

# A Critical Discourse Analysis on Republika Newspaper Coverage: The Case Study of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia's Disbandment Plan

Budi Santoso, Aceng Abdullah, Dian Wardiana Sjachro, Ani Maryani

**Abstract:** *Republika newspaper was meant to serve Indonesian Muslims, particularly mid-class, to get reliable information on the perspective of Islam. Republika was not the first Islamic media ever existed in Indonesia, its establishment like an oasis in the repressive policy of the New Order regime towards Islamic groups. However, it was also used as New Order's instrument to sow the idea of moderate Islam which unconditionally accept the state's ideology and constitution. It is evident that Indonesia is a fertile ground for many Islam mazhab to expand. Not only locals like Nahdlatul Ulama or Muhammadiyah, but also global Islamist networks such as Hizb ut-Tahrir. It means that Republika deals with multi-facet of Islam. On May 8, 2017, the Indonesian government announced the plan to disband Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia. The next day, Republika reported the event, put the news on page one as a banner headline. The coverage then continued within ten days until May 19 in the form of fourteen hard news, six of which were headlines, indicating the reality was newsworthy. Employing Fairclough's CDA model to examine the news articles, authors find out that Republika constructed the reality to their interests as a moderate Islamic newspaper by shifting the reality up to nationalism, as well as transnational and local Islam ideological matter which marginalizing the existence of HTI.*

**Index Terms:** *Keywords: Republika, Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia, Nationalism, Transnational, Local, Critical Discourse Analysis.*

## I. INTRODUCTION

The significance of the presence of mass media for real life is apparent. In some cases, mass media can shape public opinion and give influences political decisions. Above all, mass media (press) is also expected to play as a democratic institution which mainly supervises possible misconducts of the ruling regime [1]. However, like Robert M. Entman said that media, through framing, priming, and signing strategy, allegedly conducting biases [2]. Thus, it is relying on the critical assumption that mass media carries a particular bias in the process of constructing reality through the scheme of manipulating signs, texts, and symbols to be consumed by the public finally. Mass media is not only an instrument for delivering messages but also as an agenda-making tool.

**Revised Manuscript Received on 04 May 2019**

**Budi Santoso**, Communication Science Faculty, Padjadjaran University, Bandung, [budikopwil2@gmail.com](mailto:budikopwil2@gmail.com)

**Aceng Abdullah**, Communication Science Faculty, Padjadjaran University, Bandung

**Dian Wardiana Sjachro**, Communication Science Faculty, Padjadjaran University, Bandung

**Ani Maryani**, Communication Science Faculty, Padjadjaran University, Bandung.

George Gerbner even said that mass media has "the ability to create the society, explain problems, provide general references, and move attention and power" (in Littlejohn & Foss, 2009). Bennett (1986) said that mass media is a definer of social reality for its capability of interpreting realities and creating discourse in procedural mechanisms (in Lukmantoro, 2011). Media is not possible beyond social reality, but it is part of the social reality itself.

On critical perspective, mass media is a cultural industry that acts as an ideological state apparatus to relegate other groups through the politics of meaning, generating false consciousness [5]. Media and everything in it, including news submitted to society are not free of value and without interests. The news is the dialectic between phenomena that happens and the values that exist in the community, including the values and methods that are applied by the media and the press itself. Hence, when reporting events, mass media presents a variety of individual perspectives as the outputs of their interpretations of the reality which is based on various political and social point of views in depicting phenomena [6]. Thus, the media has the power to select and execute, for example, broadcast programs and news angles, including to determine how the reality is going to constructed and then be addressed to their segmented consumers. Here, news can be categorized as a socially situated text or talk [7].

Therefore, as a situated language product, the news is a discourse. It has constituted character which means that it is a social practice that can create a social sphere and at the same time its existence is created by other social practices. Fairclough itself defines discourse (discourse) in three different ways. According to him, discourse is (a) the use of language as a social practice. This is the most common/abstract meaning. (b) Languages used in specific fields, such as political discourse, religious discourse, and so on. (c) The way of speaking that gives meaning to experiences from a particular perspective, for example, gender, religion, or political discourse (cited in Munfarida, 2014: 6). Language has an exceptional position in human life. Without language, the patterns of human interaction and communication will not develop as we have witnessed today. The scope of language studies includes phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and discourse (Darma, 2009). As part of a language, discourse occupies the highest hierarchy because it contains other language elements, coupled with other elements, namely context (situation).



