interpretation of meaning. In the 10 TikTok contents published by Gerindra, these elements are reflected as follows:

Background: Gen Z's lack of interest in political issues and Prabowo Subianto's unfavorable image due to his past.

Details: The ten contents on @gerindra's TikTok social media related to Prabowo Subianto conveyed a new image of Prabowo that is humanistic, funny and adorable with a casual, contemporary language that is more easily accepted by Gen Z, as well as using a strong visual narrative that shows Prabowo's personal side to create emotional closeness using a short video format.

Objective: Gerindra has understood that the use of social media is key in gaining Gen Z votes in political campaigns. Therefore, Gerindra strategically utilized a social media platform popular among Gen Z, namely TikTok, to reduce the bad image of Prabowo Subianto and attract support from the younger generation. Through TikTok, Gerindra not only tried to showcase the positive and personal side of Prabowo, but also delivered political messages in a way that was relevant and appealing to Gen Z. Uploaded content often utilizes the latest trends, slang, and issues that are close to Gen Z.

Presumption: Gen Z prefers visual, dynamic and short content. In this case, TikTok content, with its short video format, is considered an ideal medium to convey political messages to Gen Z to increase their participation in the 2024 elections. Thus, semantic elements such as setting, details, intent, and presupposition, are visible in the way Gerindra structured their content. Sentence structure, theme coherence, and pronoun usage all contributed to the meaning to be conveyed, creating a consistent and positive image for Prabowo Subianto, in accordance with the designed campaign content.

4. Syntax (Micro Structure)

Teun A. van Dijk defines syntactic analysis as an analysis that deals with the structure and arrangement of sentences by speakers. This arrangement is important to achieve the purpose and
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purpose of communication in discourse (Payuyasa, 2017). Syntactic discourse elements such as sentence form, coherence, and pronouns play a key role in organizing how meaning is conveyed.

1. Sentence Form: Gerindra's ten published contents related to Prabowo Subianto illustrate the use of various sentence structures and a variety of language styles in informal conversations. The use of short sentences and dialog interactions between speakers shows the tendency of relaxed and familiar communication, thus showing the diversity of communication styles used. This is reflected in the captions used in @ Gerindra's TikTok content related to Prabowo Subianto as follows.

"Kiyuuuuuttttt? Ohh cute he means"

The caption depicts a narrative that supports and reinforces the image of Prabowo Subianto as an outgoing, friendly, and approachable figure. The captions were meant to highlight the positive response from the public towards Prabowo, by depicting the cute and adorable reactions of children and mothers to Prabowo's appearance and demeanor. Through a compilation of Prabowo's "Joget Gemoy" videos at various campaigns with uplifting music, the caption reinforces the impression that Prabowo is an energetic, fun and approachable figure.

"No. 2 one round gaaass gk nih?"

The caption shows an attempt to portray Prabowo Subianto as an energetic, optimistic and passionate figure in his campaign. "No. 2 one round no?" shows support and enthusiasm to support Prabowo as the number two candidate. The "Joget Gemoy" video compilation that included Prabowo, supporters, and volunteers in the action, accompanied by the song Oke Gas, created a cheerful and adorable atmosphere, displaying the joy and enthusiasm in supporting Prabowo. "Kasih Paham, Capt!"

The caption highlights the visual narrative being delivered. The switching of Prabowo Subianto's photos from "Alone" to "Two" and finally "Three" shows the development and changes in his political support and collaboration. The use of the caption "Kasih Paham, Capt!" could point to an attempt to clarify and convey the message clearly to the audience which could be interpreted as an attempt to build Prabowo's image as a leader who is open to cooperation and collaboration, both with Gibran, fellow candidates, and with other political figures such as Joko Widodo and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.

"Bismillah"

The caption "Bismillah" shows a positive and hopeful impression. The use of the word "Bismillah" is a religious expression that shows good intentions and blessings in starting an activity. The photo of Prabowo voting with a smile and showing two fingers covered in blue ink shows his active participation in the democratic and electoral process. The background of Prabowo's philosophical words promoting positive messages, such as the importance of doing good and not hurting others, adds to the positive impression of the video. The sky blue shirt worn by Prabowo can also be interpreted as a symbol of simplicity and readiness to work hard for a bright future.

