

REPRESENTATION OF YOON SUK-YEOL AND LEE JAE-MYUNG IN SOUTH KOREA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION NEWS: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Lia Amelia Nurkhanah^{1*}, Nani Darmayanti², Fahmy Lukman³
^{1,2,3} Magister Linguistic, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Padjadjaran, Jatinangor, Indonesia

Corresponding Author: Lia Amelia Nurkhanah E-mail: lia21001@mail.unpad.ac.id

ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
Received: 15-09-2022 Accepted: 25-09-2022 Published: 31-09-2022 Volume: 6 Issue: 2 DOI: https://doi.org/10.33019/lire.v6i2.155	This study focuses on examining the representations of Lee Jae-myung and Yoon Suk-yeol contained in the Chosun and Hankyoreh media in terms of the dimensions of the microstructure text based on the theory of critical discourse analysis of Teun A. Van Dijk. The objects of this research are two news stories in the media Chosun and Hankyoreh which report on the first round of the presidential debate in 2022. This study uses a qualitative method with a critical approach. The data collection techniques in this study were documentation, literature study, also reading, listening, and note-taking techniques. The results show that the Chosun and Hankyoreh media have their own tendencies in showing the image of Lee Jae-myung and Yoon Suk-yeol. In Chosun news, there is a tendency to portray the presidential candidate debate that was held on February 3, which tends to portray Lee Jae-myung as a person who is careless in answering questions, while Yoon Seok-yool as a person who is not ready to become a presidential candidate. This is seen from the data that Chosun media based on the content of propositions that explain Lee Jae-myung's weakness amounted to 6 propositions compared to Yoon Seok-yool which only amounted to 2 propositions. Meanwhile, in the Hankyoreh media, the news describing the weaknesses of Lee Jae-myung and Yoon Seok-yool amounted to two propositions. This shows that Hankyoreh is trying to convey the representation of the two candidates in a balanced way. As for the perspective of Van Dijk's discourse theory, it can be concluded that in terms of the dimensions of the microstructure text, there are several elements not found in the news, namely the semantic element - presupposition in the Hankyoreh news. Then, there are no graphic and metaphorical rhetorical elements in the two analyzed news.
KEYWORDS <i>Critical Discourse Analysis, Text Dimensions, Microstructure, Media, South Korea</i>	

1. INTRODUCTION

One of the applications of language that has great power in society is in the news media or journalism. This can also be seen from the use of language in political news which is often used as a way to convey an ideology. As for the conclusion from what (Sjuchro and Alfani, 2017) said, language in the political repertoire is considered the four estates where the first position is occupied by the legislature, executive, and judiciary. Related to this, it is concluded that language can be

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used to build images and issues where this can be viewed from a critical perspective that examines how language is produced, distributed to become consumption for the community.

Based on this explanation, the researcher is interested in analyzing the application of discourse analysis carried out by the media when reporting on politics, especially regarding the presidential election in a country which is an important issue because it involves the interests of all people in a country. Presidential elections in a country certainly cannot be separated from the emergence of pros and cons between supporters of the candidates. Based on this, it is known that one of the countries that has just held a presidential election in this country in 2022 is South Korea.

The presidential election also did not escape the positive and negative values in society. That's because there are differences in ideology, vision, mission, and even descriptions of the past backgrounds of the presidential candidates, which causing controversy. There are two candidates who hold the Korean public's great attention, namely between Lee Jae-myung and Yoon Suk-yeol. Therefore, the two candidates also did not escape public criticism regarding their ideology and their representations.

Quoted from what was stated by the South Korean online news site Donga.com on March 3, 2022, with the news title "Yoon 'Feminism, One of Humanism', Lee "Gender Discrimination Remedial Movement", it is known that Yoon himself had a controversial image during his campaign period which was to use pension funds to prevent North Korea's nuclear threat. Meanwhile, candidate Lee has controversy for supporting the case of his nephew in the past who killed his ex and girlfriend's mother by stabbing 37 times.

According to (Park, 2015), for more than four decades, the Korean media system has been under heavy control by the government through licensing and is expected to serve the country. Unlike major TV stations, South Korea's major newspapers are gradually increasing their political autonomy and market power.

In this study, critical discourse analysis is used to examine the image of and Yoon contained in the media in terms of textual terms. According to (Cook, 1994) there are three important points that are studied in a discourse, namely in the form of text, context, and discourse.



There are several previous studies that discuss the same thing about politics and critical discourse analysis. First is the research of Anggraeni, Citraresmana, and Koeshandoyo (2022) entitled "Critical Discourse Analysis: The Negative Representation of the French President in France's English Online News". The second research belongs to Treskes (2018) entitled "Representing North Korea in US and South Korean Newspapers: a Corpus-Based Critical Discourse Analysis". In contrast to previous studies, this study focuses on examining the dimensions of the text, especially the microstructure contained in the object of research. The theory used is the critical discourse analysis of Teun A. Van Dijk. The microstructure according to (Van Dijk, 1987) analyzes the textual text of the text such as sentences, language styles, or the choice of words used in the text. Research on the representation of Lee Jae-myung and Yoon Suk-yeol in the media has never been done by other researchers, so that this research is expected to be able to describe the differences in representations made by the two mass media.