# A Critical Discourse Analysis on Republika Newspaper Coverage: The Case Study of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia's Disbandment Plan

This research, then, was built on the following reasons. First, the fact that events intersecting with ideological or political rivalry or religious-belief conflicts is newsworthy. Secondly, the news is not constructed in a vacuum situation of value. Sometimes the construction actor does not entirely have power over the reality he builds. It involves media ideology and interests. Thirdly, Indonesian media viewed the HTI's disbandment plan as a political and law-related event. HTI indeed promulgated the re-creation of a state system *Khilafah Islamiyah* (caliphate) which is based on Islam ideology. Fourthly, Republika newspaper (onwards written Republika) is the only national media known to be an Islamic newspaper. In some particular cases, its point of view on religious-connected events was indeed in favor of Islam.

Vivian (in Bajari, 2015) said that there is a need for studies that discuss the media in carrying out its functions. For example, the extent to which the media supports, shapes and maintains culture or otherwise destroys the social order. Besides, Vivian also emphasized that the relationship between the media and the government be mainly related to the concept of the fourth branch and watchdog rule, where the media had the power as outsiders to supervise how the wheels of government were rotated. Regarding methodological aspect, this research puts forward the in-depth, contextual, and multilevel study of discourse analysis that rests on a critical paradigm. That is why the research is concerned about the social, historical, cultural, religious, economic and political scope related to the news of HTI's disbandment.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Discourse is a form of dialectical social practices that construct the social world, identity, and relations [9] which relates to social structures. Social practice is not just a self-governing reflection of reality, yet it has interaction, and active relationship with reality even may change reality. Conversely, reality also influences and can change social practices [10]. The dialectical process that occurs between discourses as a social practice causing impacts on social structure and influence sustainability or social change.

Discourse has many definitions and is used broadly in analyzing literary and non-literary text (Mills, 1997). It can be interpreted as a language organization with a position above a sentence or clause, so it is in the form of linguistic units larger than sentences or clauses, which are transformed into an exchange of conversations and or written texts (Stubbs in Darma, 2009). Discourse can also be defined as a series of words or a series of speech acts that express a matter that is presented regularly, systematically, in a coherent whole, which is formed by segmental elements in the most critical discourse [12].

Text (news, articles); talk (speech, dialogue); act (film, demonstration); and artifacts (discourse in the form of landscapes, fashion, etcetera) are manifestations of discourse. Concerning the type of discourse, usage is divided into dialogue discourse and monologue discourse. The first relates to talking (talk), while the latter relates to writings. That way, the research that the author did is a monologue discourse because it is a news text that does not involve directed or designed conversations.

On the other hand, Critical Discourse Analysis (onwards written CDA) is a development of the method of discourse analysis where text or discourses are not only examined concerning grammatical structures but also emphasized on the constellation of social forces in the process of production and reproduction of meanings [13]. CDA starts from a critical tradition that perceives discourse as a struggle for power and social forces in society through the practice of language.

Wetherell (2001, cited in Haryatmoko, 2016) is measured CDA as the implementation of critical analysis of Marxist's thought to uncover manifested domination and exploitation wrapped in culture and ideology in a discourse where hegemony is created without having to use violence or other repressive actions. It means that how then the language is produced and reproduced by dominant groups to keep and protect its interests. Hence, CDA seeks to reveal how ideology is sown based on positive self-representation strategies and negative other-representation.

## III. RESEARCH OBJECT AND SUBJECT

The object of this research is the first headline news entitled "Pemerintah Akan Bubarkan HTI" (The Government Will Disband HTI) published on May 9, 2017. Meanwhile, the subject (key informants) is three professional journalists. In this paper, these three subjects were labeled "text producers."

**Table I.** News Summary

<b>Title</b>	<b>Pemerintah Akan Bubarkan HTI (The Government Will Disband HTI)</b>
<b>Sub-Title</b>	HTI menyatakan belum pernah menerima surat peringatan sekali pun dari pemerintah. (HTI stated that it had never received a warning letter from the government)
<b>News sources/ Participants</b>	Coordinating Minister of Politics, Legal, and Security Affairs Wiranto, HTI's spokesperson Ismail Yusanto, National Chief Police Tito Karnavian, Deputy of People's Consultative Assembly Hidayat Nur Wahid, Head of Muhammadiyah Haedar Nashir, Head of Nahdlatul Ulama M Sulton Fatoni.

