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Research article

Investigating the Role of Symbolic Elites in Shaping Public Discourse: A Case of Detikcom

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Abstract. Public discourse in the mass media following the political contestation of the 2017 DKI Jakarta Governor election made the Islamic Defenders Front (Front Pembela Islam) become more popular in Indonesia. FPI had a central role in the victory of the candidates it supported: Anies Baswedan and Salahuddin Uno. Considered by some as one of the most influential Islamic mass organizations in post-Reformation Indonesia, especially since 2016 after organizing a demonstration event known as the 212 Demo Action, with various pros and cons surrounding it, FPI is a social movement phenomenon that is highly and widely debated in various circles. As a 'media-darling' (in its negative sense), it is interesting to highlight in this context how the mass media construct news stories for FPI and its leaders. Employing the critical discourse approach of ideological square and symbolic elites from Teeun A van Dijk, this paper examines how one of the largest mainstream media organizations in Indonesia, Detikcom, 'mediates' discourse about FPI through its reporting.

Keywords: symbolic elites, CDA, FPI, Indonesia

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1. Introduction

Recently, Indonesian press reports, especially on online platforms, have been enlivened by reports about the controversial tweets of social media activist Ferdinand Hutahaean. It started when Ferdinand Hutahaean, a former political party elite and public figure, wrote a tweet via his twitter account highlighting the performance of the Governor of DKI Jakarta, Anies Baswedan. Ferdinand Hutahaean's tweet was considered thick with racism. A Jakarta based-activist, Andi Sinulingga, felt uncomfortable with what Ferdinand tweeted because it touched on issues of ethnicity, religion, race, and inter-group (SARA). The tweet that Andi Sinulingga questioned was uploaded by Ferdinand on Sunday, 21/2/2021. Ferdinand claimed that Anies did not deserve to dream of

becoming president of the Republic of Indonesia and more worthy of being president in Yemen [1].

After being responded to by Andi Sinulingga via RMOL (1), this media report then turned into a public discourse and received massive responses from various parties, both those who supported Ferdinand and those who were against. These pros and cons are not only mediated by formal mainstream mass media organizations such as *RMOL* and *Pikiran Rakyat* but also has extended to social media platforms. Discussions regarding this issue have become intense on Twitter since the news report on RMOL. On both platforms, the official news media and social media, binary discussions took place, the public debate was split into two poles between those who agreed with Ferdinand Hutahaen's tweet and those who disagreed.

The discourse contestation in the mass media above, historically, can be traced to its trigger several years back. At least the closest is since the aftermaths of the political contestation of the 2017 DKI Jakarta Governor Elections. Since then, the name Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) has become popular. FPI had a central role in the victory of the candidates it supported, Anies Baswedan and Salahuddin Uno. Prior to the 2017 DKI Jakarta PILKADA, FPI was already one of the most widely reported Islamic mass organizations in the last decade, both by regional, national and even international media. Considered by some as one of the most influential Islamic mass organizations in post-Reformation Indonesia, especially since 2016 after organizing a demonstration event known as the 212 Demo Action, with various pros and cons surrounding it, FPI is a social movement phenomenon that is highly and widely debated. in various circles. As a 'media-darling' (in its negative tone), it is interesting to highlight in this context how the mass media construct news stories for FPI and its leaders.

Using the Critical Discourse Study Approach from Teeun A van Dijk, *Ideological Square* and S*ymbolic Elites*, this paper briefly elaborates on how the mainstream media in Indonesia, *Detikcom*, 'mediates' discourse contestation about FPI (Islamic Defenders Front) through its news reporting.

2. Conception of Racism in the Press

Teeun van Dijk in his seminal book Racism and The Press [2] specifically discusses racism in the media. Although the context of the research that became the basis of his work was made in European countries, especially England, Spain and Germany, the substance of the problems discussed is still relevant to actual conditions in various parts of the world other than Europe. This paper will use the theoretical framework from van

Dijk's work above. In summary, van Dijk organizes his book into several pointers, namely the definition of racism, the fundamental role of discourse, racist public discourse, the role of symbolic elites, the role of the press, and press freedom.

Van Dijk defines racism as a social system of ethnically based social domination - in Europe (and elsewhere) of 'white' Europeans over non-Europeans which is then reproduced by systems of discriminatory social practices, sustained and legitimized by systems of racist social cognition (prejudice, ideology).

In relation to Discourse (use of language, communication, etc.), for van Dijk, is an important element of the system of racism. According to van Dijk, discourse is a discriminatory social practice and at the same time is generated by and reproduces the underlying racist cognition. Van Dijk sees the crucial role of discourse in the (re)producing of racism as problematic, especially for all forms of public discourse, such as political discourse, mass media, education, science and research, literature, legal discourse, and so on. Due to its wide distribution and authoritative status, such discourses can influence the minds of many people, and therefore have great potential to form racist beliefs which in turn can underpin racist systems.