Based on what has been explained above, it can be seen that the identification of the problem from this research is to find out how the representation of the microstructure is realized in Chosun and Hankyoreh online media. These two media are two of the largest online media in Korea so that they are able to have an impact on readers regarding issues that are currently hot in society. Meanwhile, the object of this research will focus on the two strongest candidates, namely Lee Jae-myung and Yoon Suk-yeol because the two candidates are the strongest candidates and have opposite ideologies. Therefore, the representation of the two in online media is certainly very influential on people's views in choosing the South Korean presidential candidate in 2022. As for theoretically, this study will use a critical discourse analysis of Teun A Van Dijk (1987) which will focus on revealing representations based on aspects of microstructure. The microstructure was chosen because based on diction, it was able to reveal the tendency of the representation of what presidential candidates were doing by two different mass media. Therefore, this research is entitled "Representation Of Yoon Suk-Yeol and Lee Jae-Myung In South Korea Presidential Election News: A Critical Discourse Analysis". The title was chosen because of the current trend in South Korea in connection with the 20th presidential election in South Korea.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW



According to (Nur 2020) argues that discourse analysis is basically used to analyze texts contained in the media such as political news, language construction in a media, as well as to analyze the construction of corruption news. As for in Korean, critical discourse analysis is called '*biphanjeok damnyeon bunseok*' [비판적 담론 분석] which is concluded from what was stated by Kim Young-Uk, et al. / 김영옥, 함승경, 김영지, and 최지명 (2017:42-46), critical analysis is a theory used to reveal a hegemony and also the ideology behind the use of language.

According to Van Dijk (1997), critical discourse analysis can examine how social forces, domination, and imbalances can show the identity of the object being analyzed. Therefore, Teun A. Van Dijk examines this further in the theory of text dimensions. In addition to the text dimension, in Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis, several other things were also studied, namely social cognition, social context, and ideology in the media.

The dimensions of the text itself are divided into macro structure, superstructure, and micro structure, Van Dijk (2019). This is clarified again by Van Dijk (1987) that the macro structure is derived from the meaning of the sentence (proposition) of the text. Then, the superstructure in Dijk (1987) describes categories such as summary, setting, orientation, complication, resolution, evaluation, and coda. The micro structure according to Van Dijk (1987) is analyzed textually from texts such as sentences, language styles, or the choice of words used in the text.

In this study, researchers will focus on examining the micro structure contained in Chosun and Hankyoreh media. Concluded from Pelangi (2019) revealed that based on the micro structure, it can be seen that there is an ideology behind the words and sentences of a text Van Dijk (in Eriyanto, 2011) states that the microstructure consists of semantics, syntax, stylistics, and rhetoric. The following is an explanation of the microstructure itself.

- 1) Semantics: analyzing the meaning to be conveyed or emphasized in a news. It consists of background, intent, details, nominalization, and presuppositions.
- 2) Syntax: analyze how the sentence is chosen in terms of form and arrangement. It consists of pronouns, sentence forms, and coherence.
- 3) Stylistics: analyzing the choice of words used in the news.
- 4) Rhetorical: analyze the expressions, metaphors, and graphics used in news.



3. METHODOLOGY

This research uses a qualitative method with a critical approach Moleong (2021). stated that qualitative research aims to understand a phenomenon regarding what has been experienced by research subjects. As concluded from Handayani (2019), critical research focuses on social reality that is socially constructed or based on mutual agreement which is influenced by the nature of the relationship between the researcher and the researched, as well as situational constraints between the two.

The object of this research is the representation of two strong candidates for the presidential candidate of South Korea in the online mass media articles in 2022, namely Lee Jae-myung (Lee) and Yoon Suk-yeol (Yoon). The two candidates were chosen because they are the most powerful presidential candidates. The two online news media analyzed by the researcher this time are Chosun media and Hankyoreh with total number of news analyzed are two titles, where each media will take the news during the first session of the debate, namely the election period session in February 2022 because the first debate session is an important time to show first impression to gain the trust of the public.

The title of the news is 1) based on Chosun media dated February 3, 2022 '*Cheot tibeuitoron yoon "muneunghan yunsongnyol negotibeue hyoran" beuiesseu I "dongmunsodap ijaemyong daejangdong howidapppyon ilgwan"*' [첫 TV “무능한 윤석열, 혈안” vs. “동문서답 ,] / 'First TV debate “Incompetent Seok-Yeol Yoon, attacks negativity” vs. "Jae-Myeong Lee's perfunctory answers, consistently answering wrong answers regarding Dae-Dang-dong'. On Hankyoreh, the title is 2) '*Ijaemyong mun jongbu budongsan jongchaek jalmot sagwa yunsongnyol sadeu chuga gangbyon*' [이재명 “문 정부 부동산 정책 잘못” 사과...윤석열 “사드 추가” 강변] / 'Lee Jae-myung apologizes for "Real policy wrong estate from the government " ... Yoon Seok-Yeol “THAAD addition” Gangbyeon'.

In data collection, the researcher used several data collection techniques relevant to this research, namely documentation, literature study, and reading, listening, and note-taking techniques. According to Arikunto (2019), documentation technique is used to sort out the two news headlines that are the object of research. Furthermore, as stated by Nazir (2014), literature



study technique is related to how the researcher understands a text. Therefore, reading, listening, and note-taking techniques according to Ratna (2010) and Muhammad (2011) used by researchers to examine the object of research by adjusting to the theory and previous research. In this step, the researcher will examine the object of research by analyzing the microstructure, namely semantics, syntax, stylistics, and rhethoticals that describe the differences in how the two mass media represent Yoon Suk-yeol and Lee Jae-myung.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This study focuses on examining how the mass media describe the representation of Yoon Suk-yeol and Lee Jae-myung in the first debate of the South Korean presidential candidates in 2022. Based on the results of the analysis, it can be seen that from two online mass media sources, namely Chosun and Hankyoreh media, they have their own tendencies in conveying the news, especially on the image of Yoon and Lee Jae-myung.

As for the results of the analysis, it can be seen that the number of prepositions in Chosun news are 6 propositions, while Hankyoreh are 12 propositions. The proposition is then studied based on the elements of syntax, semantics, lexicon, and rhetoric. The explanation of the microstructural analysis of the two news stories are as follows.

