

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, an in-depth explanation of the theories utilized for the studies are presented. It conveys about the related topic discussed about free nutritious meal program and it's relevant to critical discourse analysis approach to uncover ideology.

A. Theoretical Review

1. Ideology

Ideology, as defined by Van Dijk (2013) is a socially shared belief that functions to establish and legitimize interests, identity, or values, certain social groups. Ideology is only shared by specific groups of people, not shared by the whole sociocultural community. This causes it to be attacked and defended among members of different ideological groups because of the difference of values each group holds. However, as ideology becomes accepted by all members of a community, they are no longer categorized as ideology, but a knowledge in that community. This process can work inversely, when a knowledge or the accepted belief is challenged by certain groups of people, minimizing its acceptance scope, the knowledge will revert into ideology. Some elements of ideology according to Van Dijk (2013) represent as follows:

- a. Identity: Who are we? Who belongs to us? Who is a member and who can join?
- b. Activities: What do we (have to) do? What is our role in society?
- c. Goals: What is the goal of our activities?
- d. Norms and values: What are the norms of our activities? What is good or bad for us?
- e. Group relations: Who are our friends and our enemies?
- f. Resources: What material or symbolic resources form the basis of our (lack of) power and our position in society?

From those elements of ideology, it represents ideological discourse that usually displays a polarized structure of underlying attitudes and ideologies. This structure usually highlights the positive aspects of the people who hold the ideology, the in-group, and negative properties of those who are the out-group. Such polarization may affect all aspects of discourse, from the surface levels of sounds and visual structures, Syntax, and the Lexicon, on the one hand, to the basic Semantics and Pragmatics levels of meaning and action, as well as the dimensions that cut through different levels, as is the case for the rhetoric of sound (e.g, alliterations) and meaning (as in hyperboles, euphemisms, or metaphors), on the other hand.

2. Lexical Choice

In Halliday's linguistic theory, lexis heavily determines ideational structure, and words are used to group or describe things based on perception, emotion or ideology. And therefore, a fundamental way human beings perceive the world. Since different individuals face different social experiences, they would have specific sociolinguistics abilities that might affect their language use in terms of ideational experience (views and values).

Furthermore, Kress and Hodge (1979) argue that classification is how language is used to organize the world. Acts of classification enables people to relate concepts or words to new concepts or messages because words and concepts only exist through classification. Xin (2005) explains that classification or description of the objects or events is mainly realized by polarized lexical choice. Words convey connoted as well as denoted meanings (the imprint of society and of value judgments). Ideology always controls lexis, which impacts people's choice of words. Lexical choice is a clue that tells the ideologies and opinions hidden in news discourse.

Zhang's (2011) statement supports this, by asserting that language cannot be used to describe things objectively, and the label or definition people attribute on things and objects does not always reflect their intrinsic characters. Because people would make different principles based on their levels of cognition and their emotional experience. For example, the same objects can be labeled with different

terms, but they may differ in meaning or viewpoint. For instance, the word pairs like radical/liberal, terrorists/freedom fighters, kill/eliminate and censorship/reporting restrictions. Zhang (2011) as cited in (He & Zhou, 2015) divides words into three categories according to their emotional coloring: commendatory words (show the user's favor or approval to their descriptive objects), derogatory words (derogatory terms are negative words that reflect the user's criticism, disdain, or negative attitude) and neutral words (words with no evaluation, only stating the fact of without commentary) .

The lexical choice referred to here is how words with connotations and denotations that show support or opposition are presented in news reports related to the polemics of Free Nutritious Program The choice of words in terms of denotation or connotation is linked to references such as what is meant in the news report and linked to what is meant by the news writer.

3. Free Nutritious Meal Program Polemics and the Online Media

Polemic is committed to actions that aimed at achieving specific outcomes. It typically happens around active public policies. According to Lemaitre (2015) polemic is an exchange of confrontational opinions where individuals or organizations propose, defend, or attack an idea. In addition, to make statements to be effective, the identities of the agents need to be recognized. Furthermore, Lemaitre (2015) states that the key features of it includes:

- a. Conflicting positions involving multiple controversial issues, often debated simultaneously.
- b. A mix of dialogue types intertwined within the debate.
- c. Occurring within an institutional framework, shaped by norms, regulations, organizations, and roles.
- d. The central issue evolving over time.
- e. The debate is influenced by real-world events.
- f. Real consequences that stem from the polemic, such as policy changes or actions taken in response to arguments

Free nutritious meal program polemics trigger differing responses. Some commend the policy implementation while others deem it would become too problematic in the long run. The executive director of Center of Economics and Law Study, Bhima Yudhistira, stated that the program could be very costly, if it is continued until it reaches 100% coverage in 2029, it will cause Indonesia's budget deficit to 3.34% of GDP, exceeding the legal limit of 3% (Jelita, 2024). The spokesperson for Geopolitics, Youth, Sports, and Diaspora of the Prabowo Gibran National Campaign team, Hamdan Hamedan, argued that this program is beneficial for multiple aspects at once, from improving children's health and educational performance, raising employment rate, and establishing social stability (Putra, 2023).

Mass media holds significant influence over people's emotions and is highly effective in persuading audiences. As McQuail (2011) states, mass media is powerful for its ability in reaching a wide range of diverse audiences to shape public perception and sharing information worldwide. However, this also makes mass media not neutral because the way information is presented is affected by the figure who broadcasted it such as politician, advertiser, or advocate. The language used in media is often shaped by ideology or perspective of a particular group. Ideally the media should remain objective and based on facts rather than serving the interests of specific parties.