Racism in contemporary society is mostly (re)produced by public discourse, symbolic elites, namely social groups that control public discourse, according to van Dijk, are the parties most responsible for sustainability - as well as the struggle against racism. Research shows that, given their positive self-image, they are also the most consistently and explicitly deny their involvement in racism. For the same reason, anti-racist policies must first target the symbolic elite and its institutions.

The role of the press in the reproduction (and struggle against) racism, in van Dijk's view, must be understood within this theoretical framework: a large number of studies in many countries have shown, time and again, that - on the whole, and of course with striking variations - the press more part of the problem of racism than part of the solution. This is more explicitly the case with the popular right-wing press but also applies to quality newspapers, and not only to the right-wing newspapers. Many studies show that the main problems of the press that contribute to the reproduction of prejudiced beliefs, and therefore indirectly to the reproduction of racism as a system of inequality are as follows:

First, related to bias in the news gathering bias, van Dijk stated that relatively little attention or dependence on non-white groups, non-white people or organizations, as credible sources, experts, etc. - even when it's available. This also leads to a biased citation pattern: in fact, only elite white sources are cited as reliable sources thereby openly marginalizing ethnic leaders and experts.

Furthermore, there is another bias, namely the choice of topic. Ethnic minorities, immigrants, refugees (and Third World) make headlines especially when they are associated with alleged problems or threats, i.e., with (i) real or interpreted negative aspects of immigration and - especially cultural - integration, (ii) deviance, drugs, crime and terrorism (iii) economic or financial scarcity (unemployment, slums, etc.). Their contributions to the economy, culture, to name a few, are rarely highlighted, just as racism from dominant white groups tends to be ignored or reduced. Many normal news topics about white people/groups (politics, economics, health, education, science, human interests, etc.) hardly involve minority participants. Biased topics are one result of biased news gathering and biased news production. Despite its vehement rejection of censorship, there is one definite taboo topic in the 'free' press: Racism within press organizations - has never been treated as a serious problem by any newspaper, and is therefore one of the prime examples of self-censorship).

The next bias is the use of language. Biased topics can also be controlled for or reinforced by various forms of biased language use or style, such as lexical items ('illegal', 'beggars', etc.), threatening metaphors (immigration as 'invasion' or 'wave'). By law and in practice, the contemporary press in much of the EU is 'free', that is, free from government intervention and censorship, and such freedoms, in neo-liberal nation-states, are in no way threatened. All warnings on this topic, for example in the Danish Cartoon Case of the Prophet Muhammad, are pseudo-problems created by the press itself. But on the other hand, the press cannot be separated from the control of corporations. Editors, reporters, news gatherings, topics and styles that are not in the company's interests (sales, etc.) have no place in the mainstream press - as journalists know. According to van Dijk, this threat to press freedom is rarely, if ever, a major topic of the press - as in the case of press racism. The press is truly free only if there are no taboo topics that are not in line with the interests and domination of the elite, namely the press which is also self-critical. Meanwhile, journalism is the only profession that has never been critically covered by the press. It is not surprising, therefore, that they are more sensitive to critical analysis than professionals in other fields, and know how to fend off all such criticism using a standard charge: Censorship!

The last problem and this the most critical of van Dijk's comments, the absolute freedom of the press means absolute power. In a democratic society, and with the requirements of checks and balances, it should be, no organization, institution, group or person has absolute freedom. Without accountability, limits and control of total freedom, and therefore absolute power, freedom is bound to be abused and lead to domination and dictatorship. The same applies to governments, parliaments, business enterprises,

organizations, and citizens. Therefore, it also applies to the press and journalists. Only a few of these limitations are formulated by law – such as freedom from slander, etc., unsurprisingly a prohibition that primarily protects other elites – whereas most others are self-imposed, and therefore can (and are) easily ignored.

3. Muslim ``Race'' Construction

Prashant Waikar [3] in his journal article entitled "Reading Islamophobia in Hegemonic Neoliberalism Through a Discourse Analysis of Donald Trump's Narratives", published in the *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* wrote that the construction of any racial category is a historical process characterized by the interaction of power and knowledge between groups that seek to understand and exploit other groups. Waikar further argues that the construction of a Muslim "race" is a product of the *Age of Enlightenment* and the expansion that accompanies European colonial enterprises seeking to produce knowledge about the Muslim world to dominate Muslims. Thus, the production of knowledge related to Muslims was driven by the norms, values, and beliefs of European colonial thinkers. In this context, it is only possible to understand Muslims through the belief systems that underpinned European colonialism. Since European colonial-capitalism was a profit-driven enterprise that sought to rationalize its dominance over Muslims, the knowledge it generated was embedded in a derogatory "racial language" that clearly defined Muslims as inherently backward and therefore in need of "liberation" from their alleged backwardness by European colonialism. Here, according to Waikar [3], it is important to note that race is not just a construction based on phenotypic, skull, or biological similarities. In contrast, the construction of racial categories requires only "kinship assumptions" based on the belief that people who fall into racial categories "should" have similar and deterministic cultural, physical, or psychological traits.

