

# The Representation of Ideology in News "Religious Issues" at Mediaindonesia.com and Republika.co.id

Yunita Ayuningsih, Dadang Anshori, Jatmika Nurhadi

Departemen Pendidikan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia

Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia

Bandung, Indonesia

Ayuyunita50@gmail.com, Dadanganshori@upi.edu, Jatmikanurhadi@upi.edu

**Abstract**—This research was motivated by the reporting of religious issues involving Viktor Laiskodat. The news of the pros and cons of the speech delivered by Viktor about the caliphate state, was feared to trigger a bigger conflict because it was related to the very principle, namely religious issues. The method used in this study is qualitative using Fairclough's critical discourse analysis approach. The purpose of this study is to describe the dimensions of the text, the relationship between ideology and linguistic aspects produced, and describe the social, political and cultural situation behind the reporting of religious issues involving Viktor Laiskodat. The results showed that based on the analysis of textual dimensions, the media used vocabulary, grammar, modalities, direct and indirect quotations as a strategy to represent the main actors and events in reporting "religious issues" involving Viktor Laiskodat. Moreover, the analysis of media ideology and linguistic strategies used indicates that Mediaindonesia.com tends to be partial towards Viktor as the main actor reporting on "religious issues", while Republika.co.id does not favor Viktor as the main actor reporting on "religious issues". While based on social, political, and cultural analysis underlying the reporting of religious issues involving Viktor Laiskodat, shows that Indonesia's current political situation, the relationship between the owners of Mediaindonesia.com, the Nasdem and Viktor parties, and the relationship between Islam and Republika.co.id also influences the news published in both online media.

**Keywords**—representation; ideology; critical discourse analysis; media; religious issues

## I. INTRODUCTION

In the critical paradigm, the news made by the media is not seen as something neutral. News made by the mass media can function to shape public opinion and change people's mindsets [1]. The media can easily influence public opinion in accordance with the ideology it believes. This happens because the discourse in various media is inseparable from certain interests. Therefore, the community needs to be a critical reader so that they are not easily trapped and led to respond to news in the media.

According to Cangara, mass media is a tool used in delivering messages from sources to audiences using communication tools [2]. The reason for choosing online media as a data retrieval media is because the news spread is so rapid in the digital era like today. The news spread is wider and

makes it easier for people to access news anywhere and anytime.

One of the reports that was quite interesting to the public was news that contained religious issues. This is due to the existence of legal cases that have occurred in Indonesia in connection with religious issues so that the public also gave attention to the news regarding the news. One of the news about the religious issue that was widely publicized by the media and received public attention was reporting on religious issues involving Viktor Laiskodat, a member of the Republic of Indonesia Parliament for the period 2014-2019 as well as chairman of the Nasdem Party faction.

The preaching of religious issues involving Viktor began with his speech in NTT which was considered to be harassing several parties in Indonesia, namely the Gerindra, Democrats, PKS and PAN parties by calling it a supporter of the Khilafah state. Quoted in kompas.com, reporting on religious issues concerning Viktor Laiskodat originated from Viktor's statement delivered at the declaration of Kupang regent candidate pair. Viktor called four parties namely Gerindra, PKS (Prosperous Justice Party), PAN (National Mandate Party), and Democrats as political parties that supported the Khilafah state and threatened the integrity of the NKRI. Religious issues involving Viktor were very interesting because they were highlighted by various parties. This can be seen from the number of online media (in the network) that preach the issue. It was also the reason for the researchers to make the news as the object of research.

Some mass media that were intensely carrying out news on religious issues concerning Viktor Laiskodat were Mediaindonesia.com, and Republika.co.id. News of religious issues published by the two online media is inseparable from its media ideology. Mediaindonesia.com is part of the Media Group led by Surya Dharma Paloh, Chairperson of the National Democratic Party (Nasdem). Mediaindonesia.com is the website of one of the third largest newspapers in Indonesia, namely Media Indonesia which has the tagline 'Honest Speak'. The selection of Mediaindonesia.com as the media used as the data source for this research, based on the ownership of the media. Media Indonesia, which is very closely related to the party Nasdem which is a party from Viktor Laiskodat, attracted the attention of researchers to see the production of news on

religious issues involving Viktor Laiskodat, Chairperson of the Nasdem Faction in the DPR RI.

