

Youth Political Expression Through Tiktok Social Media

Wafa Amelia Qory¹, Adi Bayu Mahadian^{2*}

Universitas Telkom, Bandung, Indonesia

Jl. Telekomunikasi Terusan Buah Batu Bandung-40257, Jawa Barat, Indonesia 40257

E-mail: ¹wafaqory16@gmail.com, ^{2*}adibayumahadian@telkomuniversity.ac.id.

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Abstract

This research aims to find out the political expression of youth on the @presiden Gen Z account on Tiktok. This research uses descriptive qualitative method. The discourse analysis research method developed by Teun A. Van Dijk. Data was collected through observation, interviews and questionnaires. Data will be accumulated through two different methods, in terms of studying political attitudes towards the Gen Z President's TikTok account, data collection is used directly on the TikTok application, while data collection techniques are used to examine freedom of expression in the form of documentation and observation. Researchers have accumulated data in accordance with research. There are 6 total data and 4 are taken by random sampling. Based on the findings of this research, it can be seen that through Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis, the content in the Gen-Z President's Tiktok account has its own position in accordance with the prevailing discourse structure. However, on the one hand, in the micro discourse structure (rhetoric) of the graphic section, researchers do not find any graphics there. First, this content has a macro structure so it can be said to be a positive structure. While the superstructure in this content is also known there are 5 points that fill in and integrate each other between subtopics so that they are also known to be positive. Further to the positive microstructure to be found in this content is weak in graphics only. Second, this content has a positive macro structure, positive superstructure and negative microstructure in graphics. Third, content 3 has a positive macro structure, positive superstructure and negative microstructure in graphics. Fourth, content 4 has a positive macro structure, positive superstructure and negative microstructure in graphics.

Keywords: critical discourse; social media; youth political expression

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui ekspresi politik anak muda pada akun @presiden Gen Z di Tiktok. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif deskriptif. Metode penelitian analisis wacana yang dikembangkan oleh Teun A. Van Dijk. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui observasi, wawancara dan kuesioner. Pengumpulan data akan dilakukan melalui dua metode yang berbeda yaitu dalam hal mempelajari sikap politik terhadap akun TikTok Presiden Gen Z, pendataan digunakan langsung pada aplikasi TikTok, sedangkan teknik pendataan digunakan untuk mengkaji kebebasan berekspresi berupa dokumentasi dan pengamatan. Peneliti telah mengumpulkan data sesuai dengan penelitian. Total data ada 6 dan 4 diambil secara random sampling. Berdasarkan temuan penelitian ini, terlihat bahwa melalui analisis wacana kritis Van Dijk, konten dalam akun Tiktok Presiden Gen-Z memiliki posisi tersendiri sesuai dengan struktur wacana yang berlaku. Namun, di satu sisi, pada struktur wacana mikro (retorika) bagian grafis, peneliti tidak menemukan adanya grafis di sana. Pertama, konten ini memiliki struktur makro sehingga bisa dikatakan sebagai struktur positif. Sedangkan suprastruktur dalam konten ini juga diketahui ada 5 poin yang saling mengisi dan mengintegrasikan antar subtopik sehingga diketahui juga positif. Selain itu, struktur mikro positif yang ditemukan dalam konten ini lemah hanya dalam grafik. Kedua, konten ini memiliki struktur makro positif, struktur atas positif, dan struktur mikro negatif dalam grafik. Ketiga, konten 3 memiliki struktur makro positif, struktur atas positif, dan struktur mikro negatif pada grafik. Keempat, konten 4 memiliki struktur makro positif, struktur atas positif, dan struktur mikro negatif pada grafik.

Kata kunci: wacana kritis; media sosial; ekspresi politik pemuda

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INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of communication is very broad, one of which is the phenomenon of political communication. In terms of communication, there is no meaning that is judged to be right or wrong. Likewise with patterns or theories, meanings or definitions must be broken down in terms of their use in order to be able to describe events that can be interpreted and evaluate them. The word communication or communication in English comes from the Latin word *communis* which means the same, communication, *communicatio*, or *communicare* which means to make common (to make common). In the beginning the word *communis* began to be often referred to where the word communication originated from, which is where the word is the origin of other similar Latin words. Communication indicates that thoughts, definitions, or messages are shared in a similar way. (Deria 2019).

