# Critical Discourse Analysis: Exclusion and Inclusion on CNN Indonesia Online News of Agression on Ahmadiyah

### *Abstract*

*The use of critical discourse analysis in this study is due to the case of aggression on Ahmadiyah Lombok lately on 23ʳᵈ May 2018. As most online news media are neutral or at least supporting the government, the headline news published by CNN Indonesia for this case explicitly mentions that the police is not anticipative towards the attack as a means to stand for Ahmadiyah people. This shows that the government side is being marginalized in the article. Under this circumstance, the researchers are attracted to analyse the language strategy used by CNN Indonesia about Ahmadiyah case using exclusion and inclusion analysis by Theo van Leeuwen. The aim is to detect or investigate how the author of this article marginalize a particular partyand support another party in the discourse. The researchers found that both strategy of exclusion and inclusion are used, such as passivation and nominalisation, objectification, identification, and indeterminacy. Limitations in this study due to study factors that focus on only one text.*

Penggunaan analisis wacana kritis dalam penelitian ini adalah kasus agresi terhadap Ahmadiyah Lombok akhir-akhir ini pada 23 Mei 2018. Sebagian besar media berita online netral atau mendukung pemerintah, berita utama yang diterbitkan oleh CNN Indonesia untuk kasus ini secara eksplisit menyebutkan bahwa polisi tidak mengantisipasi serangan itu sebagai sarana untuk membela orang-orang Ahmadiyah. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa sisi pemerintah sedang terpinggirkan dalam artikel. Dalam keadaan ini, para peneliti tertarik untuk menganalisis strategi bahasa yang digunakan oleh CNN Indonesia tentang kasus Ahmadiyah menggunakan analisis eksklusi dan inklusi oleh Theo van Leeuwen. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mendeteksi atau menyelidiki bagaimana penulis artikel ini meminggirkan pihak tertentu dan mendukung pihak lain dalam wacana. Kami sebagai peneliti menemukan bahwa kedua strategi eksklusi dan inklusi digunakan, seperti passivasi dan nominalisasi, objektifikasi, identifikasi, dan lain-lain. Limitasi penelitian ini berdasarkan faktor penelitian yang fokus hanya pada satu teks.

**Kata kunci:** Inklusi dan Eksklusi, Analisis Wacana Kritis, Theo van Leeuwen, Media Berita

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**Background**

Online mass media is getting greater nowadays. More and more news sites are competing to produce the latest factual information to gain more readers. Mass media has an important role in the life of Indonesian. In this case, mass media is a bridge of information for the society. Mass media is also a source of information that can shape public views which always present a variety of information that is actual and widely consumed by the public. The presentation of a news is inseparable from the ideology of the media and the media reporter. The choice of words used by journalists in a news text is not solely because of a coincidence, but also shows how someone's meaning to facts or reality is based on ideology. The choice of words used to present the news shows certain attitudes and ideologies. Regarding the news provisions to be raised by the mass media, each media has a policy in presenting news editors. Many strategies are done by joure nalists, start from gaining information as much as possible until publishing the news using their perspective. Furthermore, the most fundamental strategy that can be observed from those published news is the language use. From their language, we can find out in what position the writer stand for who is being dominated in the article, or how certain side is being marginalized, and so on. To understand those aspects, we need critical discourse analysis and find the answer to those questions.

CNN Indonesia is one of the popular news sites in Indonesia that publishes national and international news since August 2015. On 23rd may 2018, CNN Indonesia published a case of Ahmadiyah who being attacked by unknown people in Lombok. The headline "*Penyerangan pada Ahmadiyah Cerminan Polisi Tak Antisipatif*" mentions explicitly that the police is not anticipative towards this case. It attract the researchers' case because no news sites other than CNN who blaming the police for the attack as a means of supporting Ahmadiyah itself who is one of the "Muslim Jamaah" founded by Mirza Guhulam Ahmad who was born in 1835 at a village of Qadian Punyab, India and was died in 1908. This group is considered to be perverted group therefore so many people or groups againts them. Under this circumstance, the researchers want to find out how language strategy is used by CNN Indonesia to stand for Ahmadiyah using critical discourse analysis of Theo Van Leeuwen's perspective.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is one kind of discourse analytical investigation that studies how inequality, dominance, and power abuse are upheld, published and resisted by text and talk in social and political context (Dijk, 1995). By discovering discursive conditions, CDA may work on the empowerment of the dominated. Some theories are found by critical discourse analysists such as Foucault, Althusser, Gramsci, Halliday, Sara Mills, T.A. Van Dijk, Theo van Leeuwen, etc. The present study attempts to analyse the news article from CNN Indonesia using the theory of Theo van Leeuwenn including exclusion and inclusion strategies.