Based on this, the two main dimensions that underpin the construction of the Muslim race are identity singularization and group-identity generalization. Every individual has a 'self' which consists of many identities. Since each identity plays a role in explaining a person's background, no single identity can claim to have a monopoly on information relating to that person. The singularization of identity, however, negates the plurality of the 'self' and anchors individual definitions to a single identity. The singularized identity is perceived, not only as a central marker, but as the only possible marker of the individual. With regard to the construction of the Muslim race, identity singularization assumes: (1) that a person can only be known in terms of his Muslim identity and (2) that everything that needs to be known about himself can be accessed from his Muslim

identity. Group generalization is a direct consequence of identity singularization. It operates on the assumption that people who have been defined in terms of one identity "should" be culturally similar to one another. Thus, a number of people (e.g., Turks, Uighurs, Rohingya, Malays, Arabs) who may not have anything in common, except their Muslim identity, are assumed to have cultural similarities based on their Islam. In other words, the generalization of people who are defined exclusively in terms of their Muslimness is a process that rationalizes most Muslims into the Muslim "race" [3].

Discourse Analysis: Text and Context

Discourse analysts usually include four important components in their analysis: text, context, action and interaction and power and ideology [4)] According to Jones *et al* [4], text is understood not only as written text in the traditional sense but also includes conversation, both written and spoken, videos, photos, pictures, road markers, paintings, websites, video games and all semiotic elements that function as tools for people to take social action. While the context is defined as the social context in which the text is produced, consumed and used to perform social actions. The next element, action and interaction, according to Jones et al [4], which is the most important element that distinguishes discourse analysis from other linguistic analysts, is their focus which is not limited to only analysing the structure and meaning of texts but also includes analysis of how people use texts to take concrete social action. An important component of discourse analysis is the attention to how discourse can help create certain versions of reality and power relations between individuals and groups. Texts are used to dominate and control other people and groups [4].

4. Online News Media

The presence of online news media and a 24-hour media cycle and at the same time followed by a decline in print media, has an impact on patterns of production, consumption and patterns of news dissemination throughout the world [5]. Related to this condition, when news media outlets meet social media platforms, news is much easier to spread and interactive than before [5]. In the new media landscape, internet users are connected to news through the act of monitoring, reading, scanning, clicking, commenting, sharing and re-sharing across various digital media platforms [6]. Operating within a business model that targets real-time audience engagement, news reports are often characterized by small information, simplified narrative, focus on controversy, and the presence of polarized actors and social opinion [5]. Although

much more interactive and accessible than traditional print media, reactive engagement-oriented online news media can produce potentially undemocratic side effects [5].

5. Research Methodology

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which is currently also known as Critical Discourse Analysis, is an approach that covers almost all aspects of language use in both social and political matters. Recently, it has been argued that CDA is an increasingly important tool for critical qualitative communication research . It is a qualitative analytical approach to describe, interpret, and critically explain how discourse constructs and legitimizes social inequality in a broad context. Fairclough [7] argues that CDA is a method for analysing language in relation to power and ideology.

Van Dijk [8] emphasizes, "Critical Discourse Analysis is a type of discourse analytic research that primarily studies the ways in which abuses of social power, domination, and inequality are enforced, reproduced, and rejected by texts and speech in social and political contexts". The main focus of CDA is to highlight how the power exercised in discourse is used to oppose and control the thoughts and actions of dominant groups, and to protect their interests. The CDA thus places special emphasis on the ways in which certain events or people are legitimized in terms of certain ideological beliefs. The main consideration of CDA is to fill the gap between the micro and macro level approaches that are usually built by sociological constructs in society.

In addition, CDA is often used in certain domains to analyse their content and sub-themes. However, there is one very important domain — that of politics where CDA is specifically used to analyse the political process in parliament, election campaigns, demonstrations, and, most importantly, political speeches and statements as ideological battles between politicians. Furthermore, it should be noted that CDA provides the necessary tools and methods to analyse the dialogical relationship between discourse and ideology.

While there are many different approaches and methods within CDA, one of the key concepts most explored by the CDA approach is the 'self-other' schema, which highlights the binary 'us' versus 'them' where the 'positive self-presentation' along with the 'negative' other-party representation' serves to reinforce ideological beliefs, practices and sentiments. One of the key approaches that focus on self-other schemes is van Dijk's Ideological Square model.

