A Critical Discourse Analysis of News Construction on Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia's Disbandment

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Abstract

This study uses van Dijk's version of Critical Discourse Analysis perspective to examine the news construction of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia's disbandment in two online newspapers. The two online newspapers used in this study are the Jakarta Post and Jakarta Globe. From the analysis, it shows us that based on textual analysis, the government and HTI are portrayed as two opposing parties. The government is described as ruling regime having authority to maintain national interests that is Pancasila as well as national unity, diversity, and security, while HTI is described as the organization against national interest. Thus, the disbandment of HTI is a correct step to defend national interests. This is in accordance with the developing discourse in society that the existence of HTI is considered to endanger Pancasila. Furthermore, this research reveals that the history, vision and mission, previous experience and the political interest of special political elites in media have had decisive influence in transforming reality into news texts.

Keywords: News, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, Critical Discourse Analysis, the Jakarta Post, Jakarta Globe

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Every attempt to tell a certain event, condition, thing, et cetera is actually an attempt to construct reality (Sobur, 2015, p. 88). For example, a student activist who tells about his condition after coming back from participating in a demonstration at MPR/ DPR building is basically constructing the reality of his own condition. The same is true for journalistic profession. When a journalist writes news about a car accident, he/she is basically constructing the reality of the car accident.

As stated by Lau (2012), the concept of construction is "a process-oriented approach". Lau mentions that the concept of construction focuses on how and why in the process of discursive contention, a certain discourse is able to achieve hegemony in news. However, the reality constructed does not accord with the underlying reality because it has become hegemonic that exerts real effects that will make people take the hegemonic discourse as true and act accordingly. News construction of social reality is a form of reproduction of the dominant forces and ideologies in society (van Dijk, 1988, p. 13). Journalists operate within a net, which is a strategic organizational device to draw upon news sources as effectively as possible. Therefore, in constructing news, media often take part to influence and possibly change the readers' view of their surroundings (Mazumder, 2018). Media can be partisan by claiming the goodness of one party and denying the ideas of other parties (Baum & Groeling, 2008). Related to this, van Dijk, (1998, p. 267) proposed a special term called 'ideological square' which is a strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. Ideological square consists of four main moves: (1) emphasize the goodness about us; (2) deemphasize the badness about us; (3) emphasize the badness about them; and (4) deemphasize the badness about them. Consuming

news from partisan media is able to direct the readers' emotions toward a specific heading

(Hasell & Weeks, 2016). As a partisan, media are functioned as political or ideological tool. The

news covered by partisan media may emphasize, ignore, or criticize a certain political events,

actors, or events according to the media's interests (Shultziner & Stukalin, 2019). For instance,

the stronger partisanship identity that media hold can intrude on news decisions. A similar story

can be differently covered due to the influences of the partisan media.

The first influence, according to Shultziner & Stukalin (2019), is direct control of

editorial decisions. Editor-in-chief usually has the final decision about the news contents. The

second influence is the institutional partisan influence circle around the chief editor and his

representatives. The third is the influence of journalists' self-censorship and self-orientation

toward a specific issue. As a result, what Coronel (2003) stated in her study seems reasonable

that the media are hobbled by monopolistic ownership.

In a democratic state, the role of mass media is quite fundamental. According to Santoso,

Abdullah, Sjuchro & Maryani (2019) there are three points of significance of the presence of

mass media in real life. The first one is to shape public opinion. The second one is to give

influences in political decisions and the last one is to play as a democratic institution to watch

over the ruling regime. They have also written that mass media are instruments for agenda-

making tools. Media apply some values that influence the way they write news. News framing

cannot be separated from internal factors, such as media ownership and other factors, such as

ideology and profit or income, so that news published by mass media in society is not free from

interests.