2. Coherence: In Gerindra's ten videos published on TikTok social media @ Gerindra, each video emphasized the "Gemoy" narrative that was repeated in each video to create a consistent image that changed the negative perception of Prabowo Subianto. Prabowo's political message or vision was delivered subtly through positive and fun interactions, accompanied by upbeat music popular among Gen Z and humorous interludes to attract Gen Z's attention.
3. Pronouns: "He" and "Gemoy". The words "He" and "Gemoy" here indicate Prabowo Subianto as the 2024 Presidential Candidate. This arrangement of pronouns influences the information about Prabowo presented in @ Gerindra's TikTok content and is understood by its target audience, Gen Z.

5. Stylistics (Micro Structure)

Teun A. van Dijk describes stylistics as the choice of words made by speakers to convey their intentions and ideas. The choice of words greatly affects how the message is received by the interlocutor, because certain words can shape the desired perception and reaction. In @ Gerindra's 10 TikTok contents, the word "Gemoy" was strategically chosen to describe Prabowo Subianto. "Gemoy" is a popular expression among young people, which refers to something funny and portrays a positive expression of giddiness. The choice of the word "Gemoy" influenced how audiences, especially Gen Z, received messages about Prabowo. By using a word that has a positive and playful connotation, Gerindra conveys a more familiar, playful, and carefree image of Prabowo, which aims to help loosen the serious and stern impression attached to Prabowo. By choosing words that resonate with young audiences, Gerindra is trying to reach Gen Z more

effectively (Azizah & Rustono, 2020). This word choice helps in shaping the desired perception and increasing the appeal of the political message to the target group. Furthermore, Prabowo's dancing actions and funny behavior, which were later used as campaign materials, also reinforced this "Gemoy" narrative. This not only changes people's perception of Prabowo, but also broadens the support base by attracting Gen Z voters who were previously not interested in a rigid political image.

6. Rhetoric (Micro Structure)

Teun A. Van Dijk in rhetorical studies analyzes things related to graphics, metaphors, and expressions. The rhetorical analysis on the 10 TikTok @gerindra contents is shown by the use of persuasion narratives through slang imitations, such as "Kabuuurrr", "Kiyuuuuuuutttt", and "Torang gas" aimed at creating engagement and familiarity with Gen Z who are used to informal communication styles. In addition, the use of figurative language in the form of the phrase "to realize a golden Indonesia" is an example of the use of figurative language that aims to build a strong and positive image related to Prabowo-Gibran's political goals. The use of figurative language like this can influence Gen Z's emotions and beliefs (Nofrizaldi et al., 2020). As well as the use of the phrase "Kasih paham, Capt!" is a request or instruction to the audience to understand or understand about the video published by Gerindra. By using the word "love", the narrator is trying to build an intimate relationship with the audience, making them feel directly connected. The use of the word "Capt" as an abbreviation of "Captain" in English also shows the use of informal language or slang that is closer to Gen Z who are familiar with internet culture. The phrase reflects the narrator's desire to ensure that the message is well understood by viewers. This may indicate an awareness of the complexity of the message being conveyed and a desire to ensure that it is well received. Especially by Gen Z.

Social Cognition

Social cognition refers to how information is processed and understood by individuals. The narrative that is built can influence social cognition by looking at how a text is produced and how the mental consciousness of the content creator shapes the text. According to Van Dijk, texts do not have inherent meaning, but rather meaning is given through the process of mental awareness of language users (Eriyanto, 2015). In this case, TikTok @gerindra content creators are not considered as neutral individuals, but as individuals with various values, experiences, and ideological influences that they gain from their lives. Based on 10 @gerindra TikTok content related to Prabowo Subianto in winning Gen Z votes, it shows that Gerindra is trying to show Prabowo's humanist side by highlighting aspects such as his passion for dancing, his love for children, and his ability to spread joy. This reflects the awareness of Gerindra content creators regarding the importance of positive and personal images in digital campaigns, especially to reach younger audiences or Gen Z who value authenticity and emotional closeness.