4.1 Syntax Elements

1) Coherence

Chosun

‘그는 “이 후보는 대장동 관련 언급이 나올 때마다 국민이 궁금해하는 부분에 대해 아무런 답변을 하지 못하며, 국민의힘 때문이라는 허위 답변만을 계속했다”....’

‘Geuneun ‘I huboneun daejangdong gwannyeon eon-geubi naol ttaemada gukmini gunggeumhaehaneun bubun-e daehae amureon dabyeoneul haji mothamyeo, gukmin-euihim ttaemuniraneun heowi dabyeonmaneul gyeseokhaetta.’

‘He said, “Every time the word of Daejang-dong comes up, Candidate Lee couldn't give answers to questions that people are curious about, **and** continued to answer falsely saying that it was because of the People Power’s Party’ (C1, P12)

Based on data, it can be seen that there is coherence used by the author when quoting the words spoken by Dong-kyu. The coherence is the word 'and' / 'myeo' [며] which is used when



journalists explain Dong-kyu's remarks that Lee Jae-myung in the first debate was unable to answer people's questions about Daejang-dong which left mystery to the public regarding the cost its construction. The journalist adding additional information in the next sentence, namely that the image of Lee Jae-myung because Lee Jae-myung seemed careless in answering questions.

Hankyoreh

‘윤 후보와 이 후보는 대장동 개발 의혹을 놓고 팽팽한 공방을 벌이기도 했다. 윤 후보는 부동산 분야 토론에서부터...’

‘Yun hubowa i huboneun daejangdong gaebal uihogeuul nohgo phaengphaenghan gongbangeul borigido haetta. Yun huboneun budongsan bunya thoroneseobutheo....’

‘Candidate Yoon and Lee also had a tense battle over the suspicion of the development of Daejang-dong **and** get involved in a tense feud. Candidate Yoon attacks the discussion in the real estate sector...’ (H1, P4)

According to data, there is coherence with the word 'and' / 'go' [고]. The conjunction connects the explanation of the first sentence which explains that Yoon Suk-yeol and Lee Jae-myung are debating the Daejang-dong case which caused many controversies regarding corruption and others. Therefore, due to the debate, it caused a discussion that made the situation heated up. Based on this, the use of the conjunction 'and' / 'go' [고] is used by journalists to describe that the Daejang-dong case is a controversial topic of conversation for Lee Jae-myung and Yoon Suk-yeol. Thus, the word 'and' / 'go' [고] provides coherence to the next sentence which illustrates that the debate caused a tense atmosphere.

2) Conditional Coherence

Chosun

‘그는 “몇 번의 우여곡절 끝에 4자 후보가 참여한 방송 3사 대선후보 토론회가 방금 끝났다”며...’

‘Geuneun ‘myot beone uyeogokjeol kkeuthe sa ja huboga chamyehohan bangsong sam sa daesonhubo thoronhwega banggeum kkeunnattamyeo...’

‘After going through **a number of twists and turns**, the presidential debate from the three broadcasting companies that the presidential and vice presidential candidates participated in has just ended,’ he said...’ (CS1, P3)



It is known that the data above is included conditional coherence because the first sentence is a sentence that explains that the first debate for the 2022 South Korean presidential candidate has ended. The author added an explanation that the debate was filled with various arguments to strengthen the opinion. The argument was then judged by news journalists as complicated, so the journalist used the phrase 'After going through several twists and turns' / '*myot bone uyogokjjol kkeute*' [몇 번의 우여곡절 끝에] as an illustration that the debate was a heated debate.

Hankyoreh

‘20 대 대선에 출마한 여야 대선 후보들이 3 일 열린 첫 티브이(TV)토론에서 격돌했다.’

‘Isip dae daesone chulmahan yeoya daeson hubodeuri sam il yeolin cheot tibeui tibeui toroneso gyeokdolhaetta.’

‘President candidates from **the ruling and opposition parties, running for the 20th presidential election**, clash in the first TV debate **held on the 3rd.**’ (C1, P1)

In the data, the point of the sentence states that the presidential candidates were arguing fiercely in the TV debate. The conditional coherence is contained in the sentence '*the ruling and opposition parties, who are running for the 20th presidential election held on the 3rd*' / '*chulmahan yoya daeson hubodeuri sam il yolrin chot tibeui tibeui torones*' [출마한 여야 대선 후보들이 3 일 열린 첫 티브이(TV)토론에서] which is an explanation of the status of presidential candidates, all from the ruling party and compete with each other.

3) Differentiatir coherence

Chosun

‘3 일 열린 첫 대선 후보 공중과 TV 토론에서 더불어민주당은 “무능한 윤석열 국민의힘 대선 후보가 네거티브에 혈안이 됐다”고 논평했다. 반면, 국민의힘은 “이재명 더불어민주당 대선 후보가 동문서답과 허위답변으로 일관했다”고 논평했다.’

‘Sam il yeolin cheot daeson hubo gongjungpha tibeui thoroneso deobureominjudangeun “muneunghan yunseok-yeol gungmin-euihim daeseon huboga negeohtibeu-e hyeorani dwaetta”go nonphyonghaetta. Banmyon, gungmin-euihimeun I jae-myeong deobureominjudang daeseon huboga dongmunsodapgwa heowidabyeoneuro ilgwanhaettago nonphyonghaetta.’

‘In the public TV debate about the first presidential candidate held on the 3rd, the Democratic Party of Korea commented, "The incompetent presidential candidate Yoon



Suk-yeol tends to be negative." **On the other hand**, the People's Power Party commented, "Lee Jae-myung, the presidential candidate of the Democratic Party of Korea, consistently answers perfunctory and far-fetched questions.' (CS1, P1)

In the data, there is a distinguishing coherence in the first proposition. This can be seen from the first sentence where the journalist explains that in the first presidential candidate debate, Yoon is considered to always answer questions by attacking the opponent with negative statements. Meanwhile, the journalist used the word 'on the other side' / '*banmyeon-e*' [반면에] to describe the image of Lee Jae-myung, because he was judged to be incompetent in answering questions and seemed careless. Therefore, it can be seen that the words 'on the other hand' / '*banmyeon-e*' [반면에] used to describe the two South Korean presidential candidates fairly, because they both highlight the weaknesses of Yoon Suk-yeol. and Lee Jae-myung.