However, the meaning of the contemporary shows that communication has a definition of how things are shared, namely in the sentences "we share thoughts", "we discuss meaning", and "we send messages". The role of communication can maintain and awaken humans in their lives where communication moves and becomes a tool for telling the activities of society and civilization that can turn instinct into creativity through various ways to explain, request, regulate, and supervise. Furthermore, communication is a combination of insights, feelings, and thoughts that are present in the form of threads of human memory from the beginning to the biggest ideals in a non-stop effort towards a better movement. (Fadillah 2022)

Politics is an attempt to achieve a superior life. There is a saying in Indonesia that goes "gemah ripah jinawi loh". Whereas in ancient Greece, especially Plato and Aristotle, gave the term "en dam onia" which is a good life. At this time political views that are very rigid are under pressure because of meanings that focus on efforts (means) to find a better society in terms of sovereignty, decision making and strategy, determining values and so on. Politics is considered as an effort that is used as a setting of rules that are still tolerated well by most people, in order to unite people towards a more harmonious life. The pursuit of a good life can be associated with a variety of activities, including course-setting processes and methods. With many kinds of efforts to do the goals to be achieved. The audience can determine the provisions regarding what is used as the direction of the political method, then the community is burdened by a choice between a preference and a series of interests that have been set. (Nuraeni 2021)

The meaning of political communication is a process of political messages conveyed by the sender of the message to the recipient of the message while emphasizing that a recipient of the message can get the meaning of what has been conveyed from the sender of the message and not receive messages from other parties. (Harahap 2022) The first three divisions criticizing political communication, namely, political communication are carried out by political figures wearing all kinds of forms of communication in order to achieve certain goals. Then the second, is communication delivered to politicians by non-politicians such as voters and researchers of newspaper articles. And finally, the third, namely communication related to politicians and their activities as seen in the news, essay corners, and other kinds of discourse on politics. So it can be concluded that political communication is a communication activity that is related to politics and presents real and potential consequences that can direct humans in a chaotic situation. (Rustam and Pala 2022)

The new RKUHP regulates freedom of expression and public opinion. The new regulation further limits freedom of political expression because at present people, especially the younger generation, often express their opinions to the general public through social media. (Ali 2021) Reporting from CNN Indonesia entitled "BEM UI Asks To Revoke 4 Articles of RKUHP

Because It Threats Freedom of Opinion", BEM UI stated that 4 articles of RKUHP, namely Article 218, Article 240, Article 353, and Article 354 should not be included in RKUHP ratification. In CNN Indonesia, BEM UI said that this article is the same article as the article related to insulting the president which had been annulled by the Constitutional Court (MK) due to uncertainty and unclear parameters of insult. This situation has the potential to exacerbate the involvement of the younger generation in politics.

Based on the CSIS survey findings, youth interest in politics is still low. This can be seen from the lack of young people in the country who want to run for regional heads or members of the DPR/DPRD. Based on survey findings by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), only 14.6% of youth have the desire to run for office as members of the DPR/DPRD. Then, 14.1% of youth wanted to run for regional head. Meanwhile, 84.7% of youth have no desire to run for DPR/DPRD members. There are also 85.2% of youth who do not want to run for regional head. The CSIS survey also revealed that youth interest in participating in political parties is very low. Only 1.1% of youth are currently affiliated with a political party. As information, CSIS conducted this survey involving 1,200 respondents aged 17-39 years in Indonesia on 8-13 August 2022. This survey has a margin of error of 2.84% with a 95% confidence level.

One of the basic things that is useful for maintaining a political system is the younger generation who can understand the knowledge, values and attitudes desired by members and according to the existing system. Education related to politics is still relatively weak which makes people have little trust in the political system, and indeed people should be given a more disciplined understanding regarding Political Education, especially the younger generation so that the younger generation better understands political knowledge, political awareness, values and political orientation. so that they can contribute to the world of politics. The complex nature of politics makes the younger generation uninterested in the world of politics, the actions and behavior of governments that are considered transparent and unclear have reduced the level of trust of the younger generation in politics. (Nastiti 2023)

Participation in politics is an activity of a person or group of people who actively contribute to the world of politics. In Indonesia's history before independence, the younger generation always participated in politics to free themselves from colonialism and western imperialism. But not long after Indonesia's independence, the level of participation of the younger generation in politics decreased because the younger generation began to view politics

as a negative thing. in which politics is described as going through the struggle for power and overthrowing one another. Through these negative views, the younger generation is reluctant to enter the world of politics, but when discussing politics it means that it relates to the behavior of each individual where the encouragement to participate in the politics of the younger generation depends on the attitudes and values of each individual. (Zulfa, Sari, and Trisiana 2019)