**Table II.** Key Informants

Nur Hasan Murtiaji	Deputy editor-in-chief
Fitriyan Zamzami	Editor
Dessi Suciati Saputri	Reporter

## IV. METHODOLOGY

Authors employed Norman Fairclough's CDA method as the analyzing tool. This model is based on a three-level dimension that consists of textual, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice analyses. Fairclough's critical, critical discourse analysis seeks to link text analysis at the micro level with a broader social context [10].

Each has its measures which are utilized to analyze the news texts. Critical linguistics were applied to find out the relational dimension referred to *Republika's* news



production and distribution as well as the socio-political context that took place at the time the news was written. In-depth interviews with three key informants were conducted at different times. In the discussion section, key informants were labeled text producers.

Fairclough's model consists of three different analyses, namely, description, interpretation, and explanation. In the description, the text is analyzed to get the whole picture of the representations. The text is described without relating it to other aspects. The interpretation analysis is to associate the text with the process of text production. The last is the explanation that is intended to look for an explanation of the results of the interpretation previously carried out [13]. The description stage is carried out at the micro level, the interpretation stage at the meso level, and the explanation phase at the macro level.

These three stages then meet in the final translation so that we can see the overall ideology underlying behind the discourse, as shown on the table below.

#### Level of Analysis

Micro (News Text)	Meso (Discursive Practice)	Macro (Socio-Cultural Practice)
Aspects		
<b>Description</b>	<b>Interpretation</b>	<b>Explanation</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Representation</li> <li>• Relational</li> <li>• Identity</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Text Production</li> <li>• Text Consumption</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Situational</li> <li>• Institutional</li> <li>• Social</li> </ul>

## V. RESULTS AND FINDINGS

### A. Description (Text Analysis)

#### 1) Representation

The text below showed how the power of social groups becoming news participants was represented could be found in clauses and combinations of clauses. Text producers represented government decision to disband as a correct step. The decision to disband HTI was as a logical consequence that could happen to all mass organizations that were contrary to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. However, text producers also featured HTI as a group that had the opportunity to defend itself.

*1. Pemerintah Pusat melalui Kementerian Hukum dan HAM secara resmi menyatakan akan memproses pembubaran ormas Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). Terkait sikap pemerintah tersebut, pihak HTI menyatakan permintaan untuk berdialog terlebih dahulu. (paragraph 1)*

*(The Central Government through the Ministry of Law and Human Rights officially declared that they would process the disbandment of the Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) mass organization. Regarding the statement of the government, HTI stated a request to have a dialogue first.)*

The sentence structure showed that the government policy was as an action. The use of the word "declare" in two clauses confirms that Republika has been eager to convey what was intended by the participant. The government was represented as a doer while HTI was a victim. Even though in the second clause HTI was also displayed as a perpetrator, the use of

phrases stated indicated that HTI was in a non-dominant position.

From the entire contents of the news, Republika represented the reality of the plan to disband HTI as a step that should be taken by the government. In other sentences, Republika supported the government's decision. However, this support was not rigid. Republika also voiced its idea that the disbandment should be under consideration and should not violate the legal procedures as stated in the regulation Number 17 of 2013 on Mass Organizations.

The idea was also displayed by inserting the text of article 59 paragraph (4) of the regulation. The adverb "supposedly" means "should." This adverb was emphasizing the passive sentence used. The use of passive sentences did not mean that the text producers did not know the doer, but to highlight the object.

*2. Merujuk Undang-Undang Nomor 17/2013 tentang Organisasi Kemasyarakatan, sedianya ada sejumlah langkah yang harus dilakukan sebelum proses pembubaran di pengadilan. Diantaranya, pemerintah harus lebih dahulu mengirimkan surat peringatan sebanyak tiga kali. Syarat itu juga berlaku terhadap pelanggaran penyebaran asas tak sesuai Pancasila yang diatur Pasal 59 ayat (4) UU Ormas. (paragraph. 5)*

*(Referring to Law Number 17/2013 on Mass Organizations, there was supposedly some previous steps should be taken before the disbandment process in court. Among other things, the government ought to send a prior notice three times. This requirement also applies to violations of the principles not following the Pancasila which are in Article 59 paragraph (4) of the Mass Organization Law.)*

The text producers classified the government's effort to disband HTI as a law issue. Carrying out disbandment towards a legal mass organization could not be executed without procedures or legal mechanisms. The effort of the text producers to legitimize the opinion was by presenting prominent news sources, who were not directly involved. Hidayat Nur Wahid, a senior politician of Justice and Prosperous Party as well as deputy of People's Consultative Assembly and Haedar Nashir, Muhammadiyah chairman.