Hankyoreh

‘안 후보는 윤 후보가 관훈토론에서 ‘어느 정당이든 연금개혁을 공약으로 들고나오면 선거에서 지게 돼 있다’고 발언한 사실을 언급하며 “연금개혁을 하실 생각이 없는 거냐”고 물었고, 윤 후보는 “연금개혁은 해야 한다”고 답했다.’

‘Ahn huboneun yun huboga gwanhunthoroneeso “oneu jongdangideun yeongeumgaehyogeul gongyageuro deulgonaomyeon seongeoeseo jige dwae itta” go bareonhan sasireul ongeupamyeo “yeongeumgaehyogeul hasil saenggagi eomneun gonya”go murotgo yun huboneun “yongeumgaehyogeun haeya handa”go daphaetta.’
‘Referring to the fact that candidate Yoon said in the Kwan-hoon debate, "Every party will surely lose the election if it comes up with a promise to reform pensions," candidate Ahn asked, "Don't you intend to reform pensions?" and candidate Yoon replies "Retirement reform must be done". (HK1, P5)

In this data, a distinguishing coherence is found. This is because, at the beginning of the sentence it is explained that Ahn quoted from the interview results of Yoon and Khwan-hoon, that Yoon was against the pension salary reform. However, at the time of the debate, it was said that Yoon actually agreed that there should be a pension salary reform. In Korean itself, comparisons can be marked with the grammar '*neun*' [는] which is attached to the subject and shows the comparison.

4) Disavowal



Chosun

그러면서 “그러나 네 후보가 치열하게 토론을 벌였지만 국민께서 궁금해 하시는 민생 문제는 충분히 다루지 못해 아쉽다”고 했다. 그러면서 “특히 남을 깎아내리고 헐뜯기 위해 자신의 비전과 정견을 알릴 시간을 허비하는 야당 후보의 모습은 무척 안타깝다. 대선 후보 윤석열은 안 보이고 검사 윤석열만 보였다”고 했다.

‘Geuromyonseo “geurona ne huboga chiyeolhage thoroneul beoryotjjiman gungminkkeso gunggeumhae hasineun minsaeng munjeneun chungbunhi daruji mothae aswiptta”go haetta geuromyonseo theuki nameul kkakkanaerigo heoltteutgi wihae jasin-eui bijeon-gwa jeonggyeoneul alil siganeul heobihaneun yadang hubo-eui moseubeun mucheok anthakkapta. Daeson hubo yunseokyeolreun anboigo gomsa yunsongnyolman boyottago haetta.’

‘He said, “However, even though the four candidates had heated debates, it is unfortunate that they could not fully address the public welfare issues that people are curious about.”, Then continued, “It is regrettable that the opposition candidate wasted time expressing his vision and political opinion for weaken and vilify others. I can't see Yoon Seok-yeol, but only prosecutor Yoon Seok-yeol,” he said.’ (CS1, P4)

In the data above, it is known that there is a hidden expression of how the journalist inserts the opinion that the results of the presidential candidate debate on February 2 2022 is futile because they tend to raise issues that are not relevant to the welfare of the people which are a big specter of public fear at the time. It can be seen from the quote used by the author to support the picture that the debate that took place that day did not go as expected by the public, which indirectly the quote could have an influence on the news readers themselves.

Hankyoreh

‘3강 구도’를 노리는 안철수 국민의당 후보는 국민연금 개혁을 거론하며 자신의 특징점을 강조했다. ““sam gang ‘Sam-ganggudo reul norineun ancholsu gungminnidang huboneun gungminnyongeum gaehyogeul goronhamyo jasine teukjjangjomeul gangjohaettta.’

“Ahn Cheol Soo, a candidate from the People's Party, who is looking for a "three-way structure," emphasizes his special features, to discuss / launch a discussion on reforming the national pension system.” (H1, P5)

In the data, it is known that the essence of the proposition is to explain that Ahn Cheol-soo asked Yoon Suk-yeol his opinion on the reform of the national pension salary. However, the author adds that what Ahn Cheol-soo did was one of his strategies to bring down the opponent, and



increase his own value. This is explained by the clause 'emphasizes special characteristics' / '*jasine teukjjangjomeul gangjohaetta.*' [자신의 특징점을 강조했다].

5) Sentence form

Chosun

‘이어 “윤 후보의 준비 부족은 토론 곳곳에서 반복됐다”며 “결국 경험 없고 준비 안 된 무능한 후보라는 점을 감추기 위해 네거티브에만 혈안이 되었다고 볼 수밖에 없다”고 했다.’

‘Teo ‘yun hubo-eui junbi bujogeeun thoron gotgoseseo banbokdwaettamyo gyeolguk gyeonghom eobgo junbi an dwen muneunghan huboraneun jeomeul gamchugi wihae negothibeu-eman hyeorani dweottago bol subakke eobttago haetta.’