Meanwhile, *Republika* is a national newspaper that was born by the Muslim community. *Republika* has a vision of Modern, Moderate, Muslim, Nationality and Populism. In 1955, *Republika* opened a site on the internet, namely *Republika.co.id* so that people were easier to access the news that was published. The election of *Republika.co.id* is based on its Islamic based background like its vision. That is what attracted the attention of researchers to see the production of religious issues involving Viktor Laiskodat on *Republika.co.id*. The focus of this study is to describe the representation of actors and events in religious issues reporting involving Viktor at *Mediaindonesia.com*, and *Republika.co.id*. The research carried out will show a text representation on the reporting of religious issues involving Viktor Laiskodat at *Mediaindonesia.com*, and *Republika.co.id*.

## II. METHOD

The research method used in this study is a qualitative research method with descriptive analysis method. In language research, descriptive research methods tend to be used in qualitative research, especially in collecting data, and describing data scientifically. Qualitative research is a particular tradition in social science that is fundamentally dependent on human observation in its own region and relates to that community through its language [3].

This study only describes a language data taken from *Mediaindonesia.com* and *Republika.co.id* which raised the issue of religious issues concerning Viktor Laiskodat. The aim is to reveal the ideological representation formed by *Mediaindonesia.com* and *Republika.co.id* through reporting on the issue.

This study uses the Fairclough Critical Discourse Analysis (AWK) model known as three-dimensional discourse analysis or three levels of analysis [4]. First, textual analysis is the description of the text. Second, the analysis of discourse practices is the interpretation of the income process, dissemination, and use of discourse. Third, the analysis of sociocultural practices is an explanation of social processes hidden in discourse.

## III. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this study, the textual analysis analyzed included vocabulary, and grammar. First, vocabulary analysis is divided into two parts, namely actors and vocabulary, as well as events and vocabulary [5]. Second, analysis of grammar (sentence) to find out grammar in the form of a process or in the form of participants [6]. This research only focused on the text dimension which indicated the representation of actors or figures and events in the reporting of religious issues involving Viktor Laiskodat at *Mediaindonesia.com* and *Republika.com*.

Data were taken from two online media (in the network), *Mediaindonesia.com* and *Republika.co.id*. From the referenced data sources, the data was specified in the range of August 2018. During that time it began with the publication of a video of Viktor Laiskodat's speech which was widespread on social

media. During this time there were also various responses from various parties, especially those from the parties that Viktor referred to as supporters of the Khilafah state and from the Nasdem Party, Viktor's party originated. Then, reporting and legal proceedings against Viktor Laiskodat took place at that time.

### A. Textual

First, the vocabulary found in *Mediaindonesia.com* and *Republika.co.id* uses conflicting vocabulary to represent the main actors and events in the reporting of religious issues involving Viktor Laiskodat. The vocabulary used by *MediaIndonesia.com* generally uses vocabulary that tends to have a positive image in representing Viktor Laiskodat. This is indicated by vocabulary explaining, called offending, mentioning. The vocabulary used by *Republika.co.id* in representing the main actors of the news, namely 1) accused; 2) mention; 3) known to mention; 4) offend. Vocabulary number two is the same vocabulary used by *Mediaindonesi.com* and has a positive image. Vocabulary number three, which is known to call also has a positive image. Meanwhile, vocabulary number one and four have a negative image. So, in general *Republika.co.id* uses vocabulary that tends to have a negative image in representing Viktor Laiskodat.

In addition to the differences in vocabulary used to represent the main actors, differences in vocabulary to represent events were found at *Mediaindonesia.com* and *Republika.co.id*. *Mediaindonesia.com* uses political fact vocabulary, not provocation, no provocation, expressions of concern, forms of affirmation of commitment, internal speeches, controversial speeches, internal speech polemics, encouraging, edited, manipulated. *Mediaindonesia.com* uses vocabulary that tends to have a positive image in representing the events that happened to Viktor. The vocabulary used by *Mediaindonesia.com* indicates a media effort to protect and restore the good name of the main actor of the news, Viktor Laiskodat. In addition, after textual analysis, the content of the news on the religious issue concerning Viktor Laiskodat at *Mediaindonesia.com* was a clarification of the reports that portrayed Viktor Laiskodat negatively in other media.