6. Ideological Square

This study focuses on media coverage of FPI. The most prominent aspect of this exploration is the 'self' versus 'other' schema which can be examined in the construction of detikcom news. The Ideological Square model presented by Teun A.van Dijk is suitable for this research, because it specifically focuses on the macro-polarization strategy of 'positive self-representation' and 'negative other representation' [8]. Several recent studies Reynolds (2018]; Adegoju and Oyebode (2015), Cabrejas-Peñuelas and Díez-Prados](2014) and, Mazid (2008] suggested that this approach is very relevant and suitable for analysing the types of discourse in the political or media domain where we see the construction of 'self' and 'other' on the basis of ideological conflicts. Therefore, Van Dijk [8] asserts that this analytical tool is suitable for exploring and highlighting the polarization of 'us' vs. placed in 'them' or 'out-group' categories.

Ideological Square emphasizes opposition in self-representation of others, where the inner self or group is often represented as positive, while the other, the outer group, is represented as negative. In self-representation, the positive aspects of the self are always highlighted alongside the negative aspects of others. Furthermore, the negative aspects of the self are almost always diminished and then minimized, alongside the positive aspects of the others. Van Dijk [8] suggests that there are two stages of analysis; macro analysis and micro analysis.

For macro analysis, Van Dijk [8] has identified four basic strategies used to legitimize oneself and delegitimize others; emphasize positive things about 'us'; emphasize negative things about 'them'; not emphasizing negative things about 'us'; and emphasize positive things about 'them'.

So, in terms of macro analysis, the epistemic foundation of research focuses on self-another binary as shown below;

Moderate Islam: Self, We, Us → In-group

FPI: Others, They, Them → Out-group

In terms of micro analysis, this model consists of 25 key terms or it can be said as a rhetorical discursive strategy as follows:

Actor description, authority, burden, categorization, comparison, consensus, counterfactual, disclaimer, euphemism, proof, argumentation, illustration / example, generalization, hyperbole, implication, irony, lexicalization, metaphor, national self-glorification, norm expression, numbers game, polarization (us-them), populism, presupposition, obscurity, and victimization [van Dijk2006].

A brief explanation of each term is as follows.

1. Actor Description: An actor description usually provides detailed information about an entity, such as a person, place, or thing, and how this entity plays its role in a positive or negative social or political context. Thus, in-group members tend to be described in a positive or neutral way while out-group members are simultaneously portrayed in a negative way.

2. Authority: Van Dijk argues that with authority, we can take the meaning of mentioning authority to support one's claim to a statement. These authorities are: organizations, people who are considered moral leaders and experts, international organizations, academia, media, churches, or courts.

3. Burden (Topos): This refers to the human or financial loss of a particular group whether small or large and to victimizing that group or touching the feelings of the target audience.

4. Categorization: It means assigning people into different groups or in other words, applied to classifying people based on their opinions and actions such as religion or politics as Van Dijk said, "People tend to categorize people".

5. Comparison: For comparison, we can simply mean to determine the similarities and differences between two entities, such as people, places, events, things, etc. Thus, the comparison in discourse according to van Dijk, "compare in-groups and out-groups", while out-groups are always compared negatively and in-groups positively and vice versa.

6. Consensus: In general, consensus is often formed to foster and build solidarity and agreement, but for van Dijk, it is a political strategy where consensus is a "cross-party or national" device to defend a country against any external threat or national problem. . .

7. Counterfactuals: This is a persuasive argumentative strategy used to ask for empathy or one can say an expression to highlight what something or someone would look like if certain conditions were created or not created.

8. Disclaimer/negation: This is an ideologically based strategy to determine the positive attributes of an entity and then present the disclaimers of the attributes using terms, such as, 'but', 'not yet', or 'however'.

9. Euphemism: Euphemism is a communicative tactic in which the speaker tries to use softer or less harsh words than derogatory or direct terms, for example, 'death' rather than 'death' and no one takes it negatively. van Dijk further argues that euphemisms might be used to reduce "the formation of negative impressions and negative actions of one's own group".

10. Evidentiality: This simply means that the use of hard facts and figures to support the speaker's claims or ideas and in other words this strategy is used to provide facts by a discourse producer to support his own beliefs, opinions, or whatever. information. Van Dijk further added, "This is an important step to convey objectivity, reliability, validity and therefore credibility".

11. Illustration/Examples: This is a communicative strategy used by the speaker to present factual, precise or fictional examples to make his statement more plausible.

12. Generalization: This is a tactic used to attribute the negative and positive aspects of a particular person or small group to a large population, for example, lawyers are hard workers.