‘Furthermore, “Yoon's lack of preparation was repeated throughout the debate,” he said, “In the end, I had no choice but to say that he focused on the negative to **hide the fact** that he was an inexperienced, unprepared, and incompetent candidate’ he said.’ (CS1, P5)

Based on the data, it is known that the sentences used in the data are active sentences with the subject position focused on describing the presidential candidate Yoon who is considered incompetent in giving arguments during the debate with the image that he is an unprepared presidential candidate. This can be seen from the sentence, 'I have no choice but to say that he focuses on negative things to hide the fact that he is an inexperienced, unprepared, and incompetent candidate' / “*gyeolguk gyeonghom eobgo junbi an dwen muneunghan huboraneun jeomeul gamchugi wihae negothibeu-eman hyeorani dweottago bol subakke eobttago haetta*” [결국 경험 없고 준비 안 된 무능한 후보라는 점을 감추기 위해 네거티브에만 혈안이 되었다고 볼 수밖에 없다”고 했다]

Hankyoreh

‘윤 후보는 부동산 분야 토론에서부터 ‘대장동 민간개발 사업 수익을 설계한 게 이 후보 아니냐’며 공격했지만 이 후보는 “저는 이익을 본 일이 없다.”

‘yun huboneun budongsan bunya toronesobuto daejangdong mingangaebal saop suigeul solgyehan ge i hubo aninya myo gonggyokaetjjiman i huboneun joneun iigeul bon iri optta’.

‘Candidate Yoon strikes out from discussions in the real estate sector, saying, “Wasn't



candidate Lee the one who designed the profits from the civil development project in Daejang-dong?" but candidate Lee said, "I never benefited.' (HK1, P4)

The data shows that Yoon tried to ask candidate Lee about the development of Daejang-dong, a real estate suspected of having ties to Lee Jae-myung and Lee Jae-myung was accused of profiting from the project. In this data the sentence is explained with 'Candidates Yoon and Lee also discussed the development of Daejang—dong and were involved in a tense feud' / 'yun hubowa i huboneun daejangdong gaebal uihogeu noko paengpaenghan gongbangeul borigido haettta' [윤 후보와 이 후보는 대장동 개발 의혹을 놓고 팽팽한 공방을 벌이기도 했다]. The sentence is included in the active voice so that it provides an overview and focuses that the perpetrator of the tense debate stems from Yoon's question.

6) Pronouns

Chosun

‘그는 “이 후보는 동문서답 끝판왕의 모습을 보였다. 특히 대장동 이슈가 나오면 질문자가 누구이던 간에 말을 돌리기 급급한 모습이었다”고 했다.’

'geuneun i huboneun dongmunseodap kkeutphanwange moseubeul boyottta teuki daejangdong isyuga naomyon jilmunjaga nuguidon gane mareul dolrigi geupkkeupan moseubiottago haetta.'

‘He said, "Candidate Lee is the king of perfunctory questions and answers. In particular, when the Daejang-dong problem came out, whoever asked, he was in a hurry to change the subject.' (CS1, P12)

As for the data, it can be seen that the pronouns used in the news tend to use the word 'hubo' [후보] / 'candidate' which refers to the 2022 South Korean presidential candidate, then the word 'geu' [그] / 'he', and also uses the phrase 'dongmunseodab kkeutphanwang' [동문서답 끝판왕] / 'king of perfunctory questions and answers'. Based on these data, it can be seen that journalists tend to use enteral pronouns when discussing pronoun. However, journalists are also not free to explain the other side of the opposing party, namely Lee Jae-myung who always changes the focus



of the debate to another topic. This is because Chosun journalists tend to want to convey news that is not potentially negative.

Hankyoreh

‘20 대 대선에 출마한 **여야 대선** 후보들이 3 일 열린 첫 티브이(TV)토론에서 격돌했다. 후보들은 부동산과 경제·외교안보 분야 등에서 자신의 공약과 소신을 밝혔다.’

‘isip dae daesone chulmahan yoya daeson hubodeuri sam il yolrin chot tibui tibui toroneso gyoktolhaetta hubodeureun budongsangwa gyongjewegyocanbo bunya deungeso jasine gongyakkwa sosineul balkyotta.’

‘**Presidential candidates from the ruling and opposition parties** running for the 20th presidential election, debated fiercely in the first TV debate held on the 3rd. Candidates expressed their promise and belief in real estate, economics, diplomacy, security and more.’
(HK1, P1)

In this data, it is known that the pronoun used is 'Presidential candidate from the ruling and opposition parties,' / 'yoya daeson' [여야 대선] refers to the four candidates for the presidency of South Korea 2022. This word is used to indicate the existence of power held by any party opposition that makes the view that the four candidates have great potential in winning.

4.2 Semantic Elements

1) Background

Chosun

‘3 일 열린 첫 대선 후보 공중과 TV 토론에서 더불어민주당은 “무능한 윤석열 국민의힘 대선 후보가 네거티브에 혈안이 됐다”고 논평했다. 반면, 국민의힘은 “이재명 더불어민주당 대선 후보가 동문서답과 허위답변으로 일관했다”고 논평했다.’

‘sam il yolrin chot daeson hubo gongjungpa tibui toroneso doburominjudangeun muneunghan yunsongnyol gungminnihim daeson huboga negotibeue hyorani dwaettago nonpyonghaetta banmyon gungminnihimeun ijaemyong doburominjudang daeson huboga dongmunsodapkkwa howidapppyoneuro ilgwanhaettago nonpyonghaetta.’

‘In the public TV debate about the first presidential candidate held on the 3rd, the Democratic Party of Korea commented, "The incompetent presidential candidate Yoon Suk-yeol tends to be negative." On the other hand, popular power commented, "Lee Jae-myung, the presidential candidate of the Democratic Party of Korea, consistently answers the same questions and the wrong answers.’ (CS1, P1)



Based on these data, it can be seen that in this proposition it is explained that the background is the situation of the South Korean presidential candidate debate in 2022 which is focused on the representation of Yoon Suk-yeol and Lee Jae-myung who are considered incompetent in giving arguments. This is evidenced by the existence of an explanatory sentence at the beginning of this news regarding the public TV debate about the first presidential candidate which was held on February 3, 2022.

