

A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF AHOK'S ALLEGED BLASPHEMY IN THE JAKARTA POST AND THE JAKARTA GLOBE'S NEWS WEBSITES

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Abstract

This study was designed to analyze the ideological discourse structure constructed by The Jakarta Post and The Jakarta Globe news websites in presenting Ahok's alleged blasphemy news, especially 411 rally. Furthermore, this research aimed to see the differences elements of the discourse construction in both news articles and to see the ideological implications that media have in those news texts.

The method of this research is qualitative by using descriptive analysis technique. The selected data will be analyzed by using Ideological Square's theory by Teun Van Dijk (1995) which can be applied in many levels of discourse. However, the writer only focuses on the level of meaning that consists of eight discourse features. Those features are topics, level of description, local coherence, presupposition, synonymy and paraphrase, contrast, example and illustration and disclaimer.

The result shows that every newspaper has its own style in presenting Ahok's news. Even though both media represent the same issue, but they have different way in emphasizing the message of the news through different ideological discourse structure. The result reveals that The Jakarta Post is more neutral in covering the news, meanwhile The Jakarta Globe carry a certain ideology by emphasizing the bad action of one group's conflict

Key words: 411 rally, critical discourse analysis, ideological square, news websites

INTRODUCTION

News media considered as one of the main channels providing people with the information regarding political events or the social issue that happen in the society (Suryono et al., 2021). It means that news media give people the knowledge about the world. However, beside its function to provide people with the information, news media also have the most significant role in shaping or changing people point of view about the event that happen in the world. Since in reading news article, people usually only give the attention to the information and the issue being reported (Ambarwati & Mandasari, 2021; Purwaningsih & Gulö, 2021). They do not consider to the certain perspective that may exist in the text to influence their point of view about the event. Anything that is said or written about the world has been articulated from particular ideological position (Afrianto & Inayati, 2016; Al Falaq & Puspita, 2021; Qodriani & Kardiansyah, n.d.). The statements made in news articles give us a particular kind of knowledge about the topic and the participants represented in the text.

Ahok's alleged blasphemy is one of the national issues that take the deep interest to the Indonesian news media. The issue exposed rapidly by media both electronic and newspaper (Puspita & Pranoto, 2021; S Suprayogi & Pranoto, 2020). News website is one of news media that becomes people choices to know about Ahok's issue. Nowadays, it becomes the most influential news media in providing the information about social issue since the reader can simply open news website by using their phone (Kusniyati, 2016; Mandasari & Wahyudin, 2019). In delivering information, news media always expected to be objective not only from the point of view of the news media and journalists who aim to be so but also typically from the point of view of the news reader (Kardiansyah, n.d.; Nurmala Sari & Aminatun, 2021; Puspita, n.d.). In fact, news is not usually represented as they are in reality, but are represented in a way that the media intend them to be, the events are not the reflection of the reality but they go through journalistic practices which involve linguistic recontextualization in language (Aminatun, 2021; Gulö, 2014; B. N. Sari & Gulö, 2019). That is why people always find the same event reported very differently in different media with different ways and different focuses.

The Jakarta Post and The Jakarta Globe are the main English newspapers in Indonesia. Both of those media become the choices and the sources for local and international news readers who want to know about Ahok's blasphemy issue. On the other hand, the researcher finds that The Jakarta Post and The Jakarta Globe have different position in delivering Ahok's alleged blasphemy. For example in covering the news of 4/11 rally, the Jakarta Globe mentions FPI as the hardline Islamic Defenders Front. Meanwhile The Jakarta Post mentions FPI without the word of "hardline". From the example, we can see how news media use different word choices in covering the news. The different news of Ahok's issue can cause a big conflict like in Syria, since Blasphemy is one of the sensitive issues in diversity country like Indonesia. Aksi Damai 4/11 or "4/11 Rally" is the result of different news about Ahok's issue. There are about millions people from all Indonesian provinces come to Jakarta to join the demonstration to demand Ahok being arrested as the suspect of blasphemy. In addition, this issue also gives the big impact to Indonesian society, like there are many citizens who called themselves as pro-Ahok and another one against him. It proves that media has the significant role in formatting and shaping the reader

perspective about the certain issue (Alita, 2021; Hootsuite, 2019; Suwarni & Handayani, 2021).