KOMINFO stated that the younger generation access all information through internet technology so that they rely on social media as a source of information. (Timur 2022) Social media can also be a medium for increasing trust, knowledge and connectedness to politics, both directly and indirectly. Through social media, the younger generation has the opportunity to shape and build their political views by reading political information and then sharing opinions about politics on social media and explaining their views regarding parties involved in current political issues. (Firdaus 2022) Through social media coverage by public figures regarding current political issues, the younger generation can give their opinions and are able to push back their desire to participate in politics. (Ariestuti, Purnawan, and Pradipta 2021)

One of the public figures who use social media as a means to express their opinion on political issues in order to build a more advanced Indonesian state is Bintang Emon. Gusti Bintang, commonly known as Bintang Emon, is a comic who often criticizes the government and expresses his opinion on current political issues. (Syafira 2021) He expressed his opinion about the government's unrest and criticism on Instagram with comedy dressing, then his sarcastic expressions and critical jokes made Bintang Emon have Instagram followers of 5.2 million followers. One of the content expressions of Bintang Emon's opinion that attracted 15.7 million viewers and received 70 thousand comments was content that raised the issue of Novel Baswedan's acid attack case, in which he made a video entitled "Unintentionally" which represents the incident in the trial of the incident. Novel Baswedan's hard water. (Sarinastiti and Fatimah 2019)

Apart from Bintang Emon, one content creator or public figure who until now still participates in politics to express his opinion and criticize political issues is the Gen Z President. Reporting from Indozone.id, Rian Fahardhi or commonly called the Gen Z President is a young man who expresses political freedom in the style of millennial generation Z so that the younger generation is starting to be interested in participating in politics again. Earning the nickname as President of Gen Z, Rian Farhadi is known to be diligent in creating content on issues that are currently viral in Indonesia, ranging from politics, the environment, to legal issues. Media is not only used as a technology medium, but is also used for other meanings such as politics, culture, and the economy. He often creates and uploads this content on his personal social media account, TikTok. Rian has completed his undergraduate education at Syarif Hidayatullah University, Jakarta and when he was in college, Rian indeed had a hobby of reading and writing, and exploring something that made him curious. Apart from being active in college, he is also quite active in organizations, so there is no doubt that now he is known as a content creator.

Dominating Rian's video content, who dared to express his opinion and criticize political issues, made Rian have a large number of followers on his Tiktok account, namely 1.3 million followers. One of the videos that has a lot of viewers is the video about the RKUHP which limits freedom of speech. The presence of government-critical video content can raise its own assessment in society, some consider that the content is indeed constructive creativity, but there are also those who consider the video to be a negative thing. Because freedom of expression and opinion to the public can be done with the right ethics. However, in several articles of the new RKUHP, there are threats and rules for limiting opinions which do not have clear parameters, which made Rian speak out and express his opinion through several videos on Tiktok to fight against the Articles of the RKUHP.

Research studying how the younger generation participates in politics is still limited. This is in line with one of the research conducted by Zulfa, et al (2019) entitled "Increasing Political Awareness Among Youth". The research explained that youth's way of thinking is immature and still seems unstable. Another thing, many young people tend to see politics as a way to seize power alone. Young people think that politics is synonymous with power. The perception of negative views on politics in this country is difficult to avoid. (Zulfa, Sari, and Trisiana 2019) According to this research, it is time for the younger generation to open up and start expressing their opinions about politics so that the forum as a channel for fighting political injustice will expand.

In addition to Zulfa's research, et al (2019) regarding increasing awareness of politics among youth, there is also previous research that examines perceptions of political dynamics among youth. This research was conducted by Rohim and Wardana (2019) which stated that youth have four sources to form perceptions of the world of politics, namely social media, friends, family and the environment or school. In this research the method used was descriptive qualitative with a

grounded theory approach in which the findings from his research stated that youth's perceptions of politics were not sourced from political issues that were received, but rather from the socialization that had been received by each individual before, therefore the researcher stated that that the main source that can build and have a major influence on youth political perceptions is social media where social media acts as an affirmation and channel of opinion about political injustice in Indonesia. (Rohim and Wardana 2019)