Hankyoreh

‘yun 후보와 이 후보는 대장동 개발 의혹을 놓고 팽팽한 공방을 벌이기도 했다.’

‘yun hubowa i huboneun daejangdong gaebal uihogeu noko **paengpaenghan gongbangeul borigido haetta.**’

‘Candidates Yoon and Lee also discuss the development of Daejang—dong and engage in a tense feud.’ **HK1, P4)**

In the data, it is known that the proposition focuses on the discussion that candidate Yoon raises questions regarding the construction of Daejang-dong which allegedly involves the profits earned by candidate Lee. The news writer then explained that candidate Yoon's question caused a tense debate. This shows that the news writer emphasizes that the question asked by candidate Yoon is a sensitive question because it can bring down the opponent.

2) Detail

Chosun

‘그러면서 “그러나 네 후보가 치열하게 토론을 벌였지만 국민께서 궁금해 하시는 민생 문제는 충분히 다루지 못해 아쉽다”고 했다. 그러면서 “특히 남을 깎아내리고 헐뜯기 위해 자신의 비전과 정견을 알릴 시간을 허비하는 야당 후보의 모습은 무척 안타깝다. 대선 후보 윤석열은 안보이고 검사 윤석열만 보였다”고 했다.’

‘geuromyonseo “geurona ne huboga chiyeolhage thoroneul beoryeotjjiman gungminkkeso gunggeumhae hasineun minsaeng munjeneun chungbunhi daruji mothae aswiptta”go haetta geuromyonso theuki nameul kkakkanaerigo holtteutkki wihae jasine bijongwa jonggyoneul alril siganeul hobihaneun yadang huboe moseubeun muchok antakkapta daeson hubo yunsongnyoreun anboigo gomsa yunsongnyolman boyotttago haettta.’

‘He said, “However, even though the four candidates had heated debates, it is unfortunate that they could not fully address the public welfare issues that people are curious about.”

“It is regrettable that the opposition candidate is wasting time expressing his political



visions and opinions to undermine and vilify others. I can't see Yoon Seok-yeol, but only prosecutor Yoon Seok-yeol," he said.' (CS1, P4)

In the data above, it is known that the details are explained in the proposition because of the previous explanation that even though the debate was fierce, the content of the debate did not satisfy the public's curiosity about Lee Jae-myung or Yoon Seok-yeol's settlement tactics when in the future they lead South Korean as a president.

Hankyoreh

“20 대 대선에 출마한 여야 대선 후보들이 3 일 열린 첫 티브이(TV)토론에서 격돌했다. 후보들은 부동산과 경제.외교안보 분야 등에서 자신의 공약과 소신을 밝혔다.”

“isip dae daesone chulmahan yoya daeson hubodeuri sam il yolrin chot tibeui tibeui toroneso gyokttolhaetta hubodeureun budongsangwa gyongjewegyoanbo bunya deungeso jasine gongyakkwa sosineul balkyotta.”

“Presidential candidates from the ruling and opposition parties, running for the 20th presidential election, debated fiercely in the first TV debate held on the 3rd. Candidates expressed their promise and belief in real estate, economics, diplomacy, security and more.” (HK1, P1)

Based on the data, it is known that the news begins with an explanation that the first debate on the presidential candidates was tense. The news writer added that the debate included discussions on real estate development, economics, diplomacy, security and others, which are details given by the author because it illustrates that the discussion of the debate covers critical and currently hot topics discussed in South Korean society.

3) Purpose

Chosun

그러면서 “선제공격, 사드 배치 등을 다룬 외교.안보 분야는 대선 토론의 중요성을 실감하게 했던 시간이었다”며 “일방적 사고와 판단이 얼마나 위험한지를 4 자 토론을 통해 체감하게 했다”고 했다. 이어 “이재명 후보는 토론 내내 국정 전반에 대한 깊은 이해와 준비된 국정운영 역량을 잘 보여줬다”며 “이 후보는 시종일관 토론 의제를 민생의 장으로 이끌고, 대전환의 기로에 선 대한민국이 나아갈 미래를 함께 찾고자 힘썼다”고 했다.

‘geuromyonso “seonjegonggyok, sadeu baechi deungeul darun wegyoanbo bunyaneun daeson torone jungyosongeul silgamhage haettton siganiotta”myeo “ilbangjok sagowa phandani eolmana wiheomhanjireul sa ja thoroneul thonghae chegamhage haetta”go haetta. ieo “ijaemyong huboneun thoron naenae gukjeong jeonbane daehan gipheun ihaewa junbidwen gukjjonggunyong yongnyangeul jal boyojwotta”myo “i huboneun



sijongilgwan thoron uijereul minsaenge jangeuro ikkeulg,o daejeonhwan-eui giro-e seon daehanmingug-eui naagal miraereul hamkke chatkkoja himssotttago haetta.

‘He said, "The diplomatic and security sector dealing with deterrence attacks and deployment of THAAD is a time to recognize the importance of the presidential debate," and added, "We felt through four-way discussions how dangerous unilateral thinking and judgment can be." Then said, "During the debate, Lee Jae-myung showed a deep understanding of overall state affairs and prepared state administration capabilities. Candidate Lee consistently led the debate agenda to the place of people's lives and tried to find the future of the Republic of Korea at the crossroads of Daejeon." (CS1, P6)

Based on the data above, it can be seen that the proposition tends to give the author's point of view regarding Lee Jae-myung's description, which at the time the argument was considered positive because it was able to explain in depth about overall state affairs such as preparing state administration capabilities. This was made by the author with the aim of explaining the advantages of Lee Jae-myung who is considered to be able to argue better than the opposing party, namely Yoon Suk-yool.