Regarding the influence of news media in formatting and shaping reader's perspective toward the certain issue, it is really important to see how mass media in different political contexts present and interpret Ahok's issue. Comparing different news media by using CDA can help the reader to understand why different news media reported the same event differently (Cahyaningsih & Pranoto, 2021; Puspita, 2021; Suprayogi Suprayogi et al., 2021). Thus, the reader will know how to react the information that is presented in news media. Based on the statement above the present study aims to contrast the coverage of Ahok's alleged blasphemy in The Jakarta Post and The Jakarta Globe news articles. Based on the background of the study above, the researcher attempts to study Critical Discourse Analysis of Ahok's alleged blasphemy news. Therefore, the researcher focuses on the only one main problem it is How Ahok's alleged blasphemy are represented through ideological discourse structure in The Jakarta Post and The Jakarta Globe?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analysis that focuses on the way language exercises its power in the society. It focus on 'relations between discourse, power, dominance and social inequality' (Fitri et al., 2021; Ivana & Suprayogi, 2020; Puspita & Amelia, 2020). It examines how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts. The main function of CDA, to seek and to reveal how texts are constructed so that particular (potentially indoctrinating) perspectives can be expressed delicately and covertly (Kardiansyah, 2019; Naconha, 2021). Thus, the study of CDA is important in linguistics, since it deals on critically analyze of discourse practice where ideological purposes are reproduced and naturalized.

CDA is practically oriented form of discourse analysis aimed at addressing social problems (Choirunnisa & Sari, 2021; Nurmallasari & Samanik, 2018; Suprayogi Suprayogi & Novanti, 2021). Therefore, by studying CDA someone can recognize the strategies used by people who have a certain power to influence others perspective toward the issue that happen in the society (Chavez, 2000). The current study adopts CDA as a method of analysis because it is an effective tool for the topic under discussion.

1. Ideological Square

Ideologies are represented as “some kind of basic self-schema of a group, featuring the information by which group members identify and categorize themselves, such as their membership criteria, group activities, aims, norms, relation to others, etc”. A principle of ideological reproduction in discourse, the principle is part of an overall strategy of ideological communication that consists of the following main moves:

1. Emphasize information that is ‘positive’ about us.
2. Emphasize information that is ‘negative’ about them.
3. De-emphasize information that is ‘positive’ about them.
4. De-emphasize information that is ‘negative’ about us.

These four of possibilities form a conceptual square, which may be called the 'ideological square'. It is a form of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation which is characterized the way people talk about themselves and others, for example a group of people will talk at length or briefly about their good things, or other bad things. In contrary, they will talk more general about their bad things or other good things (Puspita, 2019). In this study, Van Dijk's ideological square will be adopted to analyze the representation of Ahok's alleged blasphemy in The Jakarta Post and The Jakarta Globe's news website in order to find the ideological position of the news media in covering Ahok's issue. However, according to Van Dijk, the ideological square may be applied to the analysis of all levels of discourse structures. The use of the opposing pairs 'emphasize' and 'deemphasize' allows for many forms of structural variation.

2. Ideological Discourse Structure

Discourse has many ways to emphasize or de-emphasize the meaning. The point of ideological discourse analysis is not merely to discover underlying ideologies, but it is also used to discover systematically link structures of discourse with structures of ideologies (Novia Utami Putri et al., n.d.). There are many levels of discourse that can expose the expression of ideology, such as meaning, propositional structures, formal structures, syntax, discourse forms, argumentation, rhetoric and action and interaction. Since ideological 'content' is most directly expressed in discourse meaning, the researcher will pay special attention to the ideological discourse structure in the level of meaning (semantics) that are expected to articulate the ideologies of The Jakarta Post and The Jakarta Globe in covering Ahok's issue. Some features that will be used to analyze the data are topics, level of description, coherence, presupposition, synonymy and paraphrase, contrast, example and illustration and disclaimer (Chavez, 2000; Sartika & Pranoto, 2021; Styawati et al., 2020).