Meanwhile, *Republika.co.id* uses libel, vocabulary, hate speech, hostile invitations, provocations, provocative speeches, dangerous, can be divisive. The vocabulary shows that *Republika.co.id* uses vocabulary that tends to have a negative image in representing the events that happened to Viktor. The vocabulary shows that *Republika.co.id* does not have a bias towards the main actor of the news, namely Viktor Laiskodat. Even so, it does not mean that *Republika.co.id* is independent of certain interests it wants to achieve. The results of the textual analysis that have been done show that *Republika.co.id* chose the point of view of the party that was referred to by Viktor as a supporter of the khilafah state, namely the Gerindra Party, the Democratic Party, PKS, and PAN. It also indicates the existence of *Republika.co.id*'s partiality in the four parties.

Second, the grammar used by *Mediaindonesia.com* and *Republika.co.id* also have differences. *Mediaindonesia.com* uses two forms of action. This is a transitive sentence structure (subject + verb + object). Providing a positive image of Viktor.

Mediaindonesia.com also uses four negative sentences in representing the main actors and news events. The negative sentence used also gives a positive image to Viktor in the absence of a no word. In addition, places are the main actors of the news, namely Viktor Laiskodat as a victim. This is a manifestation of manipulated, omitted, cut, and combined verbs. Meanwhile, *Republika.co.id* uses seven forms of action. This is a transitive sentence structure (subject + verb + object). The seven actions gave a negative image to Viktor. *Republika.co.id* also placed the main actor reporting, namely Viktor as the perpetrator. This is a sign of the success of verbs that call, accuse, and offend.

Third, the modalities found at *Mediaindonesia.com* and *Republika.co.id* also have differences. *Mediaindonesia.com* only uses two modalities, namely can and should. The use of the modalities found in *Mediaindonesia.com* shows the efforts of the media as well as resource persons as the channeling power to "protect" Viktor Laiskodat. For example, the use of modalities can be meaningful. The modality found in one of the news articles published by *Mediaindonesia.com* is attached to the context of the sentence which explains that chaos due to Viktor's video speech can be resolved by deliberation. The modality was realized by the Deputy Chairperson of the Nasdem Faction, Johnny G. Plate, who clearly had an alignment with Viktor who was the Chairperson of the Nasdem Faction.

Meanwhile, eight must modalities contained in *Republika.co.id*, five modalities including relational modalities while the other three modalities include expressive modalities. The use of the modalities contained in *Republika.co.id* shows that Viktor who is the main actor of the news as an actor who has accused the four parties, namely the Gerindra Party, Democratic Party, PKS, and PAN as supporting the khilafah state in Viktor's own understanding. In the modalities found, *Republika.co.id* was seen cornering Viktor Laiskodat. It also relates to the resource person who realizes those modalities. For example, the use of modalities must show obligations. One of the uses of modality should be attached to the context of the sentence which explains that Viktor should set a good example to the community.

Fourth, namely direct and indirect quotes. Based on the analysis of the data that has been carried out, it can be seen that in the four data studied, *Mediaindonesia.com* has utilized the use of direct quotes as much as sixteen and the use of indirect quotations of sixteen. Of the total direct quotations, thirteen of them are direct quotes from informants who favor Viktor Laiskodat and only three of them are direct quotes that are impartial or neutral. Furthermore, of the total indirect quotations, nine of them are indirect quotations from resource persons who favored Viktor Laiskodat and only four of them were impartial or neutral. Viktor's representation through direct and indirect quotations mostly contained the voice of the speaker who supported Viktor and did not corner him.

Meanwhile, from the four data examined, *Republika.co.id* has utilized the use of thirteen direct quotes and the use of sixteen indirect quotes. All of the direct and indirect quotations all favored the party which Viktor called the khilafah support party, namely Gerindra, PKS, PAN, and Democrats.