Hankyoreh

“윤석열 국민의힘 후보의 사드(THAAD·고고도미사일방어체계) 추가 배치와 선제타격 발언을 두고는 다른 후보들의 협공이 이어졌다. 이 후보는 “안보 불안을 조장해 표를 얻으려는 것 아니냐”고 비판했고, 심상정 정의당 후보도 “국민은 ‘정치 초년생’ 윤 후보가 선제타격 운운하면서 전쟁 가능성을 거론한 것에 대해서 매우 불안해한다”고 거들었다. 윤 후보는 “안보가 튼튼해야 주가도 유지되고, 대한민국의 소위 말하는 국가 리스크가 줄어든다”며 반박했다.”

“yunsongnyol gungminnihim huboe sadeu (daadeu gogodomisailbangochegeye) chuga baechiwa sonjethagyok bareoneul dugoneun dareun hubodeure hyeobkkongi iojotta. i huboneun “anbo buraneul jojanghae phyoreul eodeuryeoneun got aninya”go biphanhaetgo, simsangjeong jeongidang hubodo “gungmineun ‘jeongchi chonyonsaeng’ yun huboga seonjethagyok ununhamyonseo jeonjaeng ganeungseongeul georonhan gose daehaeseo maeu buranhaehanda”go geodeurotta. Yun huboneun “anboga teunteunhaeya jugado yujidweg,o daehanminguge sowi malhaneun gukka riseukheuga jurodeunda”myo banbakaetta.”

“Another candidate attacked Yoon Seok-yeol from the People's Power party regarding additional comments on the allocation of THAAD. Candidate Lee criticized, "Isn't he trying to win votes by assessing security instability?" and Justice Party candidate Sim Sang Jung also added, "people will attack comments about Yoon, who is new to politics, worrying about whether there is a possibility of war?" Candidate Yoon replied, "With a



solid security, the market price index is maintained, and the Republic of Korea's national risk is reduced." (HK1, P3)

In the data above, it can be seen that there is an intention contained in the proposition, namely the author describes that Yoon Seok-yool was attacked by questions from other candidates regarding the allocation of THAAD. This is then followed by a statement of questions such as the possibility of security instability. As for this, it provides information to readers about the negative image of Yoon Seok-yool himself.

4) Presupposition

Chosun

“그러면서 “그러나 네 후보가 치열하게 토론을 벌였지만 국민께서 궁금해 하시는 민생 문제는 충분히 다루지 못해 아쉽다”고 했다. 그러면서 “특히 남을 깎아내리고 혈뜯기 위해 자신의 비전과 정견을 알릴 시간을 허비하는 야당 후보의 모습은 무척 안타깝다. 대선 후보 윤석열은 안보이고 검사 윤석열만 보였다”고 했다.”

‘geuromyonseo “geurona ne huboga chiyollhage thoroneul boryotjjiman gungminkkeso gunggeumhae hasineun minsaeng munjeneun chungbunhi daruji motae aswiptta”go haetta. geuromyonso theuki nameul kkakkanaerigo holtteutkki wihae jasine bijongwa jeonggyoneul alil siganeul hobihaneun yadang huboe moseubeun muchok antakkapta daeson hubo yunsongnyoreun anboigo gomsa yunsongnyolman boyotttago haetta.’

‘He said, “However, even though the four candidates had heated debates, it is unfortunate that they could not fully address the public welfare issues that people are curious about.” “It is regrettable that opposition candidates waste time expressing their political visions and opinions to undermine and vilify others. I can’t see Yoon Seok-yeol, but only prosecutor Yoon Seok-yeol,” he said.’ (CS1, P4)

Based on the data above, it can be seen that the presuppositions in the data illustrate that Yoon Seok-yeol is considered incompetent in carrying out debates and instead tends to attack the personal problems of the opposing opposition. This can be seen from the additional opinion the author has included in the sentence ‘opposition candidates waste time expressing their political visions and opinions to undermine and vilify others’.

Hankyoreh



In this news proposition data, no presuppositions are found because all statements are descriptions of facts that have occurred.

4.3 Stylistic / Lexicon Elements

Chosun

그는 “몇 번의 우여곡절 끝에 4 자 후보가 참여한 방송 3사 대선후보 토론회가 방금 끝났다”며 “국민계선 첫 ‘4 자 토론’에서 코로나 위기에서 국민의 피해해진 삶을 어떻게 회복할 것인지에 대한 생산적인 논의를 기대하셨을 것”이라고 했다.

‘Geuneun “myot beone uyeogokjeol kkeuthe sa ja huboga chamyehohan bangsong sam sa daeseonhubo thoronhwega banggeum kkeunnatta”myo gungminkkeson chot sa ja toron eso korona wigieso gungmine piphyehaejin salmeul eotteokhe hwebokhal geosinjie daehan saengsanjeogin non-euireul gidaehasyosseul geosirago haetta.’

“After going through several twists and turns, the presidential debate from the three broadcasting companies that the presidential and vice presidential candidates participated in has just ended, he said. "In the first 'four-way debate', people are sure to expect a productive discussion about how to recover the lives of the poor from the COVID-19 crisis." (CS1, P3)

Based on the data above, it can be seen that the lexicon used in the data can be illustrated by the description of the condition of South Korean society during and after going through the pandemic period, which is constrained by economic problems. The economic constraints are then explained by the quote used by the author, namely *'khorona wigieso gungmine pipyehaejin sam'* [코로나 위기에서 국민의 피해해진 삶] / 'Life of the poor in the COVID-19 crisis'. The existence of the lexical selection of 'poor and crisis' illustrates that the economic condition of the community is considered to be so severe that it requires more attention from the government.