Theo van Leeuwen specially mentions that language is a mirror of ideology, thus by studying language, ideology can be exposed (Andheska, 2015). He created an analysis model that investigates how actors are portrayedand how a social group which has no access is being marginalized in a discourse. According to Van Leeuwen, marginalisation can be seen from their existence in the discourse. It is done by excluding (exclusion) or including (inclusion) them to the topic being discussed (Eriyanto, 2001 cited in Andheska, 2015). In present study, the theory will be used to

reveal the strategy of presenting Ahmadiyah case on CNN Indonesia by analyse the whole text.

A study about Van Leeuwen theory on news article has been done by researchers such as Alfianika (2016) who analyses the inclusion on a crime news with the theme of theft in the newspapers Posmetro Padang edition May 2013. She finds out that five from seven existing categories of inclusion are used in the article, namely objectivity-abstraction, nomination-categorization, nomination-identification, assimilation-individualization, and association-dissociation. Moreover, Andheska (2015) also conducted a study of exclusion and inclusion on Harian Kompas news about how the passengerssitting on the roof of KRL are being marginalized in the discourse.

Overall, this study can contribute to both two levels of language use in news article; theoryand practice. Theoretically, this paper gives further understanding on how exclusion and inclusion are used in news article as a strategy of marginalisation. Practically, it helps the audience to recognize and understand domination on discourseand adds further references for the next researchers who conduct a study using critical discourse analysis.

1. Problem of the Study

Based on the background of the problemd above, the problem can be drawn as follows "What is the discourse strategy exclusion and inclusion in CNN Indonesia online news of agression on Ahmadiyah news on 23rd of may 2018?"

2. Objective of the Study

The aim to be obtained from this research is to find out the discourse on exclusion and inclusion in CNN Indonesia online news of agression on Ahmadiyah news on 23rd of may 2018.

**Methodology**

This research uses descriptive qualitative research design and uses documentation method with note-taking technique. The finding of this study is expected to include inclusion-exclusion strategies. It will be presented qualitatively, that is by using narrative description. The subject of this research is the latest news published on CNN Indonesia when this research is conducted. The researchers collect the news published in the news page CNN Indonesia from 19th may 2018 to 23rd may 2018, and found a news entitled "*Penyerangan pada Ahmadiyah Cerminan Polisi Tak Antisipatif*". The scope of this research is the sentences used on CNN Indonesia article with the title "*Penyerangan pada Ahmadiyah Cerminan Polisi Tak Antisipatif*".

Furthermore, the object of this study is exclusion-inclusion strategy by Theo van Leeuwen on CNN Indonesia media specifically from the article of the Ahmadiyyah Attack. The strategy includes passivation and nominalisation for exclusion, and objectification, identification, indeterminacy, as well as categorization for inclusion. Documentation method with note-taking technique is the most appropriate data collection method to use in this research. This is because the research data is in a form of written document that is posted in an online newspaper.

To collect the data, first, the researchers open CNN Indonesia news website and check the latest news in the site. Second, we read carefully every news that has been collected based on a predetermined time range. Careful reading of this data aims to determine whether or not the inclusion-exclusion strategy is contained in the news. Third, we do a note taking from the news that has been read into the list of the data. Then, we determine one news article that potentially contains exclusion-inclusion

strategy. Last, the researchers identify the sentences on the article based on the strategy.

Moreover, the researchers analyse the data with several steps. First we identify the discourse marker that is used based on the category of exclusion-inclusion, for example like noun, adjective, or passive sentence. Second, we highlight the discourse marker and analyse how the strategy works. Then, we discuss the data by passing two stages of data analysis in qualitative descriptive research, (1) data presentation, and (2) drawing explanation.

**Review of Related Literature**

*Exclusion*

Exclusion is one of the central issues in discourse analysis. Basically, it is a process of excluding certain group of people or social actors, so that they do not have to included in a discourse (Eriyanto 2001, cited in Andheska, 2015). This is usually done for particular purpose. It could be because the discourse maker wants to hide, or simply does not want to mention certain social actors in it. Therefore, readers need to be more critical on how those certain group of people are portrayed in the discourse, whether they are intentionally excluded or not.

In this study, there found two of three process of exclusion by Theo van Leeuwen. Those are passivation and nominalisation.

1. Passivation

Passivation is a strategy of turning a sentence into its passive form, so that the main actors or the suspects do not have to be put as a subject position. Instead, it is put in the last part of the sentence. In many cases, passivation is used to avoid readers focusing on who the suspects or main actors are, instead to the object or victim. It is one of the strategy to hide

certain group of people or social actors in a discourse. For example, a news article with the title "A Girl was Raped in Mawar Street Last Night" It can show that the article emphasizes on the discussion about the girl or the victim instead of the suspect(s) because it does not mention the suspect at all by doing passivation strategy.