Those features will serve as the model of analysis in this study coupled with the 'ideological square'.

METHOD

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is used as the main methodological tool of analysis. The aim of this research is to find out how ideological discourse structures in the level of meaning are constructed in different news media, especially in representing Ahok's alleged blasphemy. The analysis involves investigating eight discourse features (topics, level of description, coherence, presupposition, synonymy and paraphrase, contrast, example and illustration and disclaimer. Based on the purpose of the research, this study is classified as descriptive qualitative. Qualitative research is a form of social enquiry that focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experience and the world in which they live (Helmy et al., 2018; Mertania & Amelia, 2020; Novanti & Suprayogi, 2021).

The sources of the data in this research are the official news websites of The Jakarta Post (<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news>) and The Jakarta Globe (<http://jakartaglobe.id/>). Then, two news articles which were reported the same event about 4/11 (4 November) rally were selected as the data. One article was released by The Jakarta Post and another one was released by The Jakarta Globe. As the main analysis of the research is focused on ideological discourse structure within news articles. Therefore, the data is in form of words, presuppositions, sentences, narrations, statements, quotations and reported speech.

The method of data collection in this study that the writer use is documentation technique. It is the technique in getting the data about the case or available note, transcription, book, magazine and newspaper (Rauf & Prastowo, 2021; K. Sari & Pranoto, 2021). The techniques used in collecting data are:

- a. Reading carefully the news articles from The Jakarta Post and The Jakarta Globe which cover Ahok's Blasphemy news
- b. Selecting the news articles that have language bias in covering Ahok's blasphemy, specifically 4/11 Rally
- c. Printing the selected news articles from The Jakarta Post and The Jakarta Globe

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter provides the analysis of Ideological Square by Teun Van Dijk theory of Critical Discourse Analysis constructed in Ahok's alleged blasphemy news articles, specifically 4/11 rally by The Jakarta Post and The Jakarta Globe. Based on the research question, the analysis will concern to the Ideological Discourse Structure in the level of meaning (Semantics). There are eight features of ideological discourse in the level of meaning that will be discussed in this chapter. Those features are topics, level of description, local coherence, presupposition, synonymy and paraphrase, contrast, example and illustration and disclaimer. The analysis of eight features are used to contrast the way The Jakarta Post and The Jakarta Globe represent about Ahok's issue.

4.1 Topics

Themes and topics are realized in the headlines and lead paragraphs. As Van Dijk stated that the headline and the lead paragraph express the most important information of the cognitive model of journalists. Thus, knowing the topics of Ahok's alleged blasphemy about the 4/11 rally in The Jakarta Post and The Jakarta Globe are important to see how those media see and define the event. The following table shows the ideological implications of the headlines in the selected data:

Table 4.1 Ideological Indications in News Articles

News Media	Headline news
The Jakarta Post	Rally Erupts in Violence
The Jakarta Globe	Anti-Ahok Rally Turns Violent as Protesters Start to Disperse

In The Jakarta Post, the journalist chooses the headline "*Rally erupts in violence*" as a topic of the news article. The headline topicalizes the violence of 4/11 rally as the common impact of the rally. Since, the headline does not show the real reasons behind this violence. The choices of word *erupts* make a verbal presupposition. Erupt means "break out violently", so it is presupposed that the violence that happens in the rally may causes by 4/11 protesters or provocateur, because the violence is suddenly happen after the rally run peacefully until afternoon.