13. Hyperbole: Hyperbole is considered as a linguistic strategy related to excessive language and extra stress on something. Therefore, van Dijk states that hyperbole is "a mere rhetorical tool".

Moreover, in discourse studies, it should be noted that discourse analysts are not primarily concerned with the sample size of the specified corpus, as 'large samples can create an unmanageable amount of data without adding to the analytical results of the research. Therefore, analytical interpretations that are useful in discourse studies can also be made with a small corpus sample size [3]. According to Paul Baker [9], in discourse studies, DA researchers are always more specific and selective in choosing quotes from each speech, interview, or statement based on keywords. He added that in data collection, the focus should be on the quality of the data, not the quantity. In addition to qualitative investigations, researchers do not focus on how much the sample represents, but rather focus on understanding the meaning in the phenomenon. Specifically, Glaser and Strauss have mentioned in 1967 that the sampling procedure in qualitative research is always flexible, continuous and evolving, while selecting sequential data. This research data is taken from the detikcom website. The data consists of news items about FPI in several recent issues that occurred in the 2020 time-frame. Details about the data are included in the attachment of this paper.

7. Method and Material

Detikcom (stylized as detikcom) is a web portal that contains online news and articles in Indonesia. Detikcom is one of the most popular news sites in Indonesia. Unlike other Indonesian-speaking news sites, detikcom only has an online edition and relies on advertising revenue. Even so, detikcom is at the forefront of breaking news up to the present time.

DeTik's server was actually ready to be accessed on May 30, 1998, but started online with a full presentation on July 9, 1998. July 9 was finally set as the birthday of detikcom which was founded by Budiono Darsono (former DeTik journalist), Yayan Sopyan (former DeTik journalist). Abdul Rahman (a former Tempo journalist), and Didi Nugrahadi. At first, detikcom's main coverage focused on political, economic, and information technology news. Only after the political situation began to subside and the economy began to improve, detikcom decided to also attach entertainment and sports news [10].

In addition, the hope was sparked to form detikcom whose updates no longer use the characteristics of print media which are daily, weekly, monthly. What detikcom sells is breaking news. By relying on this kind of vivid description, detikcom has become the most popular digital information site among internet users [10].

On August 3, 2011 CT Corp acquired detikcom (PT Agranet Multicitra Siberkom/ Agrakom). Starting on that date, detikcom was officially under Trans Corp. Chairul Tanjung, owner of CT Corp. bought detikcom in total (100 percent) with a value of US $ 60 million or Rp 521-540 billion. After being taken over, then the board of directors were given a core by the parties from Trans Corp — as an extension of CT Corp in the media realm. And the main commissioner is General (Ret.) Bimantoro, former National Police Chief, who currently also serves as President Commissioner of Carrefour Indonesia, which is also owned by Chairul Tanjung [10].

Before being acquired by CT Corp, detikcom shares were owned by Agranet Tiger Investment and Mitsui & Co. Agranet owns a 59% stake in detikcom, and the remaining 39% is owned by Tiger, and 2% Mitsui. In July 1998 the detikcom site received 30,000 hits per day (a measure of the number of visitors to a site) with about 2,500 users (Internet subscribers). Nine months later, in March 1999, hits per day increased seven times, to be exact, an average of 214,000 hits per day or 6,420,000 hits per month with 32,000 users. In June 1999, that number rose again to 536,000 hits per day with 40,000 users [10].

The news portal is consistently ranked among Indonesia's 10 most-visited websites and is among the top 250 in the world It receives approximately 180 million visits per day [11].

Our study focuses on headlines due to the fact that they represent a simplifying mechanism that encapsulates and draws the reader's attention to what is to come [12]. In this regard, van Dijk [8] claims that "the formulation of headlines and leads reflects the way newspapers frame topics and how these govern the overall meaning of the text." Moreover, media studies have shown that most readers do not read the full article, but instead focus on the headlines, which are then seen as cognitive shortcuts that attract

and influence public attention [11]. The methodology adopted for this paper takes the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach advocated by Van Dijk [2], which stands on the assumption that language is closely related to the context in which it is produced and, more specifically, to the power and ideology transmitted through it.

Research data were collected through the newspaper's online interface by reading each edition. Search terms to identify the headline are "FPI", "Islamic organization", "radical Islam", and their derivatives, and any words that show relevance to the three terms above. Since we are only interested in media representations of FPI which is only based in Indonesia, headlines relating to Islamic organizations in other countries or referring only to Islamic organizations are excluded.

In verifying the accuracy of data collection, we employed a model which has been developed by Ivanova & Jocelin-Almendras [12] as follows: each title was coded by two coders, the principal investigator and assistant, who were previously trained for media framing analysis. The codification procedure focused mainly on two aspects: first, the terminology used by certain media when talking about FPI and, second, their portrayal through analysis of the words used in headlines on all FPI-related issues.