*3. Wakil Ketua MPR Hidayat Nur Wahid menekankan, pemerintah tak bisa membubarkan organisasi massa berbadan hukum tanpa melalui mekanisme hukum meski ormas itu bertentangan dengan Pancasila. "Harus melalui mekanisme peradilan. Karena kita adalah negara hukum, ya, ditegaskan..."(paragraph. 13)*

*(Deputy of the People's Consultative Assembly Hidayat Nur Wahid stressed that the government could not disband a legal mass organization without going through a legal mechanism even though the organization was against Pancasila. "It must go through a judicial mechanism. Because we are state law, ya, enforced ... ")*

*4. Ketua Umum PP Muhammadiyah Haedar Nashir menekankan, langkah pemerintah terhadap pembubaran HTI haruslah konstitusional berdasarkan prinsip hukum dan perundang-undangan yang berlaku. "Langkah tersebut harus berlaku umum terhadap*

## A Critical Discourse Analysis on Republika Newspaper Coverage: The Case Study of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia's Disbandment Plan

*gerakan apa pun yang berlawanan dengan dasar Pancasila dan UUD 1945, termasuk gerakan komunisme dan separatisme..."* (paragraph. 14)

*(Muhammadiyah Chairperson Haedar Nashir stressed that the government's steps towards the disbandment of HTI must be constitutionally based on regulation and legal principles. "This step must be applied generally to any movement that is contrary to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, including communism and separatism ...")*

Further, despite being constructed having less advantageous bargaining power, HTI was represented not merely accepting the government's decision. HTI was even displayed as a friendly group. This description showed how the text producers tried to represent HTI as an anti-violent group.

*5. Meski mengampanyekan Khilafah Islam terpadu sedunia, HTI tidak menggunakan cara-cara politik praktis ataupun aksi kekerasan. (paragraph. 11)*

*(Despite campaigning for a global Islamic Caliphate, HTI does not use practical politics or acts of violence.)*

Text producers also quoted another news source, M Sulton Fatoni, as the representation of the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia, *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU/ revival of Muslim scholars). In the news, Sulton Fatoni's opinion was put in the last paragraph. It was a purported discourse to strengthen Republika's opinion that government's decision to disband HTI was correct. So, Sulton Fatoni's statement was an amplifier.

*6. Ketua PB Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU) M Sulton Fatoni juga menyatakan, lembaganya mendukung langkah hukum pemerintah. "Kami mendukung pemerintah bersikap tegas pada organisasi atau kelompok yang menciderai atau mencoba untuk menggugurkan kesepakatan para leluhur kita atas bentuk negara Indonesia, siapa pun itu," ujarnya. (paragraph. 15)*

*(Chairperson of the PB Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU) M Sulton Faton also stated, his agency supports the government's legal measures. "We support the government to be firm on organizations or groups that harm or try to abort the agreement of our ancestors for the shape of the Indonesian state, whoever it is," he said.)*

Next, the text producers represented Islamic ideology and caliphate idea as a threat to the existence of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The text producers quoted National Police Chief Gen. Tito Karnavian and NU head HM Sulton Fatoni to strengthen the opinion as seen in the following news text fragment:

*7. Kapolri Jenderal Tito Karnavian mengatakan, upaya pembubaran oleh pemerintah diambil karena keberadaan HTI membahayakan NKRI. (paragraph. 12)*

*(National Police Chief Gen. Tito Karnavian said that the government's effort to disband HTI had been taken because its existence endangers the NKRI.)*

### 2) Relational

The results showed that the text producers representing each participant in different angles. The description of unequal relations between the Government and HTI was evident. The government was positioned predominantly as a ruling regime that should protect the interests of the nation and state. On the contrary, HTI was positioned as a

transnational Islamic organization with dangerous ideology and activities. HTI was also placed in an unfavorable position, had no high bargaining power, and begged to negotiate. The relation pattern was shown by the text producers in the construction of the following sentence.