Limited research on the expression of youth opinions on politics, as well as a lack of youth political participation, so there is a great need for more research studying effective and efficient ways for youth to discuss political issues in Indonesia. The object to be examined in this research is video content from the Gen Z President's Tiktok account which discusses the RKUHP. Video content from the Gen Z President's Tiktok account which discusses the RKUHP is used as the object of research because the video content mediates for the Gen Z President to express his opinion as one of the younger generation who channel resistance against political injustice in Indonesia. In this research using a qualitative method by accumulating data through observations from the Gen Z President's Tiktok account. Four video content from the Gen Z President's Tiktok account will be analyzed using the Van Dijk critical discourse analysis method based on 3 levels of elements, namely macro structure, super structure and micro structure. This approach method was chosen because it is in accordance with research examining video content regarding political imbalances in order to draw conclusions from research questions. Therefore, the researchers in this research want to try to learn about how youth (Gen Z) use the social media channel TikTok to express opinions and discuss political issues.



METHODS

The critical paradigm is assessed according to its category by means of discourse analysis. Therefore, the mention of critical discourse analysis appears to dissect texts that have their own power. Critical discourse analysis is used as a dismantling of the power contained in every language process, the boundaries that are allowed to become discourse, the perspectives used, and the topics discussed, which are in the form of news texts. The critical discourse analysis used refers to the Van Dijk pattern. Subjects in research are considered very important because they have information and information about the variables to be studied. Based on this understanding, the subject of this research is the Gen Z President's Tiktok account. The object of this research is video content from the Gen Z President's Tiktok account which discusses the RKUHP.

In this research, researchers will use benchmarks through a theoretical framework. Use to facilitate research. In this research, van Dijk's pattern is utilized which is often referred to as social cognition. Research on discourse is not enough to be based solely on text analysis, because texts are only findings from production practices that must also be observed. Van Dijk includes a process known as social cognition. Social cognition is adopted from approaches from social psychology studies, especially to explain the structure and process of forming a text.

In this research, researchers used a descriptive qualitative approach with the discourse analysis research method developed by Teun A. Van Dijk. Data was collected through observation, interviews and questionnaires. Data will be accumulated through two different methods, in terms of studying political attitudes towards the Gen Z President's Tiktok account, data collection is used directly on the Tiktok application, while data collection techniques are used to examine freedom of expression in the form of documentation and observation. The researcher has accumulated data that is in accordance with the research, in the Gen Z President's Tiktok account found as many as six video content discussing the RKUHP against youth political freedom of

expression. However, the researcher studied four of the six video contents because the four videos contained criticism of the resistance to political imbalances in Indonesia, so this is in line with this research. This research has a research unit from the video content of the Gen Z President's Tiktok account which discusses the RKUHP limiting the freedom of expression of the young generation. The content that will be examined in this research is four video content which contains criticism and resistance to political imbalances in Indonesia.

Visual	Date	Impressions	Likes	Comments	Repost/Share	Content Position
	June 19, 2022	190.9K	12.7K	254	214	Content 1
	June 29, 2022	875.1K	108.5K	2,489	3,840	Content 2

The data analysis technique was carried out by Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis, namely studying three elements, namely micro structure, super structure and macro structure. The researcher will examine starting from the themes and topics put forward in the video, then how the news sequence or the Gen Z President's arguments are schematized in the RKUHP video content, and finally dissecting the meaning of what is emphasized in the RKUHP material, such as providing some details on each side of the sentence.

Table 2.

Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Component

Discourse Structure	Observed Things	Component
Macro Structure	thematic	Topic/Theme
Superstructure	Schematic	Text schema
Macro Structure	Semantics	Setting, detail, meaning, presupposition, nominalization
	Syntax	Sentence form, coherence, pronouns
	rhetoric	Style and metaphor

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This research finally shows the findings, as follows the researchers describe the findings of this research:

Discourse Structure	Content 1	Content 2	Content 3	Content 4
Macro Structure	The Law on Insults and Criticism	The RKUHP ensnare the people	Tutu's satire in Vernalta's animation on Indonesian law	Ratification of the RKUHP with ut revising the controversial articles
Superstructure	Title: Law For Contempt? Or Critic? So Afraid Subtopics: 1) Soe Hok Gie's theory of reading the Law on insulting officials; 2) The law on the limitation of public rights for the people criticizes fake public policies and performance; 3) Law as a tool and access for the authorities to be utilized; 4) inequality of equality between ordinary people and those in power; 5) In the name of freedom and democracy to oppose the law.	Title: #EVERYTHING Except Them Sub topics: 1) RKUHP regarding insulting state institutions and authorities; 2) Policies that are not pro-people harm the state and oppress the common people; 3) Spawning slander, narratives of hatred, division with findings of uproar; 4) Cases of insulting etc. are leveled in substance in the ITE Law; 5) juridical assessment on the freedom of expression of society and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.	Title: Tutu Becomes a Comedy Lawyer Deseriusin? Legal Di? Subtopics: 1) Vernalta, a comedy that is taken seriously and the authorities consider it a joke; 2) Presenting the Pardi case in Mesuji with a sentence of 8 years in prison; 3) Comparison of the case of Mavia's release of 92 kg of drugs; 4) The judge may not hesitate in deciding the case ; 5) Prosecution of cases of insults and criticism of officials prior to the ratification of the RKUHP	Title: Lawful RKUHP! End Game? #EVERYTHING Subtopic: 1) RKUHP was renewed but passed without repealing and revising controversial articles; 2) Victims of demonstration against all elements; 3) Review of the article on contempt for state institutions; 4) Article reducing the prison term of corruptors; 5) Amendment to the death penal ty article at the last minute.

Micro Structure (Semantics)	Background: discusses related to the RKUHP which describes the problem of public limitations on people's spare parts. Details: In this	Background: discussing the RKUHP regarding defamation of state institutions that do not have clear benchmarks. Details: Agreement to respect and	Background: The government's crackdown on the satire in the Vernalta animation. Details: The difference	Background: Ratification of the RKUHP which does not change controversial articles. Details: Article s that harm the people and favor
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Discourse theory that discourse is verbal communication seen through the angles of beliefs, values and types included in it; belief here constitutes an understanding of the world; a group or representative form of experience. According to this understanding, discourse aims to convey ideas and views carried out by communicants to communicators or groups using language through communication activities. Discourse is also interpreted as social practice activities in the form of symbolic combinations that can be expressed in speech, text, gestures, paintings, indexes, films and music.

Critical discourse analysis (AWK) is bound by how to use language and discourse in order to achieve social goals, one of which is to increase social engagement or social transformation. Discourse is a semiotic method that represents social life. Then the AWK object data sources are: documents, discussion papers, parliamentary debates, speeches, cartoons, films, photos, newspapers, promotions, or brochures. Discourse will deal with how to talk about something, interpret, speak, arrange, and have a position.

The community can freely express their critical opinion which is a form of freedom of expression, this can be expressed to the whole community, especially the government for self-development and behavior. One of the perspectives that has had the effect of this decline is the reduction in civil liberties, namely during the period of President Jokowi, there has been a decline and the space for expression in the public has shrunk, as seen from all kinds of governments with rules that have been made, such as taking action on issues in Papua, threatening actions against demonstrators, violence, the narrowing of theoretical freedoms to the prosecution of labor groups.

Democracy that is experiencing setbacks can show that the capability of the government is not yet ideal to support national democracy, especially the free expression of each individual. According to the Tempo.co media, there were 26 cases that limited public expression from January to September 2021. From the statements that have been obtained, the government seems to have rejected criticism and did not accept negative criticism from the public. Meanwhile, input and suggestions are needed for means of social control and governance. Criticizing government management is a form of freedom of opinion and freedom of expression for society, therefore protection for the image of a democratic state must be provided.

The narrower space for public expression makes other media of expression more popular among the public, one of which is social media. Not only as a social media, now social media has been used as a medium for expression and political behavior. Political expression becomes an expression of political views by sharing news and political issues, making comments on politics, sharing content that visualizes politics, and discussing politics. The behavior of political expression can have an impact on the level of their political participation.

This is called the politics of everyday life, in which politics is not pursued through institutional or formal channels but through non-formal channels, namely through social media and what is done is still a political choice. This is based on the fact that the number of internet users in Indonesia is almost half of Indonesia's population. The large number of people who use the internet and use social media make social media types spread in Indonesia, such as: YouTube, Instagram, WhatsApp, to the newest social media, namely TikTok. TikTok is an application that has the fastest increase in users. TikTok first appeared in September 2016, then active TikTok users in October 2020 reached 732 million users worldwide.