There 20 headlines were identified in the month period of December 2020, and the results are presented below.

8. Results and Discussion

We applied Micro Analysis for data analysis of this study. A textual analysis will be presented using several news items related to FPI. The typology of discursive strategies from van Dijk [8] will be used as an analytical tool.

9. Micro Analysis

The number of sample units of news article outlets analysed was 20 (twenty) with a time-frame during the December 2020 period. The reason for taking this time-frame is because we have conducted an in-depth examination and reading of all Detikcom news coverage during 2020 and we found that quantitatively news about FPI is most often done during December 2020.

From a total of 25 discursive strategies by van Dijk [2006], we found the use of 13 (thirteen) discursive strategies used by Detikcom in reporting on FPI in December 2020.

TABLE 1: Detiknews

No.	Date of Issue	News Title	Link of the Article
01	31-12-2020	Amien Rais Kritik Jokowi soal FPI Dilarang, Bawa-bawa Cerita Firaun.	https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5317006/amien-rais-kritik-jokowi-soal-fpi-dilarang-bawa-bawa-cerita-firaun?_ga=2.79554258.758210027.1610025525-224196315.1610025525
02	31-12-2020	Dilarang Pemerintah, FPI Surabaya Copoti Papan Nama dan Bendera Sendiri	https://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-timur/d-5316270/dilarang-pemerintah-fpi-surabaya-copoti-papan-nama-dan-bendera-sendiri?_ga=2.79554258.758210027.1610025525-224196315.1610025525
03	31-12-2020	FPI Dilarang, Polisi Kembali Patroli di Kawasan Petamburan Siang Ini	https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5316147/fpi-dilarang-polisi-kembali-patroli-di-kawasan-petamburan-siang-ini?_ga=2.79554258.758210027.1610025525-224196315.1610025525
04	31-12-2020	Dilarang Pemerintah, FPI Kuningan: Pengalihan Isu Penembakan 6 Laskar	https://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-barat/d-5316028/dilarang-pemerintah-fpi-kuningan-pengalihan-isu-penembakan-6-laskar?_ga=2.148439409.758210027.1610025525-224196315.1610025525
05	31-12-2020	Begini Kondisi Petamburan Pagi Ini Usai Spanduk HRS-FPI Dicopot	https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5315995/begini-kondisi-petamburan-pagi-ini-usai-spanduk-hrs-fpi-dicopot?_ga=2.190186221.758210027.1610025525-224196315.1610025525
06	30-12-2020	Uji Balistik Insiden Km 50 Tol Japek, Komnas HAM Libatkan Ahli dari Pindad	https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5315814/uji-balistik-insiden-km-50-tol-japek-komnas-ham-libatkan-ahli-dari-pindad?_ga=2.144182643.758210027.1610025525-224196315.1610025525
07	30-12-2020	Pemerintah Larang FPI, Munarman dkk: Itu Bertentangan dengan Konstitusi	https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5315721/pemerintah-larang-fpi-munarman-dkk-itu-bertentangan-dengan-konstitusi?_ga=2.144182643.758210027.1610025525-224196315.1610025525
08	30-12-2020	Kosgoro Dukung Pemerintah Larang FPI: Mereka Terlihat Ditunggangi Asing	https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5315683/kosgoro-dukung-pemerintah-larang-fpi-mereka-terlihat-ditunggangi-asing?_ga=2.144182643.758210027.1610025525-224196315.1610025525
09	30-12-2020	Penampakan Brimob-TNI Jaga Petamburan Usai Cabuti Spanduk FPI	https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5315409/penampakan-brimob-tni-jaga-petamburan-usai-cabuti-spanduk-fpi?_ga=2.118547023.758210027.1610025525-224196315.1610025525
10	30-12-2020	Kuasa Hukum FPI Tak Bisa Masuk ke Kediaman Habib Rizieq	https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5315401/kuasa-hukum-fpi-tak-bisa-masuk-ke-kediaman-habib-rizieq?_ga=2.118547023.758210027.1610025525-224196315.1610025525

Table 1: continued.