*8. Wiranto menyampaikan, sebagai organisasi kemasyarakatan, HTI tidak melakukan peran positifnya dalam membangun bangsa. Selain itu, kegiatan HTI juga dinilai terindikasi bertentangan dengan Pancasila dan UUD 1945 serta membahayakan keutuhan NKRI. (paragraph. 3)*

*(Wiranto said, as a mass organization, HTI did not play a decisive role in building the nation. Also, HTI activities were indicated to be contrary to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution and endangered the integrity of the NKRI.)*

*9. Ismail berharap pemerintah mau terlebih dahulu berdialog dengan HTI sebelum mengambil keputusan pembubaran. (paragraph. 8)*

*(Ismail hopes that the government wants to have a dialogue with HTI before taking the decision.)*

The relationship constructed between government and non-government public participants was equivalent with the exception for the HTI. All participants agreed that the idea to reestablish caliphate was contrary to the state ideology and *Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia* (NKRI/ the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia). HTI was a common enemy. The difference was only in the choice of methods how to exterminate the enemy. Non-executive participants, Hidayat Nur Wahid, Haedar Nashir, and Sulton Fatoni were placed as the representations of social and political forces that were on par with the government.

### 3) Identity

The text producers identified themselves as part of the Indonesian people who adhered to the ideology of the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution and part of NKRI. Therefore, the product of the text did not elaborate further on the missionary activities and forms of the caliphate as believed by HTI. The text producer also did not explain further about the methods of HTI's anti-violence and non-political propaganda. Discussions related to caliphate were removed from the discussion.

The government was identified as a party that seeks to maintain the ideology and foundation of the country and the unity of the nation and held the authority and power to ban HTI and other organizations that were considered anti-Pancasila. The government was the dominant force that had the right to define whether ideology or group was dangerous.

Although the ideology of Islam and the form of the campaigned caliphate state were considered dangerous for the NKRI, the text producers identified HTI as a harmless group but not in a favorable legal and political position. HTI's spokesperson was identified as a participant who could do nothing but waited.

The central points of the three dimensions of the textual analysis can be seen in the table below:

**Table III:** Textual Analysis

Representation	Relational	Identity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>HTI is a threat.</li> <li>Caliphate is an outdated governmental system.</li> <li>State's ideology and the platform does not contradict Islam teachings.</li> <li>NU is the manifestation of local Islam.</li> <li>The disbandment should follow the legal procedure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The depiction of relations among news participants is unequal because it is dominated by state officials/government elites and local Islam elites.</li> <li>The disbandment of HTI is related to national interests</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The government is identified as the party who has the right to disband the nonconformist organizations.</li> <li>Local Islamic elites, in this case from NU, are identified as having authority in Islamic political aspects.</li> <li>HTI is identified as a political movement, not a da'wa group.</li> </ul>

**B. Interpretation Aspect (System of Production and Consumption)**

The critical study views the process of producing news as an ideological fight for a particular interest [15]. The fight then resulted in a news text that reflected the dominance of the ideas and interests of the group. The newsroom is a part of a larger social structure, consisting of a set of agencies and relationships between them. The structure in the newsroom having written or unwritten rules, habits, resources as well as the affiliation between media workers or human agents who interact in it. The system of production and consumption determine how reality will be constructed. What perspective will be highlighted. This aspect is also related to history and vision and mission, as well as the foundation of ideology and media politics.

Republika is a newspaper that takes the divine concept of *Rahmatan Lil 'alamin*, spreading benefits for all people. This can also mean that Republika pursues to operate in a diverse public space of Indonesianness. Currently, the tagline of Republika is *Inspiration for Change*. From this slogan, it is clear that this newspaper identifies itself as a newspaper that can inspire a better change. The deputy editor-in-chief said that Republika wants to convey the idea that Islam is not only capable of arousing social awareness that is in line with the wishes of the public, but also an openness to pluralism, democracy, and nationalism. This effort, according to him, is a method to attract the interest of Indonesian Muslim readers whose level of understanding of religion is very diverse.

Regarding the HTI case, the processes that occurred in the newsroom run as usual. However, field journalists were asked to interview prominent sources from religious organizations, namely NU and Muhammadiyah. From the results of the interviews with key informants, the reasons for choosing these two organizations were because NU and Muhammadiyah were the largest and most influential Islamic organization in Indonesia. Besides, the newsroom also asked

field journalist to interview a figure from Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS/ Prosperous and Justice Party). The party itself is the incarnation of the Tarbiyah Islamic movement whose ideology is in line with the Muslim Brotherhood.