In political communication, this discourse is included in critical discourse. Critical discourse analysis or AWK is the implementation of discourse analysis using an interdisciplinary perspective. AWK is a discourse analysis research category that focuses on how the abuse of social power, domination, and the existence of inequality is reproduced, then it is refuted by texts and speech in social and political contexts. If discourse analysis only focuses on how to use pure language through pure linguistic analysis, AWK seeks to describe the application of language in relation to the perspectives of other disciplines, for example politics, gender, and sociological aspects. Through its application, AWK utilizes elements of discourse analysis in general, through a "deeper" point of view and form. The form of discourse analysis tools used in AWK is a macro structure, which contains themes and topics; then the microstructure which discusses elements of semantics, syntax, stylistics, and rhetoric. The most important main ideas in AWK are ideology, knowledge, structure, interaction and meaning. The theory of critical discourse analysis (AWK) was put forward by Teun A. Van Dijk who was listed as the initiator of discourse analysis. AWK is a new angle in discourse analysis. Implementation by AWK uses an interdisciplinary approach with a more sensitive and critical interpretation process.

Van Dijk stated in his book entitled "Discourse and Context A Sociocognitive Approach" which was published in 2008, that the basic assumption of AWK is that language can be used for various uses and language has many risks. Can be used as a tool for commanding, influencing, describing, begging, moving a group. Within language there are language skills, manipulation and deception. Researchers of critical discourse studies are interested in examining the discourse process of discovering social power, in which there is a misappropriation of power by one group to another, and knowing how the supported group tries to fight against the abuse of power that exists through discourse as well. Van Dijk's critical discourse does not only focus on social deviance, but also focuses on the study of mental images and processes that occur in using language when they produce and provide discourse understanding and participate in verbal behavior, and the extent to which they are involved. Bypassing knowledge, ideology or beliefs of a particular group.

Based on the findings of this research, it can be seen that through Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis, the content in the Gen-Z President's TikTok account has its own position in accordance with the prevailing discourse structure. However, on the one hand, in the micro discourse structure (rhetoric) of the graphic section, researchers do not find any graphics there. First, content 1 with the title "UU For Contempt? Or Critic? Be Afraid of It" has a macro structure so it can be said to be a positive structure. While the superstructure in this content is also known there are 5 points that fill in and integrate each other between subtopics so that they are also known to be positive. Further to the positive microstructure to be found in this content is weak in graphics only. Second, content 2 with the title "EVERYTHING BUT THEM" has a positive macro structure, positive superstructure and negative microstructure in graphics. Third, content 3 with the title "Tutu Becomes a Lawyer for Comedy Deseriusin? Di Law?" it has positive macro

structure, positive superstructure and negative microstructure on graphics. Fourth, content 4 with the title “Legal RKUHP! End Game? #SEMUABISAKENA” has a positive macro structure, positive superstructure and negative microstructure on graphics.

This may be in line with or compared to previous research. Dewanti (2021) with the title "Analysis of People's Political Attitudes on Tiktok Through Political Content in the Welcome To Indonesia 2021 Challenge". Currently, the Indonesian Democracy Index is sinking after a series of efforts to limit government speech. This makes people use other ways to express themselves, one of which is tiktok on social networks. Easy accessibility and the uniqueness of the tiktok algorithm make this media a powerful means of expression, especially in the political sphere, along with the viral challenge of Welcome to Indonesia 2021 on the internet in a global scope. Content analysis techniques using attitude theory were carried out on 131 pieces of political content as part of the Welcome to Indonesia 2021 challenge to study people's political attitudes towards Tik Tok. While the interview technique using free speech theory was conducted on five informants which included elements of the government and political influencers on Tik Tok. The final findings of the research show that the majority of content creators oppose the government at 55%. This shows that the community is quite dissatisfied with the policies rolled out by the government. Another matter, the freedom of opinion of the public on Tik Tok is quite high as long as it does not violate applicable rules or ethics. This research has major limitations, namely time and research resources. Due to its broad reach at the national level, the selection of informants was carried out using a target sampling technique and specifically political influencers on tiktok. Researchers have constraints and difficulties in finding sources that meet the criteria of researchers and willingness to participate in research. Whereas in research what the researchers want to do is examine the Tik Tok account of the Gen Z president with content discussing the RKUHP using the teun van discourse analysis technique. Dijk. (Dewanti 2021)