News is a text which contains many discourses that gives information about recent events

(van Dijk1988, p. 4). News is a construction of social reality with some forms of dominant forces

and ideologies in society (van Dijk, 1988, p. 13). Furthermore, van Dijk states that news is not signified as a picture of reality, but it is a frame through which the social world is typically constructed. Therefore, in constructing news, media often take part to influence and possibly change the readers' view of their surroundings (Mazumder, 2018). Besides, Eriyanto has mentioned that news is the product of interaction and dialectic process so that the reality existing in news is a subjective reality (2009, p. 17). Through the dialectical process, journalists construct social reality. In transferring reality into news, media use language as the basic instrument. The use of certain words, sentences and styles in news is not seen merely as a way of communicating. Rather, it is seen as political communication, which is a way to influence public opinion, gain legitimacy and support, and to get rid of opponents (van Dijk, p. 1992).

There are several effects of news construction to the readers. One of them is that the readers cannot distinguish between media-constructed reality and objective reality (Sobur, 2015, p. 87). It gives the implication that media have the power to construct news in order to influence readers' perception toward what is considered important by presenting or deleting certain information. The process of news construction involves complex forms of text processing as well as the cognitive strategies that underlie the newswriting processes. It can be monitored which information is addressed and how that information is transformed into the structures and the contents of the final news report (van Dijk, 1988, p. 180). Generally, news portrays trending events (Kairam, Morris, Teevan, Liebling & Dumais, 2013) to offer actuality to the readers. News also has specific structures as compared to other types of discourse.

The disbandment of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (hereafter, HTI) becomes one of the controversial issues in Indonesia. As the local chapter of international Hizbut Tahrir movement, HTI has political orientation towards the reestablishment of Islamic caliphate. Its aim to

reestablish Islamic caliphate is the major source of criticism from moderate Islamic organizations in Indonesia (Munabari, 2010, p. 175). The concept of Islamic caliphate is considered as antithetical to the nature of Indonesia which is a unitary nation-state. On May 8, 2017 Wiranto issued a statement stating that Joko Widodo administration would start legal proceedings to declare HTI as a prohibited organization (Arifianto, 2017). HTI's activities were indicated as contrasted with Indonesian ideology and constitution. Moreover, HTI's activities were also considered as a threat to Indonesian unity and stability (Aswar, 2018).

On July 10, 2017 President Joko Widodo signed on the regulation in lieu of law (Perppu) No. 2/ 2017 that revises previous law on Mass Organization Number 17 Year 2013. Perppu No. 2/ 2017 having several amendments that overcome the previous law. One of them is that it has removed all due process in sanction procedures by removing the court's role to review the process before the sanction is applied by the government (Taufik, 2018). HTI's legal status has officially been revoked by the government on July 19, 2017. The government through Wiranto gave several reasons for disbanding HTI. Firstly, it is believed that the existence of HTI gives no contribution to national development and gives no support to the country to achieve national interests (Burhani, 2017). Secondly, HTI's activities are against the state's ideology, Pancasila, and the constitution of Indonesia. Thus, HTI and its caliphate vision are considered to bring nightmare for the future of Indonesia (Aswar, 2018). As the reaction to the revocation of its legal status, HTI filed a lawsuit to the Jakarta State Administrative Court (PTUN) on October 13, 2017. However, in May 2018, PTUN rejected HTI's lawsuit that simultaneously emphasized HTI as a banned organization.

The government's decision to disband HTI brought controversies and divided Indonesia into pro and con camps (Taufik, 2018) considering that Indonesia is democratic country that

embraces rights and freedom of the individual as the fundamental basis. Taufik mentions if the

pro camp considered that the disbandment of HTI is for the sake to maintain Pancasila and

national unity. Conversely, the con camp considered that the disbandment of HTI violates

freedom of assembly as guaranteed in the constitution. Moreover, the disbandment of HTI is also

seen as an arbitrary move taken by the government.