2. Nominalisation

Basically, nominalisation is done by changing the verb in the discourse into a noun, so that the action can be the subject of the sentence. By so doing, the discourse maker does not need to mention the main social actor that should be the subject of sentence in the first place. For example, when the active sentence should be "A Bald Man Murders His Own Friend at National Museum", it can be nominalised into "A Murder of a Girl at National Museum is Shocking London". We can see that in the nominalisation, the bald man is excluded in the sentence and it is replaced by "a murder". This is also one strategy to hide the suspect or the subject of the active sentence.

*Inclusion*

There are several kinds of discourse inclusion strategies that are carried out when something, someone or group is displayed in the text. There are seven kinds of strategies, but we use four strategies that consist in the text.

1. Objectivation - Abstraction

This discourse element relates to the question whether information about an event or social actor is displayed by giving concrete clues or what is displayed is abstraction.

For example (objectivation):

Indonesia has hosted the Asian Games twice.

While the abstraction is:

Indonesia has hosted the Asian Games many times.

2. Nomination - Identification

This strategy is almost similar to categorization, namely how a certain group, event or action is defined. The difference in identification, the process of defining it is done by giving clauses as explaners. Here are two propositions, where the second proposition is an explanation or description of the first proposition.

3. Determination - Indetermination

In the news, often the actor or event is clearly stated, but often it is also unclear. This anonymity could be because journalists have not yet received sufficient evidence to write, so it is safer to write anonymously. It could also be due to structural fears that a clear category of a social actor is referred to in the text. Whatever the reason, there is a different impression when accepted by the audience.

Example (Identification):

The "A" official is involved in the B scandal.

Example (Determination):

A person close to the president is said to have been involved in the B scandal.

4. Nomination - Categorization

In a story about an actor or about a problem, there is often a choice whether the actor is displayed as he is, or what is called is the category of the social actor. This category can vary, which shows the important characteristics of a person, can be religion, status, physical form and so on.

Example (nomination):

The man wins the swimming championship.

Example (categorization):

The well-built man wins the swimming championship.

**Finding and Discussion**

*Exclusion*

Exclusion is a strategy of excluding or hiding the suspects that are involved in a discourse, either by changing the sentence into passive or nominal.

1. Passivation

There are two sentences that are found to be passivation.

> "…, delapan rumah yang dihuni 24 orang Jemaah dihancurkan oleh massa yang belum teridentifikasi oleh pihak kepolisian.

The use of passive form in this sentence is noted from the verb "dihancurkan" or being destroyed. While the subject is "delapan rumah yang dihuni 24 orang Jemaah" or eight houses which contain of 24 Jemaah people. In this sentence, the writer attempts to mention the suspect of the attack with a group of people that has not been identified by the police. The passivation is done because the journalist has not got much information of who the suspect is. When this happens, they will not put an "unidentified" suspect on the subject position because it will become the main focus of the readers. By creating a passive sentence like this, the readers will focus more on the attack of eight houses than the suspect itself.

> "..., justru Ahmadiyah **dizalimi** oleh oknum Islam mainstream," ujar Indria.

In that sentence, Ahmadiyah as the actor is mentioned in beginning of the clause and it is followed by mentioning the passive verb "dizalimi" which means being oppressed by "oknum Islam main-

stream". Indria uses passive form sentence and tries to mention the suspect by mentioning "mainstream Islamic party". However, the she does not openly mention who this party is. The passive sentence is used to make the readers focus on the first actor mentioned, in this case Ahmadiyah, without considering the suspect as an important actor. This passivation strategy is used to distract the readers' attention on who the specific suspect is. It could be because the speaker intentionally hides the party's identity, or because she does not get a clear information about it.

2. Nominalisation

There are two sentences found to be nominal that aim to erase particular actor. The strategy is done by changing the active verb into nominal.

> **Penyerangan** pada Ahmadiyah Cerminan Polisi Tak Antisipatif

The word "penyerangan" or an attack here is used as a subject in a form of noun. Instead of saying "(a group of people) attack Ahmadiyah", the writter prefers to change it into "an attack of Ahmadiyah" as a subject so that he/she does not need to mention the suspect. The focus of this sentence (as the title) is then no longer on who the suspect is, but on the police who are not competent enough to solve the case.

> **…penyerangan** ini merupakan usaha untuk mengusir seluruh jemaah Ahmadiyah dari Lombok Timur.