Hasiholan, et al (2020) "Utilization of Tik Tok Social Media as a Media Campaign for the Handwashing Movement in Indonesia to Prevent Corona Covid-19". Dissemination of good and correct handwashing during the corona covid-19 pandemic was limited by time and a limited number of people, so there was a need for another way to socialize, namely by using the cultural variable that is currently popular in Indonesia, namely the tik tok application. This study refers to the use of the Tik Tok social network as a means of advocating for the hand washing movement in Indonesia to prevent Corona Covid-19. This research was conducted from March to April 2020, with the stages of library research, data interpretation and informant interviews. The type of research used in this research is qualitative with a descriptive approach. Indonesia, where no less than 64.8% of the population uses the internet and 160 million people use social networks, makes Indonesia a promising market for players in the social media industry, like the tik tok application. In 2020, the Tik Tok application has become a popular culture in Indonesia, because the Indonesian people know this application and become its users. The popularity of Tik Tok in Indonesia is an ideal support for the World Health Organization (WHO) which advocates for the correct hand washing movement to prevent the spread of the Covid-19 virus or what we call corona by producing videos and hashtags. #safehands challenge on the tik tok app, creators will then create their own version of video content and add the #safehands challenge hashtag to take part in this challenge. This video campaign with the hashtag #safehands challenge has been seen by many people, but there are several points behind the videos that are the most viewed, liked, and shared by tik tok users. In the research that the researchers want to do is examine the Tik Tok account of the Gen Z president who discusses the RKUHP by using the discourse analysis technique of teun van. Dijk. (Hasiholan, Pratami, and Wahid 2020)

Husna, et al (2022) "Islamic Tiktok: Youth Expression, New Media, and Creativity During a Pandemic". Some previous research has examined topics related to online da'wah, youth expression, and the formation of self-awareness through social media. In contemporary da'wah performance, normative changes to da'wah can be made by millennials. Through social media, young people can freely express themselves in various forms and purposes, one of which is to present themselves as millennial missionaries. In other cases, social media is also used as a place for self-realization through negotiation of divine identity. This article uses a qualitative descriptive approach based on virtual ethnographic work. Netnography is a method of cultural research in the online space. Netnography emphasizes online field work using computerized communication technology. In this research, researchers used netnography with a pattern of farming techniques Kozinets and Gambetti (2021). Technoculture is used to understand a person's culture or social activities in order to remain innovative in the use of technology. One of the young people who actively innovates using technology, especially social media, is Husein Basyaiban. Through his tiktok account, @basyasman00, basyaiban actively posts da'wah messages. Researchers accumulate data online via accounts. Netnographic research can be utilized online, offline, or a combination of both. The findings of this research show that Husain Basyaiban, a young Muslim, actively uses tiktok via the @basyasman00 account to spread religious messages during a pandemic. Although sociologically, tiktok raises controversy on the one hand, but on the other hand it is an opportunity for people to get to know you. In another matter, attitudes expressed on social media are in line with efforts to self-identify and the emergence of narcissistic discourse. (Husna, Triantoro, and Nafisah 2022)

Rohim and Wardana (2019) "Millennial Political Analysis: Perceptions of High School Students on Political Dynamics in the 2019 Election in Indonesia". To study Millennial political interests, they come from four sources that shape their political perceptions, namely social networks, family, friends, and even schools. How is the political perception of the millennial generation formed through the media or these four sources. This research uses a qualitative method with a theory-based approach. The researcher chose a qualitative method because he considered first-time voters as millennials as a social phenomenon in elections. The findings, there are four stories that can be explained about political perceptions. In particular, there are political issues, sources of political information, politically formed perceptions, and political stigma. (Rohim and Wardana 2019)

Gandi and Yoedtadi (2022) "Millennial Receptions of Tiktok Users of Artist's Self-Image (Case Study of the Feud Between Denise Chariesta and Uya Kuya on Tiktok Social Media)". Currently, a new social network that has emerged is tiktok, which is a social networking and music video platform that originated in China in 2016. Some time ago at the end of May 2021, the feud between two celebrities Denisecharista and Uya Kuya started with a film in a tiktok post broadcast on television. In the end, the two are invited and reunited on a private morning TV show to explain the nature of the problem and their ability to find problem solutions to offset each other. The feud continues to be ironed out on tiktok, Denise attacks her family, calling them nothing more than 'old cars', my son's body reeks of onions, etc. According to Hall, reception is a process whereby the audience/audience approaches the communication message through three angles. From this point of view, millennials are considered capable of categorizing and criticizing the various posts they see on the Tiktok social network related to the Denisechariesta and Uyakuya feud. On the other hand, artists who really understand the role of self-image in their professional development as a group involve the use of mass media. The more the media highlights them, the more famous the artist will become. Another case, all the information conveyed by the media about the artist

can form, maintain, or identify an image. By using a descriptive qualitative approach, the informants interviewed were millennials who followed the two artists' TikTok accounts and followed the development of the feud. Research findings show that the self-image of millennial artists Denise Chaiesta and Uya Kuya is considered negative and outrageous. Millennial interpretations of artists' self-image are interpreted as hegemonic readings, bargaining readings, and opposing readings which accept the dominant meaning in relation to conflict, naturally, but reject the attitudes and characteristics displayed by each artist in public because they are negative. (Gandi and Yoedtadi 2022)