There is a lot of information related to the disbandment of HTI. For example, when the

keyword of "pembubaran HTI" (HTI's disbandment) was inserted on Google search site, there

were 252,000 results per November 8, 2019 increased up to 309,000 per December 3, 2019

reached 310,000 results per December 5, 2019, and showed the number of 312,000 per

December 6, 2019. It can be implied that even though HTI's legal status has officially been

revoked in 2017, the information related to HTI's disbandment is still being talked nowadays so

that it remains stimulating to discuss (Santoso & Sjuchro, 2019). As a result, media also actively

report HTI's disbandment in the form of news.

Recent studies conducted by some scholars, including Burhan (2017) and Santoso et al.

(2019), have analyzed how the disbandment of HTI is portrayed in news. Burhan (2017) focused

on how the participants involved in HTI's disbandment were portrayed in Liputan6.com. His

analysis uses critical discourse analysis as proposed by Theo Van Leeuwen and found that there

are some non-neutrality tendencies on how the participants involved in HTI's disbandment were

portrayed in the headline. The government is constrcuted as a party that strictly rejects the

existence of HTI. The final result of his research discovers that Liputan6.com was seen to take

side with the government by meaning that Liputan6.com supported the government's decision to

disband HTI. By using Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis method, Santoso et al.

(2019) found that Republika constructed the reality of HTI's disbandment to their interest as a

moderate Islamic newspaper by shifting the reality up to nationalism. As a result, the existence

of HTI in Republika was marginalized so that HTI was considered as a dangerous organization

that should be disbanded. Their analysis is the basis of understanding of how media have the

power to construct and even shift a reality according to their interest. However, none of the

studies focuses on the schema of the news about HTI's disbandment. It is also probable that the

news schema is shaped by the media's interest as well.

This study offers a new perspective to view the news construction of HTI's disbandment

in two online newspapers; the Jakarta Post and Jakarta Globe. The news are analyzed by

adopting socio-cognitive approach proposed by van Dijk. Van Dijk's version of critical discourse

analysis is chosen with consideration of the completeness elements in analyzing the structure of

news. In a detailed analysis, this study seeks to find out the textual structures of news and a

description of the production processes of news discourse. It attempts to find the correlation how

the news about HTI's disbandment is constructed and why the news is constructed in such a way.

This study argues that different newspapers have different strategy to construct a reality. There

are six news texts analyzed in this study, which consist of three news texts from each newspaper.

The news texts chosen are published during the process of the disbandment of HTI starting from

July 2017 when the government issued a regulation until May when HTI's plea was rejected by

the Jakarta State Administrative Court (PTUN).

Methods

This research was conducted as a qualitative research with naturalism paradigm. It uses

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the approach. As a branch of Linguistics, CDA links

between text and society. It is a type of discourse analytical research addressing social problems.

In analyzing the data, this research conducted an inductive analysis. Inductive analysis was done

by observing and classifying the texts as the data into categories and then displaying them in the

form of matriculation so that the cultural context could be obtained by simultaneously

interpreting the patterns, categories, theories, and supporting data. Besides, this research also

embodies descriptive characteristics because it describes the characteristics of the phenomenon

being discussed. In this case, it describes the news construction of HTI's disbandment. The

scheme of the news and how the issue related to HTI's disbandment is constructed in the news

are described based on van Dijk's theory. Thus, by using qualitative and descriptive method, the

news construction of HTI's disbandment can be revealed.

The source of data in this research consists of three news texts from each newspaper or

six news texts in total. All of the news texts cover the issue about the disbandment of HTI to find

out how the reality is constructed in news published by the Jakarta Post and Jakarta Globe. This

research analyses both primary and secondary data. The primary data refer to the data directly

obtained from the location that are the six news texts talking about the disbandment of HTI,

while the secondary data are the data from previous researches and were used to support the data

in this research.

The data were analyzed by following the three dimensions of van Dijk's CDA approach.