Hankyoreh

“윤석열 국민의힘 후보의 사드(THAAD·고고도미사일방어체계) 추가 배치와 선제타격 발언을두고는 다른 후보들의 협공이 이어졌다.“

“yunseokyeol gungminnihim huboe sadeu daadeu gogodomisailbangochegeye chuga baechiwa sonjetagyok baroneuldugoneun dareun hubodeure hyopkkongi iojotta”

“Another candidate attacked Yoon Seok-yeol from the People's Power party regarding additional comments on the allocation of THAAD.” (HK1, P3)

“윤 후보는 부동산 분야 토론에서부터 ‘대장동 민간개발 사업 수익을 설계한 게 이 후보 아니냐’며 공격했지만 이 후보는 “저는 이익을 본 일이 없다.”



'yun huboneun budongsan bunya thoronesobutho "daejangdong mingangaebal saop suigeul seolgyehan ge i hubo aninya" myo gonggyokaetjjiman i huboneun joneun iigeul bon iri optta."

"Candidate Yoon strikes out from discussions in the real estate sector, saying, "Wasn't candidate Lee the one who designed the profits from the civil development project in Daejang-dong?" but candidate Lee said, "I never benefited." (HK1, P4)

In the data above, it is found that there is a lexicon selection that has a negative value on the course of the debate, namely the presence of the word 'attack' / *'hyopkkongi iojotta'* [협공이] in proposition 3, which refers to the opposing candidate from Yoon Seok-yool who asked the question. regarding the allocation of THAAD. As for position 4, there is a similar word, namely 'attack' / *'gonggyeokhada'* [공격하다] which refers to candidate Yoon asking candidate Lee questions about developments in the real estate sector and accusing candidate Lee of being seen in this. The choice of words that refer to 'attack' creates an image that Lee's party is the party that is harmed and cornered by many opposing parties during the debate.

4.4 Rhetorical Elements

As for the results of the analysis, from the news of Chosun and Hankyoreh, there were no graphic and striking metaphors to explain the course of the news clearly.

Based on the data above, it can be seen that the micro-structural media of Chosun and Hankyoreh indirectly illustrates the siding with the presidential candidates, namely Lee Jae-myung and Yoon Suk-yeol. In semantics, it is known that there are several alignments carried out by these two mass media. This can be seen from how Chosun shows the representation of Lee Jae-myung who is considered more ready to answer questions during debates than Yoon Suk-yeol, and also the presupposition that describes Yoon Suk-yeol as incompetent in arguing because he attacks the opponent's personal problems. As for Hankyoreh, it looks like he is giving sides to Lee Jae-myung based on a background that describes the negative values that Yoon Suk-yeol has made, which is considered to be causing a rowdy debate by asking sensitive questions regarding Daejang-dong.

Syntactically, it can be seen that in coherence, Chosun's media has an alignment with Yoon Suk-yeol, this can be seen from the coherence in which Chosun is impressed by describing Lee Jae-myung as an incompetent presidential candidate and answering questions nasally. In addition,



Chosun media also uses pronouns that refer to Lee Jae-myung by using the phrase '*dongmunseodab kkeutphanwang*' [동문서답 끝판왕] / 'king of perfunctory questions and answers'. Meanwhile, Hankyoreh media, tend to have sides with Lee Jae-myung. This is evidenced by the conditional coherence that describes Yoon Suk-yeol's shortcomings which can be seen from the use of denial and the type of sentence that refers to the depiction of Yoon Suk-yeol who has many weaknesses as a presidential candidate.

Based on the stylistics, it can be seen that the two media did not take sides with the two presidential candidates. As for the data, Chosun tends to use a lexicon that aims to explain the Korean economic condition which has declined since Covid and is considered to be experiencing 'poverty'. The Hankyoreh media tend to use vocabulary in a different realm, namely to explain the conditions of the debate where the candidates are considered to be debating fiercely, so the word 'attack' is used.

Based on the data above, it can be seen that there is a tendency for the mass media to represent Lee Jae-myung and Yoon Suk-yeol. The two mass media indeed seem to use neutral words, but when examined more deeply, it can be seen that the Chosun media has its own side, namely having more positive arguments against Yoon Suk-yeol than against Lee Jae-myung. In contrast to this, Hankyoreh also indirectly describes an alignment where Hankyoreh tends to use expressions that support Lee Jae-myung.

5. CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the analysis, it can be seen that there is a tendency for the representation value of Lee Jae-myung and Yoon Seok-yool in South Korean media news. This can be factored from the ideological differences held by the mass media. In this research media, the researcher focuses on identifying how the representation of Yoon Seok-yool and Lee Jae-myung in the Chosun and Hankyoreh mass media is seen from how the mass media reports on the two candidates.

Based on the results of the analysis, it can be seen in Chosun's reporting that there is a tendency to portray the presidential candidate debate which was held on February 3rd tending to



portray Lee Jae-myung as a person who is careless in answering questions, while Yoon Seok-yool as a person who is not ready to become a candidate. president. The trend of the representation value described by news writers is that news from Chosun media based on the content of propositions discusses more about the shortcomings of Lee Jae-myung as many as 6 propositions compared to Yoon Seok-yool which only has 2 propositions. This shows that the Chosun media are taking sides, which focus on Lee Jae-myung's shortcomings without discussing Yoon Seok-yool. Meanwhile, in the Hankyoreh mass media, the news was delivered with the weaknesses of Lee Jae-myung and Yoon Seok-yool in the same number of propositions, which were two propositions each. This shows that Hankyoreh is trying to convey the representation of the two candidates in a balanced way.

In terms of Van Dijk's theory of discourse, it can be concluded that in terms of the dimensions of the microstructure text, there are several elements not found in the news, namely the semantic element - presupposition in the Hankyoreh news. Then, there are no graphic rhetorical elements and metaphors in the news. This is because the news delivery method used by journalists tends to be straightforward and factual for presuppositions, and also without inserting a lot of metaphorical vocabulary.

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