No.	Date of Issue	News Title	Link of the Article
11	30-12-2020	Dibubarkan Pemerintah, FPI Ciamis Bentuk Front Pejuang Islam	https://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-barat/d-5315329/dibubarkan-pemerintah-fpi-ciamis-bentuk-front-pejuang-islam?_ga=2.75574739.758210027.1610025525-224196315.1610025525
12	30-12-2020	Aktivitas Dilarang, FPI Cianjur: Kita Sering Sosial Kala Orang Lain Nyinyir	https://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-barat/d-5315088/aktivitas-dilarang-fpi-cianjur-kita-sering-sosial-kala-orang-lain-nyinyir?_ga=2.75574739.758210027.1610025525-224196315.1610025525
13	30-12-2020	Bareskrim Dampingi Komnas HAM Uji Balistik Terkait Tewasnya 6 Laskar FPI	https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5314997/bareskrim-dampingi-komnas-ham-uji-balistik-terkait-tewasnya-6-laskar-fpi?_ga=2.75574739.758210027.1610025525-224196315.1610025525
14	30-12-2020	Bentrok Laskar FPI-Polisi, 7 Polisi Surveillance Dimintai Keterangan Komnas HAM	https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5314686/bentrok-laskar-fpi-polisi-7-polisi-surveillance-dimintai-keterangan-komnas-ham?_ga=2.152587647.758210027.1610025525-224196315.1610025525
15	30-12-2020	Kasus Chat Mesum HRS Dibuka Lagi, Pengacara Koordinasi soal Langkah Hukum	https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5314400/kasus-chat-mesum-hrs-dibuka-lagi-pengacara-koordinasi-soal-langkah-hukum?_ga=2.75574739.758210027.1610025525-224196315.1610025525
16	30-12-2020	Kontroversi 'Agen Intelijen Jerman' Datangi FPI	https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5314358/kontroversi-agen-intelijen-jerman-datangi-fpi?_ga=2.75574739.758210027.1610025525-224196315.1610025525
17	30-12-2020	Gerindra Kaget Ada Putusan Chat Mesum HRS Dibuka Lagi: Kapan Proses Sidangnya?	https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5314330/gerindra-kaget-ada-putusan-chat-mesum-hrs-dibuka-lagi-kapan-proses-sidangnya?_ga=2.75574739.758210027.1610025525-224196315.1610025525
18	29-12-2020	Pasrah dan Herannya FPI Kasus Chat Mesum HRS Dibuka Lagi	https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5314203/pasrah-dan-herannya-fpi-kasus-chat-mesum-hrs-dibuka-lagi?_ga=2.114305473.758210027.1610025525-224196315.1610025525
19	29-12-2020	Heboh 'Agen Telik Sandi' Jerman Datangi Markas FPI	https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5314151/heboh-agen-telik-sandi-jerman-datangi-markas-fpi?_ga=2.114305473.758210027.1610025525-224196315.1610025525
20	29-12-2020	Pelapor Ungkap Alasan Mengapa Ingin Kasus Chat Mesum HRS Dibuka Kembali	https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5314150/pelapor-ungkap-alasan-mengapa-ingin-kasus-chat-mesum-hrs-dibuka-kembali?_ga=2.176680419.758210027.1610025525-224196315.1610025525

The discursive strategies used were: actor description, authority, burden, categorization, comparison. , consensus, counterfactual, disclaimer, euphemism, argumentation, illustration / example, generalization, and hyperbole.

The following is a brief analysis of two selected news outlets for the December 2020 period.

10. Binary Paradigm

Textual analysis 01

According to van Dijk [8], an actor description usually provides detailed information about an entity, such as a person, place, or thing, and how this entity plays its role in a positive or negative social or political context. Thus, in-group members tend to be described in a positive or neutral way while out-group members are simultaneously portrayed in a negative way.

This strategy is applied in several news items, including the following:

Original text: "Pemerintah resmi melarang ormas Front Pembela Islam (FPI), seluruh kegiatan dan simbolnya. PPK Kosgoro 1957 menilai keputusan pemerintah melarang FPI sudah tepat".

Translation: The government has officially banned the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) organization, all of its activities and symbols. PPK Kosgoro 1957 assessed that the government's decision to ban FPI was right [13]

Original text: "Jadi melihat tindakan FPI selama ini bagaimana mereka juga menyebabkan keresahan, membuat kekacauan. Tindakan pemerintah dengan satu tidak memperpanjang izin mereka, dan juga menyatakan mereka organisasi terlarang sudah merupakan keputusan yang tepat," kata Waketum PPK Kosgoro 1957 Dave Laksono, Rabu (30/12/2020).

Translation: So looking at the actions of the FPI so far, how they also caused unrest, created chaos. The government's action by not extending their permit, and also declaring them a banned social organization is the right decision," said Deputy Head of Kosgoro PPK 1957, Dave Laksono, Wednesday (12/30/2020).