The summary of this interpretation aspect is as follows:

**Table IV:** Discourse Practice Analysis

**Republika's News Production And Consumption Systems**

**News Production**

- Determination of themes, news sources, and news content through the editorial meeting mechanism.
- Field journalists were instructed to obtain information from prominent social agents related directly or indirectly to the disbandment of HTI.
- Concerning religious news sources, NU and Muhammadiyah were prioritized.

**News Consumption**

- News about HTI was intended for all kinds of potential readers but emphasized to Muslims.

**C. Explanation Aspect**

*1) Situational*

First, the reality of the HTI disbandment plan policy occurred when the domestic situation was less stable related to religious issues of Jakarta's governor election and the blasphemy case of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok). At that time, some massive demonstrations took place several times, demanding central government to put Ahok into jail. The reality then triggered other events, including the arrest of several religious leaders who were considered connected with the event and accused of being intolerant and spreading radicalism.

Secondly, the interpretation of the situational context which characterized the construction of the discourse on the disbandment plan of HTI in principle intersects with the discourse of diversity, intolerance, anti-radicalism, democracy, and national unity propagated by the government and mainstream media. We see this situation as a form of regime concern for an increasingly widespread revivalist Islamic group, especially among students and the urban middle class.

Thus, the news text was produced in the middle of the situation where the relationship between the government and some Islamic forces were not conducive. Apart from the pro-contra and polemic of understanding of radicalism and so on, the textual analysis showed that the news text was very relevant to the issue of anti-radicalism and strengthening of Pancasila, nationalism, democracy raised by the government.

*2) Institutional*

Republika was established to accommodate Indonesian Muslims for a media that represented them. Republika with its logic seeks to act elegantly through universal journalistic work, adhering to the principles of truth, smart, tolerant and professional. The existence of media is closely related to the participatory development process for social change. Newspapers have several vital functions including building people's cultural identity, as a means of expressing ideas and also a tool to identify community problems and to



## A Critical Discourse Analysis on Republika Newspaper Coverage: The Case Study of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia's Disbandment Plan

facilitate problems voicing. When referring to the above functions, Republika as a mass media by itself has become part of an essential instrument as an extension of the government to convey information to the public. Therefore, despite showing a reasonably strong Islamic identity, Republika is still categorized as "neutral media," in the sense that it does not explicitly take sides with any existing Islamic schools or groups.

The company that first overshadowed Republika was PT Abdi Bangsa in which ICMI owned the majority of its shares. After the New Order, ICMI's role increasingly receded, especially after BJ Habibie was "eliminated" from the main stage of the political stage. At the beginning of the Reformation, the national newspaper did not only compete with other big players but also local newspapers or magazines that proliferated. Newspaper companies such as Kompas and Jawa Pos then implemented business strategies through a network system, by buying regional newspapers and improving their management systems. In Sumatra, for example, regional newspapers owned by the Jawa Pos group spread from Aceh to Lampung. This condition is a serious concern from Republika so that in the end it began to provide unique local pages that continue to this day.

However, the strategy is not sufficient enough to improve the company's balance sheet. The year 2000 was the history of changes in the majority ownership of Republika's shares from ICMI to Mahaka Media. The multimedia holding company has initially been PT Abdi Bangsa which later turned into Mahaka Media.

### 3) Social

The process of production and consumption of discourse is influenced by cultural systems, communication systems and press, and economic-political systems that apply in a country. Eriyanto [16] writes that the applicable systems determine who is in power, what values are dominant, and how the values and groups in power influence and determine the content of media messages.

This construction was confirmed by the religious authority through the opinions of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah heads, and also Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Indonesian Ulama Council) figure who is also with NU background. NU and Muhammadiyah are Indonesia's biggest indigenous organizations with outstanding religious-political history [17]. Both accept Pancasila as a flawless and precise ideology to unify diversities concerning religion, culture, and so on. Even though they have significant differences in teachings and methods, their standpoint – as an institution – on transnational groups is similar. The Wahid Institute and Maarif Institute, named after former NU and Muhammadiyah chairmen, KH Abdurrahman Wahid and Syafi'i Maarif, ever collaborated in publishing a book about Islamic transnational expansion. Abdurrahman Wahid even wrote in the prologue that transnational groups were 'snakes in the grass' since they were not rooted in Indonesia particular traditions and might jeopardize existing religious practices, universal values, and pluralism [18].