Sheldon and Newman (2019) "Instagram And American Teens: Understanding Motives For Its Use And Relationship To Excessive Reassurance-Seeking And Interpersonal Rejection". Drawn from usability and satisfaction theory, this research explores how excessive reassurance-seeking (the tendency to repeatedly ask close people for reassurance about one's feelings of love and self-worth) and interpersonal rejection are related to Instagram use among minors. Participating were pre-teens and youth, ages 12 to 17. The excessive child certainty seeking scale is the child version of the child reassurance seeking scale. Interpersonal rejection was measured using the children's depression inventory item. Findings from the structural equation patterning analysis reveal that adolescents who are driven by self-promotional satisfaction and creativity are more likely to suffer from excessive certainty-seeking. Excessive security searches also estimate the number of hours they spend on Instagram. On the other hand, those who experience interpersonal rejection are more likely to use Instagram to escape reality. This research was limited because the sample was not large or diverse. Most (95%) participants were white. Findings might differ if we surveyed children in other schools. Another case, maybe there are other reasons why teenagers use Instagram. Future studies should try to understand which Instagram features attract individuals with excessive security needs. They should consider socio- psychological and other socio-demographic characteristics when studying adolescent instagram use. The difference with the researchers' research is the analysis on the gen z president's tiktok account whose content discusses the RKUHP using the discourse analysis technique of teun van.

a. Dijk. (Sheldon and Newman 2019)

Researchers use the Van Dijk pattern of discourse analysis, the van Dijk pattern of discourse analysis is considered suitable for criticizing video content in research, namely videos that raise the issue of political imbalances in Indonesia. Van Dijk states this pattern of discourse analysis in his book, "Discourse and Context A Sociocognitive Approach", that critical discourse analysis is grouped through 3 dimensions and within each dimension has several other elements, namely: text, social cognition, and social context. In his book, Van Dijk also states that the core of studying discourse is the merging of the three dimensions of discourse into one unit. In the first dimension, the text is research and examines the structure of the text and what discourse methods are used to clarify a particular topic. Then in the dimension of social cognition learn how to process and produce news that relates to individual cognition of news researchers.

CONCLUSION

Based on the findings of this research, it can be seen that through Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis, the content in the Gen-Z President's Tiktok account has its own position in accordance with the prevailing discourse structure. However, on the one hand, in the micro discourse structure (rhetoric) of the graphic section, researchers do not find any graphics there. First, content 1 with the title "UU For Contempt? Or Critic? Be Afraid of It" has a macro structure so it can be said to be a positive structure. While the superstructure in this content is also known

there are 5 points that fill in and integrate each other between subtopics so that they are also known to be positive. Further to the positive microstructure to be found in this content is weak in graphics only. Second, content 2 with the title "EVERYTHING BUT THEM" has a positive macro structure, positive superstructure and negative microstructure in graphics. Third, content 3 with the title "Tutu Becomes a Lawyer for Comedy Deseriusin? Di Law?" it has positive macro structure, positive superstructure and negative microstructure on graphics. Fourth, content 4 with the title "Legal RKUHP! End Game? #SEMUABISAKENA" has a positive macro structure, positive superstructure and negative microstructure on graphics. The macro structure, in this first element, contains general knowledge of a text which is easy to find out through the topic of the text. What is discussed in this discourse is not only from the topic or theme of a content, but also seen through the special side of an event. What is observed in the macro structure is the thematic (theme/topic). This thematic has topic elements which contain themes or topics that will be raised in news and content. The superstructure is the design of the text in which this element will observe the process of forming structured discourse components that are structured throughout the text. In this superstructure, the thing that must be observed is the schematic, in which the observed elements are discourse schemes or how the schemes are made in the news text by observing the segments and sequences of the whole news. Microstructure is the last element that has the most and most detailed observation elements. In this element, discourse can be observed in the form of analyzing words, sentences, propositions, clauses, prephases used and others. There are 3 things that can be observed in the first microstructure, namely semantics which includes background, details and intent. Then the second and the third are stylistic and theoretical studies of ideology and expression.

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