4. Critical Discourse Analysis

From the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), media language is not entirely neutral or truthful. Instead, it is shaped by social, political, and economic forces that influence how reality is represented (Fowler, 2013). Newspapers, in particular, are recognized as one of the most effective platforms for distributing news and shaping public opinion. In modern society, news plays a crucial role in providing information and regulating discourse (Pekkarinen et al., 2016)

However, as stated by Monalisa (2023) the information conveyed by the mass media cannot be taken for granted. Because mass media are vulnerable to modification because the language used in media is influenced by the perspective

or ideology of those who produce it. Thus, a critical skill to analyze news content is needed to tell apart the information from bias.

This study utilizes the CDA approach. CDA mainly concerns power relations. Power is about relations of difference, and particularly about the effects of differences in social structures. Language and other social matters are intertwined in a number of ways: language indexes and expresses power, and is involved where there is contention over and a challenge to power. Power does not necessarily derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power in the short and the long term. Language provides a finely articulated vehicle for establishing differences in power in hierarchical social structures (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

a. Description (Text Analysis)

The description focuses more on using language to track the themes proposed in the news that reflects the ideology. There are three parts in the description as follows:

- 1) Lexical Classification. Lexical choices is a deliberate choice of word used by authors to describe something. The choice reflects attitude toward described object (Van Dijk, 1991)
- 2) Transformation. Transformation refers to the changing process of ideology in discourse. The transformation consists of two parts. There are nominalization and passivization. When a speaker or writer should be using a verb or verb structure to convey a particular meaning, they instead use noun phrases; this is known as nominalization (Weiwei & Weihua, 2015). Passivization eliminates or relocates the agent or actor to the phrase's middle or end. It also transforms passive clauses into active clauses. This method serves to foreground certain events and omits the actor behind an action (Fairclough, 1992).
- 3) Transitivity. Transitivity is a process which identifies how people describe their experience by using syntactic and lexical tools. In Halliday (1985), clause is the basic unit of the analysis, because it describes who does what, towards what or whom something was done, and under what circumstances the action was done.

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (1985), transitivity is divided into six types:

- a) Material process, also known as action process involves actions and events (doing and happening). The process also involves actor (the one who commit an action), goal (the target or participant affected by the action), scope (extent of the action without being affected by it), beneficiaries (which includes recipients, a participants who receive something and client, a participant for whom an action is carried out for) and initiator (external agent responsible for causing the actor to engage in the process)
- b) Mental process refers to the process happening in our thoughts or our experiences within our consciousness. It represents the internal process in our mind such as perception, emotion, ideas, and feeling. The participants in this process are called a senser, the one who thinks, feels, or perceives a phenomenon (the thing which is perceived, felt, etc).
- c) Relational process is a process which connects two different entities and constructs the relationship between acts, facts, and things. This process is distinguished into two categories, which is attributive (assigning quality toward an entity) and identifying (stating identity or definition toward an entity).
- d) Verbal process is the process of saying which includes reporting, speaking, asking, telling, etc. The process involves speaker (the one who speaks) , receiver (the one receiving the message) and verbiage (the message communicated).
- e) Behavioral process combines physiological process and psychological process. Thus, the process involves external manifestation of internal processes such as laughing, crying, watching, etc. This process involves behavior (actor that performs a behavior) behavior (the action displayed by behavior).
- f) Existential process is a process that shows the existence of things or happening of an event. This process involves existent (the things described to exist) existential process (are, be, was, were, etc) and circumstances.

b. Interpretation (Processing Analysis)

Interpretation refers to text production and interpretation of discourse. Interpretation also known as discourse practice connects text with social practice. Interpretation contains three elements: Production, distribution and consumption. Production of the text is highly influenced by the experience, knowledge and habits, social environment, conditions, and circumstances of the text producer (Rosdiana et al., 2023). Distribution refers to the movement of texts across different social and institutional domains, in which they are reproduced, transformed and reshaped for multiple audiences (Fairclough, 1992). Consumption is a way audiences interpret and use a text which is shaped by surrounding social and institutional circumstances (Fairclough, 1992).

c. Explanation (Social Analysis)

Analysis of socio-cultural practices (explanations) is an analysis of the relationship between discourse practices and social context. This analysis aims to find an explanation of the interpretation results at the level of description and interpretation. Discourse as socio-cultural practice contains relationships between texts and situations, institution, and social structure which shapes it, and it also builds different views on an issue, some discourse becoming dominant which turn them into a tool to define what's accepted or true, and suppress alternative viewpoints (Rojo, 2001).

B. Study of the Relevant Research

A critical discourse analysis conducted by Wulan et al. (2025) a study examined how discussion on social media, particularly through the #MakanBergiziGratis reflects ideological tensions surrounding food security and nutrition policies. Using Fairclough's CDA model, the study found that online discourse is shaped by political narratives, public sentiment and competing perspectives in the program's effectiveness. Another research performed by Ansori et al. (2024) analyzed media framing of the FNMP in Kompas, Employing the appraisal framework (Martin & White, 2005) to examine attitude and ideological positioning in news reporting. Their study

found that Kompas maintains a balanced state (53.8% positive, 46.2% negative) in its coverage, presenting both government justifications and public skepticism. Although much research has been conducted to examine the polemics of the free nutritious meal program in various digital media, there has not been much work that examines how media has the power to amplify certain aspects of the program until it becomes a polemic.