**Table V: Socio-Cultural Practice**

Situational	Institutional	Social
-------------	---------------	--------

- |   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The unstable domestic political situation related to Jakarta's Governor election and the blasphemy case of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama aka Ahok</li> <li>• Tensions between the central government and Islamic groups regarding the issue of criminalization of ulemas</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Republika is based on national interests and guided by moderate Islam</li> <li>• Republika was founded by ICMI but is currently owned by Mahaka Media group, a media conglomerate.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• NU and Muhammadiyah mainly influence Indonesian Muslim ritual traditions, education, and political orientation</li> <li>• Nu and Muhammadiyah accept democracy and the format of the nation-state; Pancasila as state ideology and the form of the Republic of Indonesia is final</li> </ul> |
|---|--|---|

## VI. DISCUSSION

Before the banning, HTI was the most significant Southeast Asia's chapter of Hizb ut-Tahrir, an Islamist network that transnationally operates in more than forty countries [19]. Its primary purpose is to apply Sharia (Islamic legal code) which must be carried out in a borderless superstate called *Khilafah Islamiyah* (caliphate) [20]–[22]. Although Hizb ut-Tahrir never directly comprises in any terrorist acts, its existence and agenda are considered threatening by many ruling regimes, even in Muslim majority countries from the Middle East to South Asia. Some researchers, like Imtiaz Gul and Greg Fealy, even categorize it as a fundamental Islamist group for its ideology [23], [24].

Hence, from the results of the textual analysis, it appears that Republika used the words to relate itself to the interests of the local Islamic groups with an understanding of political Islam that is at odds with transnational Islamists, in this case, HTI. Republika shifted the issue of HTI disbandment plan concerning ideological battle discourse between local and transnational Islam and nationalism. In the author's view, this is caused by several factors:

First, Republika has identified its moderate Islamic identity to the hegemonic context of local Islamic that have so much influence in shaping the Indonesian socio-political practices as well as religious traditions. All key informants said that Republika considered NU as a powerful group. Moreover, the enormous numbers of NU and Muhammadiyah's follower is a considerable market share. Republika is now part of a national media mogul, Mahaka Media, and as such are driven by economic factor.

Thus, the economic and socio-political forces surrounding the media ecosystem can influence the output produced by the media. It is where a significant bias in the content



of the news can follow. The bias that befell the media according to Entman can occur in three things, namely news that is intentionally distorted or obscures reality (distortion bias); unbalanced coverage (content bias); or the motivation and wrong way of thinking of the journalist when looking at a reality (decision-making bias) [2]. When media coverage of the dissolution of HTI is associated with radicalism, intolerance, and threats to the state's basis, the possibility of bias arising is captured by the public as a truth, even though the facts are not like that. It may result in a mistake in public knowledge of the ideology and all of HTI activities.

Secondly, Republika frames its ideology on a nationalist ideology, where the prioritized interests should go along with nationalism and democracy which currently the foundation of the state system. The fact that HTI promulgated the borderless community system is unavoidably against Republika's fundamental base. Karl Marx and Jurgen Habermas ever said that ideological factors also influenced media work. In other words, the media is a place of ideological struggle where the dominant will always win. Therefore, the ideological-political ideas of Islam and the Islamic State which were consistently campaigned by HTI through structured da'wa strategies and methods are a form of contestation against the state power (status quo) based on Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, Democracy, and tolerance.

This corresponds to what was stated by Baran and Davis (2012) that the narrative of a movement often implies problems or contradictions with the status quo, with avoidance of partiality on the marginalized party. The demands of the community could be related, as well as the political-economic interests of the media itself. That is, the strategy of framing and use of language used by mass media is done in such a way as to avoid troubles. This is in line with what Hamad (2004) said that the pattern of mass media operations is determined by the political policies of the countries in which they operate, ranging from ownership, display of contents, to supervision.

Thirdly, Republika also has an ideological concern to attenuate transnational Islamists who refused to comply with Indonesian political system. HTI refused to involve in a democratic system. Democracy is a kuffar system that stands on capitalism and liberalism, things that must be rejected by Muslims.