*Republika.co.id* takes the viewpoint from the side that Viktor refers to in his political speech which in this context is Gerindra, PKS, PAN, and Democrats.

### *B. Discursive Practice*

Based on the results of the discursive practice analysis to describe the ideological relationship in *Mediaindonesia.com* and *Republika.co.id* with the language aspects produced, the two online media have different ideologies. *Mediaindonesia.com* has alignments with Viktor. This partisanship is proven by the existence of vocabulary which gives a positive image in representing Viktor as the main actor and event. The grammar found at *Mediaindonesia.com* also provides a positive image in representing Viktor as the main actor and event. In addition, *Mediaindonesia.com* also places Viktor (the main actor) as a victim in the news. The modalities and quotations produced also showed partiality towards Viktor.

Meanwhile, *Republika.co.id* has no partiality to Viktor who is the main actor of the news. This is evidenced by the existence of vocabulary that gives a negative image in representing Viktor as the main actor and event. The grammar found on *Republika.co.id* also gives a negative image in representing Viktor as the main role and event. In addition, *Republika.co.id* also places Viktor (the main actor) as the actor in the news. The modalities produced and the excerpts published also do not show any support from *Republika.co.id* to Viktor.

### *C. Sociocultural Practice*

The situation or context that occurred during the reporting of religious issues involving Viktor was the issuance of Government Regulations in lieu of Mass Organizations (Perppu) Laws. In fact, the process of implementing Government Regulations Substituting Public Organizations (Perppu) Laws was accelerated by the government. This happened because the Government Regulation of Substitution of Laws (Perppu) of the CSOs was made by the government to dissolve the mass organizations which were considered to influence public opinion to replace the Republic of Indonesia which was based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution with the concept of khilafah.

Based on the data analysis and findings obtained, it turns out that there is a connection between Viktor's political speech in NTT, Viktor's accusation in his address to the Gerindra Party, Democratic Party, PKS, PAN, HTI mass organization dissolution (Hizbut-Tahrir Indonesia), and the enactment of a Government Regulation (Perppu) Ormas. Starting from the declaration of the Coordinating Minister for Politics, Law and Security who announced that he would dissolve HTI. Furthermore, the government plans to issue a Government Regulation in lieu of Mass Organizations (Perppu) Laws. Seven factions, namely PDI-P, Golkar, PKB, PPP, Nasdem, Hanura, and Democrats, accepted Government Regulation In lieu of Law (Perppu) No. 2 of 2017 concerning mass organizations to be passed into law at the Plenary Session. Meanwhile, the four parties referred to by Viktor as supporters of the Khilafah state were parties that rejected the perppu of the mass organization. Three factions that firmly rejected the Public Order Perppu to be accepted as Laws, namely Gerindra,

PKS, and PAN. Three other factions including the Democrats received the Ormas Perppu but with a note that the Organizational Perppu was revised after its enactment.

The connection between Viktor's accusations against Gerindra, PKS, PAN, and Democrats is related to the rejection of the four parties in the Public Order Perppu. From the analysis of the data and findings obtained, the researcher interpreted that Viktor considered the four parties as parties that were related to HTI. The rejection of the four parties was assessed by Viktor as an attempt to defend HTI. At that time, HTI was considered contrary to the objectives, principles and characteristics based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. This also made Viktor assume that the four parties were intolerant parties and supporters of the khilafah state (in Viktor's sense).

In addition, this situation or other context behind the reporting of religious issues concerning Viktor was triggered by the news of other religious issues. One religious issue that is very interesting to the public and even invites the public to take part in fighting for their interests, namely the case of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or Ahok. The case began when Ahok made a working visit to the Thousand Islands on Tuesday, September 27, 2016. Ahok stated that he did not force citizens to vote for him in the 2017 elections. The statement was accompanied by the mention of letter Al-Maidah verse 51 which received a public reaction. On October 6, 2016, Ahok's video calling Al-Maidah verse 51 was viral on social media via the Facebook network from Buni Yani's account. The video also sparked the anger of Muslims. Furthermore, Ahok was reported by Habib Chaidir Hasan's novel who was the scholar of the clergy. Ahok reportedly allegedly committed a criminal act of religious insult.