"We want to show Prabowo's humanist side. We also want to show that the current Prabowo is the previous Prabowo, who really liked dancing, who really liked small children, and who liked spreading joy. Prabowo, who is running in the 2024 elections, is the figure of Prabowo who ran in the Presidential Election in previous years, nothing has changed about Prabowo's figure. He is a figure who is consistent in his promises, a figure who loves his homeland, a figure who wants Indonesian people to live in peace, security and prosperity. If he has a firm and rigid image, this is because of his background as a former special forces commander. (Informant). "Apart from that, we also want to provide political education through TikTok social media to first-time voters, especially Gen Z, with a "sergeant" (serious and relaxed) and open way of political communication so that it is more easily accepted by them." (Informant).

Based on this, the mental awareness of content creators is clear in their efforts to create an image of Prabowo as a figure who is not only close to the people but also consistent and reliable. By underlining that Prabowo is a person who is loyal to his promises and vision for a peaceful and prosperous Indonesia. Content creators are trying to fight the negative image of Prabowo's past, who was known to be strict and rigid, by reducing it through content presented via social media TikTok. Gerindra presents the humanist figure of Prabowo with a visualization of Prabowo who likes dancing. The content is not only aimed at forming a positive image but also to strengthen Gerindra's ideology and power by often presenting Prabowo in a positive context, Gerindra is trying to normalize Prabowo's image as the right choice and acceptable to the public, especially

Gen Z.

This approach is the result of the mental awareness of content creators who understand that Gen Z is more responsive to messages that connect them with public figures through values they deem important, such as warmth and a pleasant personality. Apart from that, Gerindra also identified the importance of political education for Gen Z through its TikTok content which combines a serious and relaxed approach. This shows Gerindra's deep understanding of how Gen Z responds to political information conveyed in a relevant way. This reflects Gerindra's mental awareness that it is not only informative but also interesting and easily accepted by the audience, namely Gen Z, who often look for content that is fun and connected to their daily experiences. Thus, the text produced in 10 TikTok @ Gerindra content related to Prabowo Subianto shows a planned effort to shape audience perceptions through combining positive images, character consistency, and communication methods appropriate to Gen Z, as well as confirming the party's commitment to effective political education and wider engagement.

Social Context

This approach explores how language is used to reproduce and maintain social domination, as well as how discourse contributes to the formation and strengthening of ideology. In this context, discourse is part of the discourse that develops in society. The main focus of this analysis is to show how collectively accepted meanings and social power are formed through discussions and legitimation practices. According to Van Dijk, in a social context, there are two important points, namely power and access (Eriyanto, 2015).

Van Dijk defines power as the ability possessed by a group (or its members), one group to control groups (members) of another group. As for @ Gerindra's ten TikTok content in gaining Gen Z votes for Prabowo Subianto at the meso level, the content uses entertainment elements such as "Joget Gemoy," rhymes, and several interactions with influencers. This reflects the practice of power where the Gerindra political party uses social media to build and control positive narratives about their candidate, namely Prabowo Subianto. Wide and strategic distribution of content on platforms popular with young people strengthens the impact of message campaigns.

Then, at the micro level, the text and visuals in the ten @ Gerindra TikTok videos also contain several key elements that support the practice of power. Among other things, positive narratives and leadership figures, in this case the text describes Prabowo as a figure who has strong political ambitions, political skills, and respect for authority, for example by showing respect for the former president. This strengthens his image as a leader who deserves respect and is expected to lead the future. Apart from that, emotion and closeness, the use of words such as "funny" and "gemesh" as well as the action "Joget Gemoy" create the impression of Prabowo as a figure who is friendly and close to society. This is an effort to build an emotional connection with voters, especially Gen Z, by utilizing a light and entertaining communication style.

Van Dijk also emphasized great attention to access, how access differs between each group in society. Elite groups have wider access compared to powerless groups. As a result, those who have greater power have wider opportunities to access the media, and have greater influence to influence audience awareness (Eriyanto, 2015). In the context of influencing access to discourse, the use of social media to spread a positive image reflects Gerindra's control and dominance in gaining the support of Gen Z. Prabowo also appears to have control over how he disguises himself in the media. In this case, based on 10 TikTok @ Gerindra content related to Prabowo Subianto, it is used strategically to gain support and form a positive image of Prabowo Subianto among Gen Z. The practice of power is manifested in control over media and the use of favorable narratives, with a focus on building emotional connections and friendly image. Access to social media is also used to spread messages that strengthen political support, showing how discourse can be conveyed to achieve certain political goals.