The three dimensions are Text, Social Cognition, and Social Context. Text dimension is the

component of textual analysis, while Social Cognition and Social Context are the components of

contextual analysis (van Dijk, 1988, p. 176). The more detailed steps of the analysis are:

1. Making identification table for the six news texts based on van Dijk's components of textual

   analysis

2. Identifying the news text based on textual analysis

Textual analysis is the analysis related to the text dimension consisting of macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure. The questions used to analyze the text based on van Dijk's text dimension are as follows:

a. Macrostructure

What is the theme or the topic of the news?

b. Superstructure

How is the scheme of the news?

c. Microstructure

- Semantic

What kind of meaning is intended to emphasize in the news?

- Syntactic

How is the role of word order in news?

- Stylistic

Are there any specific words that signal attitudes and hence ideologies of the newspaper?

- Rhetoric

How and in what way the intended effect of communication is conveyed?

3. Making classification table based on the use of certain discourse elements in each news text

4. Interpreting and explaining the textual analysis that is used by the Jakarta Post and Jakarta Globe to construct news about HTI's disbandment

5. Identifying the contextual analysis

Context analysis is the analysis outside of text that involves the cognitive and social factors and conditions of such textual structure (van Dijk, 1988, p. 176). The questions in this analysis are:

a. Social Cognition

What strategies are involved in the news production process?

b. Social Context

How is a certain discourse developed, produced, and constructed by society?

6. Interpreting and explaining the contextual analysis that influence the way the Jakarta Post and Jakarta Globe constructed the news about HTI's disbandment

7. Drawing conclusion.

Result

1. Textual analysis

a. Macrostructure

The first focus of the discussion is the theme or the topic of the news in both the Jakarta Post and Jakarta Globe. To find out the theme of the text, van Dijk proposed the term "macrostructure" which is defined as the global meaning of a text (van Dijk, 1988, p. 28). It analyzes the topic or theme to construct the general meaning of the text. As mentioned by van Dijk (1988, p. 35), topic plays a crucial role to grasp what the text is about globally and to define what subjectively the most important information of the text is. Topic of news may be routinely expressed and signaled in headlines.

The Jakarta Post and Jakarta Globe similarly include two participants in the headline to show and affirm that there are two opposing parties in the country; the government elites and HTI. Besides, all of the headlines use active voice that puts the government in subject position

while HTI is always put in object position. As the subject, the government is portrayed as the

agent that processes the disbandment of HTI. For example, *"Jokowi signs regulation banning*

Hizbut Tahrir", "Gov't officially disbands Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia". The use of predicates such

as "signs" and "disbands" implies that the government elites has authority to conduct the process

of the disbandment. Thus, from the topic, both the Jakarta Post and Jakarta Globe want to convey

that the government is the ruling regime having the authority to process the disbandment of an

organization, in this case is HTI.

  b. Superstructure

  It is needed to find out the scheme or the hierarchy of the news. This analysis fills the gap

of the previous researches on news construction of HTI's disbandment. The schema of news

determines how the topic of a discourse should be ordered. There are several elements of news

schema, including main event, verbal reaction, background information, consequence, context,

and comment. According to Zhang, Pan & Zhang (2014), it is necessary to conclude the general

feature of news discourse. It is supposed that there is a news schema to organize news report.

Furthermore, Zhang et al. (2014) stated that different news stations will have different

characteristics in writing styles. One station may emphasize the role of comment and other news

stations may emphasize the role of background information while reporting an event.

  The Jakarta Post and Jakarta Globe pay attention to different categories. Based on the

analysis, the Jakarta Post focuses on the category of main event while Jakarta Globe focuses on

the verbal reaction. Main event organizes information about the actual event which is aised in

the news text. By focusing on the main event, the Jakarta Post straightly reports the important

information to make the readers relatively easy to remember what the text is generally about (van

Dijk, 1988, p. 24).

On the contrary, Jakarta Globe focuses on the verbal reaction. Verbal reaction according to van Dijk (1991, p. 120) allows journalists to control information and also allows them to safely voice interpretations and opinions about the events, without the need to venture subjective and controversial personal evaluation. The selection of speakers in verbal reaction need not to be objective (van Dijk, 1988, p. 56). Thus, media are able to subjectively choose whose voice will be presented in the news.