The Ahok case is one of the most phenomenal cases because Indonesian people from various regions unite in voicing their opinions. On November 4, 2016, masses from various regions packed a number of points in the capital city, Jakarta. The action demanded Ahok's legal process for alleged blasphemy immediately resolved. It also shows the public's concern for the religious issues that occur. The case of Ahok that has occurred in 2016-2017 has triggered Indonesian people to be more sensitive to religious issues that are occurring. Therefore, news on religious issues has its own appeal to the people of Indonesia.

Then, the institutional level looks at how organizational institutions influence the practice of discourse production. This institution can originate in the media itself, can also be external forces. One of the institutional factors that influence news is politics. The political situation that is closely related to the owners of the two online media also underlies the direction of *Mediaindonesia.com* and *Republika.co.id*. *Mediaindonesia.com*'s partiality towards Viktor Laiskodat occurred because of the connection between *Mediaindonesia.com*, Nasdem Party, and Viktor. Meanwhile, *Republika.co.id*, which does not have a stake in Viktor who is the main actor in reporting on religious issues, is due to the background of *Republika.co.id*. *Republika.co.id* is a website from *Republika* which is a mass media that was born by the Muslim community. *Republika* has a vision of Modern, Moderate, Muslim, Nationality and

Popularism. The main director of *Republika* is Erick, who is also the General Chairperson of the Indonesian Private Television Association (ATVSI) for the period 2010-2013. In reporting on religious issues concerning Viktor, it is not surprising that *Republika* as a media with an Islamic background is on the side of Islam. *Republika*'s partiality towards Islam, which was mentioned by Viktor in his speech, can be seen from the textual realization contained in the news.

Furthermore, social facts are very influential on the discourse that arises in Indonesia as a country with a Muslim majority. In fact, the results of a survey of Muslims in Indonesia, as many as 95.5 percent of respondents said religion played an important role in life. It also makes Muslims not stand still when there are parties who give a negative view of Islam even more so if it is conveyed in public with an intentional element. *Republika.co.id*, which is called the Islamic press, provides complete information regarding the religious issues that have aroused Viktor Laiskodat and takes the perspective of the parties that Viktor refers to as supporters of the Caliphate state. Meanwhile, the news on *Mediaindonesia.com* (the news used as data for this research), contains clarification on the video of Viktor's outstanding speech. Both online media have different interests.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the research and discussion conducted, researchers can draw conclusions from the results that have been obtained. *Mediaindonesia.com* and *Republika.co.id* have used the textual dimension in the form of vocabulary and grammar. Vocabulary, grammar, modalities, direct and indirect quotes are used by *Mediaindonesia.com* to represent the main actor, namely Viktor Laiskodat and reporting events with positive representation. Meanwhile, vocabulary, grammar, modalities, direct and indirect quotes are used by *Republika.co.id* to represent the main actors, namely Viktor Laiskodat and reporting events with negative representations

At the discursive level of practice, it can be seen that the ideological relations in *Mediaindonesia.com* and *Republika.co.id* with the aspects of language produced, these online media have different interests for Viktor as the main actor of the news. This alignment is proven by the use of vocabulary, grammar, modalities, direct and indirect quotations.

At the level of sociocultural practice, it is known that the issuance of Government Regulations Substituting Laws (Perppu) of Mass Organizations that were made by the government to dissolve mass organizations (in this context HTI) was considered to influence public opinion to replace the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution with the concept of khilafah. The four parties referred to by Viktor as supporters of the Khilafah state were parties that rejected the perppu of the mass organization. Then, the political situation that is closely related to the owners of the two online media also underlies the direction of *Mediaindonesia.com* and *Republika.co.id*. In addition, Indonesia, which is a Muslim-majority country, and the importance of religion in the lives of Indonesian people, also

underlies the news of [Mediaindonesia.com](http://mediaindonesia.com) and [Republika.co.id](http://republika.co.id).

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