The relevance of text structure, social cognition and social context to Gen Z's support for Prabowo Subianto

Text Structure, Social Cognition and Social Context implemented by Gerindra through social
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media TikTok @gerindra based on 10 identified contents have succeeded in creating a positive image of Prabowo Subianto among Gen Z, increasing his appeal as a leader, and gaining strong support from young voters. Gerindra has adapted and taken creative steps to strengthen Prabowo's position in the eyes of the public, especially Gen Z.

This finding is in line with the results of research by the Indonesian Survey Institute Denny JA Al Faraby in November 2023 which showed that in October 2023, only 35.8 percent of Gen Z voters supported Prabowo. However, along with the increasing popularity of the term "Gemoy", in November 2023, the number of support for Prabowo among Gen Z increased to 41.0 percent. The results of qualitative research indicate that Prabowo experienced changes in his gestures and communication style conveyed to the public. Lots of dancing and the nickname "Gemoy" are part of several gimmicks that strengthen Prabowo's position in the eyes of young voters. Prabowo grew to become the presidential candidate most chosen by Gen Z (Adjie, 2023).

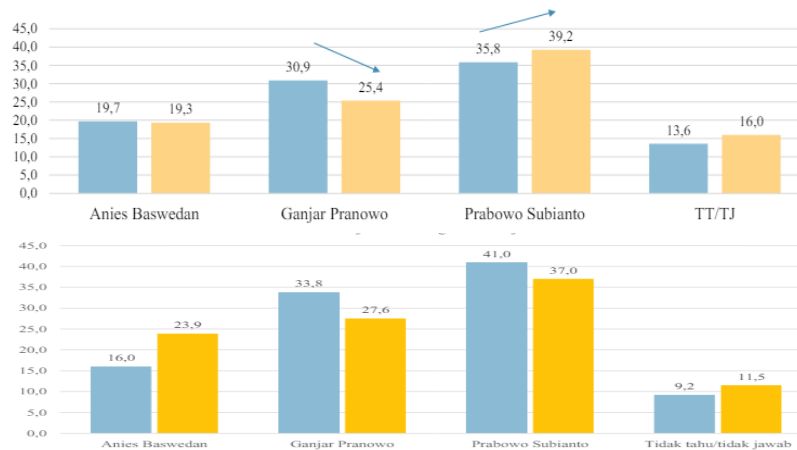


Image 3 : Denny JA Survey Institute Result Data

Source : <https://www.lsi.or.id/post/rilis-lsi-22-oktober-2023>

Apart from that, Netray Media Monitoring also includes the keyword "Gemoy" on the TikTok channel, in the monitoring period 24 November - 4 December 2023. Content related to Prabowo Subianto has been broadcast 57.3 million times with total views reaching 2.6 million reaction. As can be seen from the ranks of top hashtags and top words, Prabowo dominates monitoring of the topic "Gemoy" on TikTok social media.