This study then analyzes the verbal reaction in both newspapers in order to find if there are differences related to the speakers presented in the news. To make it easier, the table below will show the result of the analysis.

Table 1

The voices projected in the newspapers

Verbal Reaction	The Jakarta Post (%)	Jakarta Globe (%)
Government	67	33
HTI	0	33
Others	33	33

As revealed in the table above, there is a vast difference on how the voice of two opposing parties, the government and HTI, is projected in the Jakarta Post and Jakarta Globe. The Jakarta Post, as can be seen, cites mostly the voice from the government with 67% and there is no voice from HTI. It gives implication that the Jakarta Post directed the readers' perception to see HTI's disbandment from the perspective of the government (Eissa, 2015).One of the impacts of silencing HTI's voice is that HTI cannot express its ideas or claims related to its disbandment and it results in conveying a message that HTI's voices are not important or not worth

mentioning at all (Eissa 2015; Shojaei, Youssefi & Hosseini, 2013). By projecting the government elites' voice without giving voice of HTI, the Jakarta Post is seen to direct the readers to see the issue of HTI's disbandment based on the government's comments.

c.   Microstructure

Several sentences in the Jakarta Post and Jakarta Globe mainly lead the readers to have assumption that the disbandment of HTI is intended to defend Pancasila as well as to maintain national unity, national diversity, and national security. The following sentences are the examples:

1. *The announcement (to ban HTI) came a week after President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo signed a government regulation in lieu of law, or Perppu, that expands the powers of Justice Ministry to dismantle mass organizations deemed threats to national security and unity*

2. *The government has disbanded Muslim hard-line group Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) for conducting activities that contradict state ideology Pancasila and the principle of a unitary state of the republic of Indonesia.*

The examples above show that HTI is a mass organization "*deemed threats to national security and unity*". Besides, the activities and the vision of HTI are described as contradictory with the principle of a unitary state and the values of Pancasila. Therefore, the readers can assume that HTI is disbanded to maintain national security, unity, and the values of Pancasila which is diversity and pluralism. Further, HTI's activities, aims, and visions are the reasons for its own disbandment. It is shown by the causal relationship in sentences. The examples are:

1. *The government has disbanded Muslim hard-line group Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) **for** conducting activities that contradict state ideology Pancasila and the principle of a unitary state of the republic of Indonesia.*

2. *The judicial panel led by Tri Cahya Indra Permana said it had rejected the HTI's petition*
    because *the group's activities went against the Pancasila state ideology.*

There is a causal relationship in the examples above. It implies that the Jakarta Post and

Jakarta Globe have tried to show that the reason of HTI's disbandment is the organization's

stance against Pancasila. The causal link is explicitly signaled by the use of 'for' and 'because'

(van Dijk, 1988, p. 104). From the use of 'for' and 'because', it can be assumed that the cause of

the problem is the organization itself. The government, in this sense, is portrayed as the party

trying to maintain national unity and Pancasila. Thus, it brings the assumption that HTI is banned

for the sake of maintaining national unity and Pancasila.

In terms of label, there is an interesting thing to be discussed. Van Dijk (as cited in Eissa,

2015) has discussed the term *'lexicalization'* which gives names or labels *"to the semantic*

content of social actors and their actions". Lexicalization gives news actors certain identities

rather than others. The selection of labels is the most effective means to inject personal or

institutional opinions into the news text while writing the same events (van Dijk, 1988, p. 118).

The labels chosen are powerful strategy to shape readers' perception of news actors and to

construct semantic representations and models in the memory (Fang, 2001). The gist of labelling

indicates two things. The first one is people or groups that behave normally and the second one is

people or groups that behave not normally depending on how other people give assessment

(Islam & Syueb, 2017). By analyzing the labels given to HTI, it can be seen how the Jakarta Post

and Jakarta Globe give names or identities to HTI.