However, the journalist chooses to not put 4/11 to specify the rally in the headline. It indicates that the violence that happens in the rally may be caused by unidentified protesters. Moreover, the word *erupts* is also used to generalize the violence that happens during the rally, as people know that there is always a possibility for the rally to turn into violence. As *rally* means “a large public meeting, especially one held to support a particular idea or political party”, so the violence sometimes happens in the rally since the rally always consists of many people who express their particular idea, in this case is about Ahok’s alleged blasphemy. Thus, the headline presupposes that the violence that happens in the rally is normal. It is generalized the violence as the possibility that may happen in the rally like 4/11.

4.2 Level of Description

The feature of level of description plays an important role in reporting news about the 4/11 rally since it is heavily utilized by journalists. Following the moves of the ideological square, the speaker will tend to be very detailed about their bad acts and our good acts and quite abstract and general about their good acts and our bad ones. The following tables present kind of specifications that appear in The Jakarta Post and The Jakarta Globe in covering news about 4/11 rally:

Table 4.2 Level of Description of The Jakarta Post' news article

No	Text	Level of Description	Good/Bad action Protester/ Government
1	A massive rally calling for the criminal prosecution of Jakarta Governor Basuki Tjahaja “Ahok” Purnama for alleged blasphemy ended in violence on Friday night <i>as protesters defied a police order to disperse.</i>	Many Details, Specific	Bad action of the protester
2	At midnight, President Joko Widodo “Jokowi” <i>praised the rally’s Muslim leaders for keeping the rally in order during the day.</i>	Few Details, General	Good Action of the protester
3	<i>The President further stated that the legal process against Ahok would take place in a</i>	Few details, General	Good Action of the government

	<i>transparent fashion.</i>		
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Table 4.2 shows that The Jakarta Post seems neutral in covering the news. It can be seen from the description of the event that is not only focusing on the bad action of the protester (1st statement) or good action of the government (3rd statement), but focus on both action of the protester or government. For example, some statements in the news article provide many details and specific information about bad action of the protester (1st statement), but in the next statement the journalist also will provide many details information about good action of the protester (2nd statement).

4.3 Implication and Presupposition

The decision to express information about 4/11 rally or leave it implicit can serve ideological purposes. Following the moves of the ideological square, the speaker or the in-group tends to leave information implicit that is inconsistent with their positive self-image, meanwhile will be more explicit when it talks about the bad things of the out-group. Thus, knowing the implication of 4/11 rally in different news articles are very important to know the implicit information in the news and understand the proposition or the meaning of those implication. The following tables show the implication and presupposition that appear in The Jakarta Post and The Jakarta Globe in covering news about 4/11 rally:

Table 4.3 Implication and Presupposition of The Jakarta Post' news article

No	Text	Implication/Presupposition
1	At midnight, President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo <i>praised</i> the rally’s Muslim leaders for <i>keeping the rally in order during the day</i> . “However, we regretted the violence in the evening. <i>Political actors took advantage of this situation</i> ,” he said.	Explicit information of the protester that causes the violence. Presupposition : The protester that causes the violence is not Anti ahok’s protester, but the political actors that take advantage of the situation

2	<p><i>The anti-Ahok rally ran peacefully early in the day, but soon after dusk, violence broke out following a scuffle involving a small number of protesters, who were allegedly members of the Muslim Students Association (HMI) and activists from the Islam Defenders Front (FPI), the firebrand Islamic organization that played a leading role in Friday's protest.</i></p>	<p>Implicit information about the possibility of the protester that causes the violence</p> <p>Presupposition :</p> <p>The protester that causes the violence is not Anti Ahok's protester since it ran peacefully in early day and it only involving small number of the protester. It does not represent all protester</p>
3	<p><i>In a strange turn of events, the FPI joined forces with the police at one point to call for the HMI students to disperse and not to get closer to the State Palace.</i></p>	<p>Implicit information about the protester that causes the violence</p> <p>Presupposition :</p> <p>The FPI is not the provocateur in the violence</p>

Table 4.3 shows that Table The Jakarta Post leaves some implicit information about the protester that causes the violence. Following the Ideological Square, The Jakarta Post will leave the information that is inconsistent with the topic. According to the topic, The Jakarta Post presupposes that the violence happened in Anti-Ahok rally as something that is normally happened during the rally. It is considered the violence as the result or the impact when a big mass doing a protest.