In the news headline above, the Detikcom editor reported the Government's decision to ban all activities of the FPI as non-government organization. It is clarified by quotes from news sources, the point of view taken is from Kosgoro – a social organization under the auspices of the Government coalition party, the Golkar Party. This strategy is clearly an embodiment of the actor description because Detikcom selects sources

who are in the Government in-group, namely Kosgoro. The editorial position is clear because in all these news agencies the sources quoted are only from Kosgoro, no attempt has been made to take quotes from sources who have different opinions with the Government. The frame used by Detikcom Editor for this news is in accordance with the binary scheme: in-group versus outgroup. The right group versus the wrong group. A good/correct position is included in the in-group category while an out-group position is categorized as not good/wrong. Detikcom's position in this case can be viewed that the Government's decision to ban the FPI is correct, while diametrically, the government's opposition party, FPI, is the bad party and, consequently, can be accepted as decent if FPI is declared a bad organization, illegal and against the law. Through this discursive strategy, Detikcom used Kosgoro's 'hand' to position FPI as a bad organization.

In addition to the actor description, through the news above, the editors have also implemented other strategies, namely categorization: assigning people into different groups or in other words, applied to classifying people based on their opinions and actions such as religion or politics as Van Dijk said, "People tend to to categorize people". The editors have categorized FPI as a banned social organization. News, ideally, is simply an act of reporting facts – not media opinion. However, in the case of the news above, opinions and facts have been mixed into one.

Textual Analysis 02

In the news "Amien Rais Criticizes Jokowi about FPI Banned, Bringing Pharaoh's Story in It", it is interesting to analyse how the Detikcom editor constructs the facts. In general, it can be said that this news is more balanced than the news in analysis number 1 above, when viewed from the aspect of the selection of sources. Detikcom used two sources to write this news. In terms of the character of the sources, it can be claimed that they are balanced, both are well-known public figures, namely Amien Rais and Edward Hiariej. However, if examined more closely, it will be seen that the discursive strategy taken by Detikcom does not position opposing voices in a balanced way. The selection of sources for the news above is not balanced when viewed from the context of the content of the news and the background of the sources. Amien Rais is known publicly as a political expert and politician while Edward Hiariej is a criminal law expert. Combining two resource persons with different expertise backgrounds is not balanced. The news content above is talking about the law. Quoting Amien Rais, who is a political and political expert, to comment on the legal aspects of criminalizing FPI by the Government and being confronted by a professor of Criminal Law and deputy Minister of Law is an inappropriate action. It's not apple to apple.

The consequence is clear, in the news it seems that the Government's explanation is more profitable because what is quoted is an expert on criminal law. Detikcom provides more space for government representatives in the body of the news: 9 (nine) paragraphs and all of them contain solid legal arguments. Here the news strategy used is Evidence. According to van Dijk [8], this simply means that the use of hard facts and figures to support the speaker's claims or ideas and in other words this strategy is used to provide facts by a discourse producer to support his own beliefs, opinions, or whatever . information. Van Dijk further added, "This is an important step to convey objectivity, reliability, validity and therefore credibility". Following van Dijk's conception, as a discourse provider, Detikcom sophisticatedly positions a political expert against a criminal expert to talk about criminal law. Discursively, it became clear that Detikcom believed, legally speaking, the Government position was fully acceptable when it decided to ban FPI as a social organization. Therefore, the choice of news resource persons, by design, is asymmetrical/unbalanced.

11. Conclusion

Media discourse is the main source of public knowledge about global and local issues. This kind of power controls people's minds and can then produce the reproduction of xenophobic attitudes in society if what-so-called as anti-mainstream social group (or social group voicing sharp social control over the ruling government) is discussed as a threat [8]. Theoretically, modern media aims to cover diversity and promote pluralism in society. Instead, what we see in reality is the promotion of so-called new racism [9] through covert means of expressing racial and social inequalities).

Specifically, from the brief analysis above, we can tentatively conclude that Detikcom, as symbolic elite, has carried out news construction with ideological nuances towards FPI. Through micro analysis using van Dijk's [8] typology of discursive strategies, we see that Detikcom has implemented a news strategy based on an in-group vs outgroup binary scheme in news reporting related to FPI. Although the news sample that we analysed was small and carried out in a short time frame, this finding cannot necessarily be ignored because this finding can be used as a basis for conducting further studies with more coverage units of analysis / news items and a longer time frame, although in our study using Critical Discourse Analysis, the number of units of analysis is not the most important factor. In discourse studies, it should be noted that critical discourse analysts are not primarily concerned with the sample size of the specified corpus, as 'large samples can create an unmanageable amount of data without adding to the

analytical results of the research [12]. Therefore, analytical interpretations that are useful in discourse studies can also be made with a small corpus sample size [3].

The choice of grammar employed by Detikcom through its news constructions, gives FPI and its supporters a passive and powerless social role. Thus, Detikcom, consciously or not, frames these social groups as people who need to be banned by governments or non-governmental organizations, ignoring the benefits they may bring to the society. Thus, eventually, the government stands out as a "hero" who somehow saves the good people from the bad people (FPI).

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Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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