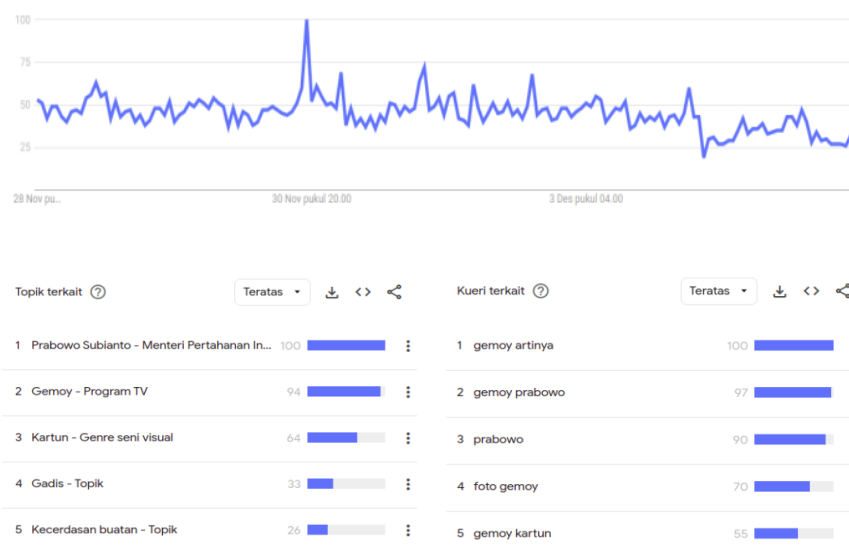


Image 4 : Netray Media Monitoring November - December 2023

Source : <https://analysis.netray.id/tren-prabowo-gemoy-di-tiktok>

Based on this, Gerindra in 10 content on its TikTok account related to Prabowo Subianto shows an understanding of the importance of political strategies that are in line with voter trends and demographics, especially Gen Z, which is an important segment in the current election, considering that they make up half of all voters. Awareness of the importance of attracting the attention of this voter segment is the key to achieving victory. Thus, fabrications such as "Gemoy" are an integral part of Gerindra's political communication strategy in attracting Gen Z votes for Prabowo Subianto.

Current political realities show that to achieve victory, political parties must be able to understand and adapt to the preferences and tastes of the general public. In this case, Gerindra and its digital creative team seem to understand well that we are currently in what Jose van Dijk calls a platform society, where TikTok is the main stage. The high consumption of short and light content has shaped the mindset of many people, especially Gen Z. The image of Prabowo, which was previously known as rigid, authoritarian, dictatorial, has been successfully mediated through TikTok, creating a new image of Prabowo Subianto who is humanist, relaxed, close to the people, cheerful, and likes dancing. Gerindra's success in winning Gen Z votes on TikTok includes implementing effective and responsive digital strategies in the realm of modern political campaigns. The dominance achieved on social media platforms such as TikTok not only increases Prabowo Subianto's exposure, but also strengthens political support through meaningful interactions with Gen Z, reflecting significant developments in the dynamics of political campaigns by utilizing digital technology. This is because TikTok has become one of the largest social media platforms that most influences Gen Z's political decisions, a view supported by data from various sources, such as those presented by Hootsuite and We Are Social. Therefore, observations of current political phenomena are important in understanding how popular political forces can influence overall political power dynamics.

CONCLUSION

Based on the critical discourse analysis of ten TikTok @gerindra contents highlighting Prabowo Subianto in gaining Gen Z votes, several conclusions can be drawn, namely: First, the text structure of the content shows that Gerindra utilizes cheerful and positive topics, such as "Gemoy," to form a pleasant narrative about Prabowo Subianto. The use of informal language, short sentences, and coherent structure aimed to make the communication closer and easier to accept for the Gen Z audience. The word choice and use of slang reinforce Prabowo's image as a friendly and attractive figure in the eyes of young people.

Second, in terms of social cognition, the content produced by Gerindra not only conveys literal meaning, but also shapes meaning through the mental awareness of content creators, which is influenced by their values, experiences, and ideologies. In these contents, Gerindra tries to project Prabowo as a humanist and consistent figure by highlighting activities such as dancing and his love for children. This approach aims to embrace the Gen Z audience who value authenticity and emotional closeness, and to present political education in a relaxed and open manner.

Third, in the social context, the use of entertainment elements such as "Joget Gemoy" strengthens the positive narrative about Prabowo. This strategy shows how Gerindra utilizes social media to shape and control Prabowo's public image as a leader who is friendly and close to the community, especially Gen Z. This strategic use of social media not only strengthens political support but also shows Gerindra's dominance in shaping political discourse through control of media representation.

As for future research, it is recommended that a more in-depth study be conducted on the effectiveness of TikTok content in influencing Gen Z public opinion quantitatively, such as through a survey or analysis of broader engagement data. Research involving comparisons with similar content from other political parties could provide a more comprehensive perspective on successful social media strategies in attracting Gen Z attention. In addition, further research could explore the long-term impact of representations formed through social media on political

perceptions and voter support. Another aspect worth investigating is how this kind of content affects political dynamics and changes in voter perceptions over a longer period of time.

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