4.4 Local Coherence

The way journalist sees a social event may have an effect on the coherence of the discourse, since coherence is based on the interpretation of events as represented in the mental models of the journalist. Thus, analyzing relation of proposition, especially in the news article is very important to know how each statement is connected to each other. The following table shows the local coherence in the selected data:

Table 4.4 Local Coherence of The Jakarta Post' news article

No	News Statement	Relation
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1	A massive rally calling for the criminal prosecution of Jakarta Governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama “Ahok” for alleged blasphemy ended in violence <i>on Friday night</i>	Explanation, Temporal
	<i>as protesters defied a police order to disperse.</i>	Causal
2	At midnight, President Joko Widodo “Jokowi” <i>praised</i> the rally’s Muslim leaders	Contrast
	<i>for keeping the rally in order during the day.</i>	Reason
3	The President <i>further stated</i> that the legal process against Ahok would take place in a <i>transparent fashion</i>	Consequence

Table 4.4 shows how each clause or proposition of The Jakarta Post’s news article is linked to each other. The article from The Jakarta Post shows that propositions used to explain the violence in 4/11 rally have both conditional and the functional relations. The conditional relation can be seen from the relation of propositions in delivering the fact based on causes and consequences. For example, in The Jakarta Post, it is explained that the violence considered as the consequence when a big mass doing a protest, in this case is about Ahok’s alleged blasphemy. Besides, the action of the government also is explained by using causes and consequence relation. The action of the government in responding the violence is also considered as the consequence of the chaotic situation. It is supported by some propositions used functional relation that gives the specification of the event, such as the introduction of various participants (4th statement).

CONCLUSION

This part is the last chapter of this thesis which provides the final results of the whole analysis and discussion in the previous chapter. In this chapter, the writer summarizes the result of this study to answer the related research question listed in the first chapter. After analyzing the ideological discourse structure, it can be seen that The Jakarta Post and The Jakarta Globe represent about Ahok’s issue, specifically about 4/11 rally very differently. Those different perspective can seen in some ideological discourse structures of Van Dijk, especially in the level of meaning (semantic).

The table above shows that by using eight ideological discourse structures, those are topics, level of description and local coherence. It can be seen that The Jakarta Post describes the violence as a common result when a big mass doing a protest. The

ideological discourse structure of The Jakarta Post's news article shows that the journalist is not only emphasize negative thing of the protester or the government. But, it provides specific information in both good action and bad action of the protester. Meanwhile, The Jakarta Globe see the violence as the impact of Anti Ahok's protester who refuse to disperse. It can be seen from the ideological discourse structure of The Jakarta Globe's news article that only emphasize about bad action of the protester.

Discourse users utilize comparison to emphasize positive things about in-groups and to de-emphasize positive things about out groups. Therefore, by contrasting the news articles from different news websites, the writer concluded that the news article from The Jakarta Post is more neutral in covering 4/11 rally, since it emphasizes both good action and bad action of the protester or the government. Meanwhile, The Jakarta Globe is not neutral in delivering 4/11 rally but carry a certain ideology. It can be seen that The Jakarta Globe sees Anti Ahok's protester as the out-group. According to Ideological Square, The Jakarta Globe use the ideological strategy about negative other presentation. It applies two strategies of ideological communication, those are the strategies of emphasize information that is negative about them (Anti Ahok's protesters) and deemphasizes information that is positive about them (Anti Ahok's protesters).

Thus, the researcher concludes that The Jakarta Post let the reader to shape their own perspective about the issue, since the journalist only focuses in explaining the sequence of 4/11 rally, like how the rally run until become violence. Meanwhile, The Jakarta Globe try to shape the reader point of view about the violence in 4/11 rally, since the journalist only focuses on the violence of the protester, like how chaotic the situation is.

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