The Jakarta Post tends to give neutral rather than negative labels to HTI. On the contrary,

Jakarta Globe mostly uses negative labels toward HTI. Further analysis has revealed that labels

given to HTI by Jakarta Globe are more variable than the Jakarta Post. The negative label given

by the Jakarta Post to HTI is only found once in text 2, which is *"Muslim hard-line group"*. It shows that the Jakarta Post tends to avoid giving negative identities to HTI and prefers to show that HTI is a normal social group in society. The examples are:

1. *If the HTI is eventually dissolved, it would be the first **Islamic organization** to be banned in the period following the downfall of the New Order authoritarian regime in 1998.*

2. *The Perppu has sparked concerns over potential violations of the right to assemble as it grants the government the power to disband **mass groups** without due process.*

3. *A Jakarta State Administrative Court (PTUN) judicial panel has rejected on Monday the petition **Muslim group** Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) filed to challenge the government's instruction to revoke the HTI's legal entity status and disband the organization.*

Meanwhile, Jakarta Globe tends to give negative labels to HTI. The negative labels given to HTI are more varied. The examples can be seen below.

1. *This week's new Perppu is expected to end legal uncertainties over that process and to help the government tackle similar **extremist groups** in the future.*

2. *The government officially disbanded the **hardline Islamic group** Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia for threatening national unity and the Pancasila state ideology, a senior level official at the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights said on Wednesday (19/07).*

3. *The existing law is not sufficient enough to prevent the spread of **radical ideologies** that contradict Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution,*

The example above shows that HTI is labeled as *"extremist"*, *"hardline"*, and *"radical"*. Those labels are not normal (Wijsen, 2013) and have already had negative stigma in the society. There is an on-going rhetoric about Islamic 'radicalism' and 'extremism' both locally and globally that 'extremist Muslims' are said to have committed crimes such as burning pork and

bombing hotels (Wijsen, 2013). The use of such labels aims to make the readers believe that HTI is engaged in negative actions (Khoirunisa & Indah, 2017). Furthermore, Jakarta Globe also associates HTI with "cancer cell" as in the sentence, *"It is like a cancer cell, the rate of spreading is so rapid, so proper and prompt treatment is required, including through the legal approach,"*

"It" in the previous example refers to *"the spread of hardline Islamist groups in the country"*. As mentioned earlier, Jakarta Globe labels HTI as "hardliners". Thus, the example sentence above also refers to HTI. The spread of HTI is negatively portrayed as a "cancer cell". The readers may not be aware how dangerous the spread of HTI is, but by representing it to the cancer cell, they can assume that the danger is as severe as cancer cells.

2. Social Cognition analysis

The backgrounds of each media, the Jakarta Post and Jakarta Globe, influence the way they write news related to HTI's disbandment. In the superstructure analysis section, it has been mentioned that the news scheme of the Jakarta Post focuses on the main event that informs important information of the events. As Azmi (2012) stated that the Jakarta Post has credibility as a "straightforward" newspaper that puts important information first. This study reveals that the Jakarta Post has tried to uphold its credibility as a straightforward newspaper by focusing to report the main event.

On the other hand, Jakarta Globe focuses on the verbal reaction. Moreover, the verbal reaction in Jakarta Globe is cited from the voice of the government and HTI with the same percentage. It is due to Jakarta Globe's primary aim to bring "objective" news in which objective refers to an act of covering both voices. In the news about HTI's disbandment, Jakarta Globe

projects the voices from two opposing parties, the government and HTI, to uphold its aim to bring objective and reliable news and information. Even though the verbal reactions from the government and HTI are contradictory to each other and Jakarta Globe may not agree with the opinions expressed but at least they are included in the news as a strategy to show objectivity in Jakarta Globe's attitudes (Fang, 2001).