By changing the active verb "menyerang" into nominal "peyerangan", the sentences no longer need to mention any suspect behind the attack. The strategy is usually used when media does not intentionally want to mention the suspects. However, in this article, the author mostly uses nominalisation

because he/she does not have enough information of who the suspect behind the attack on Ahmadiyah is. By doing a nominalisation like this, the writer emphasizes the goal of the attack, which is to frighten all Ahmadiyah people away from East Lombok, instead of focusing on who the suspect is.

> …, aksi **penyerangan** terhadap Ahmadiyah merupakan bentuk intoleransi di Indonesia.

Another nominalisation also uses the word "penyerangan" or an attack. This time, it also does not mention who has done the attack. Instead, the nominalisation is used to focus on the cause of the attack itself. This is done to place the word "aksi penyerangan" or the attacking action as the subject and is followed by a statement that it is a form of intolerance in Indonesia. By so doing, the readers do not need to focus on who the suspect of the attack is.

### Inclusion

There found three kinds of inclusion that are used in the discourse. Those are objectification, identification, and indeterminacy.

1. Objectification

> Dalam rentang waktu **dua hari, delapan rumah** yang dihuni **24 orang Jemaah** dihancurkan oleh massa yang belum teridentifikasi oleh pihak kepolisian.

Objectification is used to answer whether the information given is concrete or not by providing some data consisting numbers. In this sentence, the writer mentions that the attack happens in two days, while eight houses consisting of 24 Ahmadiyah people are attacked. This strategy of mentioning numeric data is used to convince readers that the article is based on the fact and thus reliable.

2. Identification

> Dalam rentang waktu dua hari, dela-pan rumah yang dihuni 24 orang je-maah dihancurkan oleh **massa yang belum teridentifikasi** oleh pihak ke-polisian.

The additional information *yang be-lum teridentifikasi* is used to explain that the media has not find any information of the actors behind the attack on Ahmadi-yah.

> Indria mengatakan tindakan perseku-si terhadap Jemaah Ahmadiyah ini disebabkan oleh perbedaan akidah antara Ahmadiyah dengan **Islam yang berhaluan arus besar (main-stream).**

By identifying Islam as the main-stream, Indria tries to compare it with Ah-madiyah as a minority which is tortured. She uses this identification as a means to support equality towards Ahmadiyah.

3. Indeterminacy

> **Jurubicara Jemaah Ahmadiyah In-donesia (JAI) Yendra Budiana** me-ngatakan penyerangan ini merupa-kan usaha untuk mengusir seluruh jemaah Ahmadiyah dari Lombok Timur. **Kapolres Lombok Timur Ajun Komisaris Besar Eka Fathur Rahman** bahkan mengatakan aksi penyerangan ini terjadi setiap bulan.

> **Peneliti politik dari Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI) In-dria Samego** mengatakan pihak ke-polisian dan pemerintah kecolongan terhadap aksi penyerangan yang su-dah sering terjadi di daerah Lombok.

The use of indeterminacy is used to avoid being general by mentioning the actor as anonymous either because the media is lack of information or intention-ally does not include the actors. This can also be used to avoid being seen as bias to particular idea, thus when the readers

think this article supports one particular side, it is done because there are some people behind who also support it.

4. Categorization

> (1) Indria mengatakan Ahmadiyah adalah kaum minoritas yang tidak melakukan tindakan yang merugikan Indonesia.

In that sentence above, it can be said that Indria is categorizing Ahmadi-yah as minority people that has no power to againsts majority people, therefore In-dria said that Ahmadiyah is not harming Indonesia country.

> (2) Di sisi lain, pengamat politik asal Universitas Paramadina Hen-dri Satrio mengatakan agar kasus penyerangan tidak dikaitkan dengan tahun politik.

In that sentence, actually, the reporter is enough to say only 'pengamat politik' or 'Hendri Satrio' and not mentioning other addition words. However, in this case, the writer explains clearly who is Paramadina Hendri Satrio university and his job.

**Conclusion**

Based on the discussion it can be concluded that in a news text entitled "*Penyerangan pada Ahmadiyah Cerminan Polisi Tak Antisipatif* " contains imbalance social interests. News writer fight for a group of Ahmadiyya, while those who are marginalized is the police. The third description it is adjusted with Theo Van Leuween's analytical methods which is reviewed in two ways, namely the exclu-sion process (how the figure the offender is issued in the text) and inclusion process (how to figure Ahmadiyya is depicted in the text). The exclusion process there are only two parts, namely passivation and nominalization, inclusion process found there are four parts, namely uncertainty,

categorization, objectification, and identification. The research shows CNN Indonesia represents Ahmadiyyah and police.

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