## VII. CONCLUSION

As a construction agent, mass media is a strategic medium to construct social reality referring to various kinds of interests: political, economic, socio-cultural or religious. Related to the role of the media as ideological state apparatus, Republika constructed the government's plan to disband HTI as a natural reality. Nonetheless, it reflects the false reality of the dominant group, in this case, the government. Representation, relational, identity and intertextuality aspects are deliberately aimed at further to label HTI as a dangerous organization that should be disbanded, even though the organization has not been proven to commit any unlawful acts. In this case, Republika applied positive self-representation and negative other-representation strategy. Republika, then, linking the event with nationalism,

transnational vs. local Islam, and legal compliance discourse distorting information so that readers would not get the complete picture of the reality.

## REFERENCES

- [1] Voltmer K, Schmitt-Beck R. New Democracy without Citizens? Mass Media and Democratic Orientations-a four-Country Comparison. In: Voltmer K, editor. Mass Media and Political Communication in New Democracies. New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group; 2005. p. 199–214.
- [2] Entman RM. Framing bias: Media in the distribution of power. *J Commun.* 2007;57(1):163–73.
- [3] Littlejohn SW, Foss KA. Theories of Human Communication. 9th ed. Singapore: Cengage Learning; 2009.
- [4] Lukmanto T. LAPORAN PENELITIAN Wacana Ahmadiyah di Media Massa (Analisis Wacana Pemberitaan Harian. 2011.
- [5] Holmes D. Communication theory: Media, technology, society. *Communication Theory: Media, Technology, Society.* 2005. 1-256 p.
- [6] Sivandi Nasab Z, Dowlatabadi HR. A critical discourse analysis on newspapers: The case study of nuclear program of Iran. *Int J Res Stud Educ.* 2016;5(2):93–103.
- [7] Dijk TA Van. News, Discourse and Ideology. 2008;191–204.
- [8] Bajari A. Metode Penelitian Komunikasi: Prosedur, Tren, dan Etika. Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya; 2015.
- [9] Fairclough N. The Dialectics of Discourse. *Textus.* 2001;XIV(2):231–42.
- [10] Elya Munfarida. Analisis Wacana Kritis Dalam Perspektif Norman Fairclough. *KOMUNIKA J Dakwah dan Komun.* 2014;Vol 8(No 1):1–19.
- [11] Mills, S (1997) *Discourse* (Routledge NY. Mills, S (1997) *Discourse* (Routledge, New York). 1997;1–22.
- [12] Darma YA. Analisis wacana kritis. Bandung: Yrama Widya; 2009. 240 p.
- [13] Eriyanto. analisis wacana pengantar analisis teks media. 2005.
- [14] Haryatmoko. Critical Discourse Analysis: Landasan Teori, Metodologi, dan Penerapan. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers; 2016.
- [15] Mahdi A. BERITA SEBAGAI REPRESENTASI IDEOLOGI MEDIA ( Sebuah Telaah Kritis ) Acan Mahdi. 2004;
- [16] Eriyanto. Analisis Wacana: Pengantar Analisis Teks Media. Yogyakarta: LKiS Pelangi Aksara; 2005.
- [17] Bruinessen M Van. Indonesia's Ulama and Politics : Caught Between Legitimising the Status Quo And Searching for Alternatives. *Indones Indic.* 1990;49(49):52–69.
- [18] Wahid A, editor. *Ilusi Negara Islam: Ekspansi Gerakan Islam Transnasional di Indonesia. Gerakan Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, the Wahid Institute, Maarif Institute; 2009.*
- [19] Ahmed H, Hannah S. *Hizb ut-tahrir Ideology and Strategy.* 2009.
- [20] Ikhani N. The economic-political concept of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia: reflection on the early Islamic thoughts. *Indones J Islam Muslim Soc.* 2014;4(1):105–134.
- [21] Ward K. Australian Journal of International Non-violent extremists ? *Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia.* 2009;(December 2014):37–41.
- [22] Karagiannis E. EBSCOhost: Political Islam and Social Movement Theory: The Case of Hizb ut-Tahrir in K... 2005;33(2).
- [23] Gul I. Transnational Islamic networks. *Int Rev Red Cross.* 2010;92(880):899–923.
- [24] Fealy G. *Southeast Asian Aff.* 2004;(2004):104–21.
- [25] Baran S, Davis DK. Mass communication theory. *Media Stud Institutions, Theor Issues.* 2012;
- [26] Hamad I. *Konstruksi Realitas Politik dalam Media Massa: Sebuah Studi Critical Discourse Analysis terhadap Berita-berita Politik.* Jakarta: Granit; 2004.