The use of labels from both media to HTI is also influenced by their backgrounds. Endy M. Bayuni in his interview with CRCS UGM and UCAN Indonesia stated that the Jakarta Post would not do judgment by giving negative labels to any groups, resulting in the controls of their coverage over religion. In this case, it is about Islam, more specifically a fundamental Islamic group, HTI (Santoso et al., 2019). However, besides the editorial policy, the Jakarta Post's previous experience of being accused to have '*Islamophobia*' is also seen as the factor why the Jakarta Post named HTI in neutral labels (van Dijk, 1988, p. 118). The moment when the Jakarta Post was accused to have *Islamophobia* is considered as the factor behind the newspaper's being more careful in reporting news related to religion, especially Islam, to dismiss the notion that the Jakarta Post has *Islamophobia*. The Jakarta Post avoids giving negative labels toward HTI because a label is a powerful strategy to shape readers' perception of news actors. By avoiding giving negative labels toward HTI, the Jakarta Post also avoids giving negative judgement to HTI.

However, Jakarta Globe identifies HTI ia a more negative portrayal. Jakarta Globe tends to use various negative labels to HTI such as *"radical"*, *"hardliner"*, *"anti-Pancasila"*, and *"extremist"*. Additionally, the metaphor of *"cancer cell"* is also used by Jakarta Globe to depict HTI. It is due the political affiliation of its management staffs declaring that they support the government to disband HTI. The negative labels used by Jakarta Globe are effectively used to

construct prejudice, stereotype, and other negative presentations over HTI. By giving negative labels toward HTI, Jakarta Globe has tried to strengthen their support as well as to gain support from the readers. As a result, HTI's image is brought into negative perception as those labels are closely related to crimes (Wijsen, 2013).

3. Social Context Analysis

HTI's aim to reestablish Islamic caliphate has spread in the social community. Several media bring this issue to be published in their YouTube channels. Media Indonesia (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R3BL6i1yQhM) states that HTI is proven to promote and to enforce another ideology than Pancasila, which is caliphate.

"Menurut hakim, pembubaran HTI oleh pemerintah sah karena dalam undang-undang disebutkan bahwa ormas dapat dibubarkan salah satunya apabila berupaya mengganti ideologi Pancasila. Dalam kasus ini, HTI terbukti mempromosikan dan berusaha menegakkan ideologi lain, yakni paham khilafah."

(According to the judge, the disbandment of HTI by the government is legal because it isstated in the law that mass organizations can be disbanded if they attempt to replace Pancasila. In this case, HTI was proven to promote and tried to establish another ideology (than Pancasila), that is caliphate).

Moreover, KompasTV (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L0_KrS-3bgU) mentions that, *"Inti pembubaran adalah terkait dasar organisasi yang tak sesuai prinsip dasar Negara yang menjadi ideologi, yakni Pancasila."* (The main point of HTI's disbandment is that HTI's basic principles are not in line with the basic principle of the country's ideology which is Pancasila.)

Official NET News (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-rwFsumCuUw) states that

"Pemerintah menilai aktivitas HTI bertentangan dengan ideologi Pancasila dan mengancam

keutuhan Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia. Pemerintah tegaskan pembubaran berdasarkan

bukti serta fakta dan tidak bermuatan politik." (The government considered that HTI's activities

are contradictory to the ideology of Pancasila and threaten the integrity of Indonesia. The

government emphasized that the disbandment of HTI is based on strong evidence and facts, and

it is not politically charged).

It can be seen that media such as Media Indonesia, KompasTV, and Official NET News

have similarly depicted HTI as contradictory to Pancasila and the concept of NKRI. From the

depiction of HTI in those media, it can be assumed that the image of HTI as contradictory to

Pancasila has developed in the social community because the information given to society by

those media states so.

In addition, there are some responses given to the disbandment of HTI. Response from

citizens toward the disbandment of HTI is published by BeritaSatu

(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PCM3JDYJUgA). The responses are as follows:

1. Cahyo:

   Setuju sekali, Pak. Karena kita kan rakyat kecil perlu ketenangan ya pak, ya. Kalau dengan

   adanya kisruh sana-sini sana-sini kan kayanya kita kerja juga kurang nyaman. Pro kontra

   selalu ada, Pak. Tetapi saya salut dengan pemerintah (karena) berani.

   "I agree (with the disbandment of HTI). We, common people, need peace. Chaos that occurs

   makes our work disrupted. Pros and cons (related to the disbandment of HTI) are always

   there, but I appreciate the government for taking a courageous decision."

2. Komang:

"Sebaiknya mungkin mereka mengadakan pendekatan lebih diplomatis dengan para ormas

ini. Mungkin saja mereka yang awalnya berpaham Khilafah mungkin bisa mengikuti paham

Pancasila."

"The government needs to make diplomatic approaches with mass organizations. It may give

result that the mass organizations having aim to establish Islamic caliphate may turn their

view into Pancasila."

3. Yosef:

"Saya setuju kalau organisasi yang melanggar atau lari dari jalur Pancasila sebaiknya

dibubarkan saja."

"I agree with the disbandment of organization that contradicts Pancasila."

The responses above emphasize that HTI contradicts Pancasila because of its vision to

establish Islamic caliphate. This also confirms that research using van Dijk's model believes that

in writing news, journalists tend follow a certain developing discourses in society because

journalists live and participate in implementing and reproducing the discourse in daily live

(Anggoro & Amin, 2018; Prawitasari & Pitana, 2017). In this case, the Jakarta Post' and Jakarta

Globe's journalists similarly follow the developing discourse in society that HTI's vision to

establish Islamic caliphate is contradictory to Pancasila.

Conclusion

This discussion has shown that the Jakarta Post and Jakarta Globe similarly portray HTI

as contradictory toPancasila, so that the disbandment of HTI is seen as a correct step to defend

Pancasila as well as to maintain national unity, diversity, and security. The similar portrayal of

HTI's disbandment in both newspapers is in line with the developing discourse in the society that HTI's vision endangers Pancasila. Furthermore, the government is depicted in a more favorable position as a brave party.

Even though the disbandment of HTI is similarly portrayed as a correct step, the Jakarta Post and Jakarta Globe apply different strategies in constructing the news depending on their background. First, the Jakarta Post focuses on reporting the main event. The news schema of the Jakarta Post related to HTI's disbandment focuses on the main event in which the main event straightly gets to the important information. In this study, the main event is about: when and how HTI is disbanded, and who could have done the disbandment. This is in line with the credibility of the Jakarta Post as a "straightforward" newspaper. That is why the news schema of the Jakarta Post focuses on reporting the main event itself, which includes the important information.

Second, there is no any verbal reaction coming from HTI in the Jakarta Post. Even though verbal reaction is not the highest category of superstructure in the Jakarta Post, the projection of verbal reaction is interesting to study. The verbal reaction in the Jakarta Post is dominated by the government's voice. As the opposition of the government, HTI has no voice in the Jakarta Post. It directs the readers' perception to see HTI's disbandment based on the government's point of view. The domination of the government's voice then makes sense considering that the Jakarta Post has declared its support toward Jokowi – JK government through its editorial entitled "endorsing Jokowi".

Third, the Jakarta Post tends to identify HTI as a normal organization. The neutral labels are given by the Jakarta Post to HTI in order to show that HTI is a normal organization within the society. By giving neutral labels to HTI, the Jakarta Post intends to uphold its mission not to judge and not to give negative labels toward any organization. Besides, the Jakarta Post was once

accused of having Islamophobia for publishing caricature that is seen as insulting Islam. As a result, the Jakarta Post tries to avoid giving negative labels toward HTI to dismiss the notion that it has Islamophobia.

The following is the news construction of HTI's disbandment in Jakarta Globe. It simultaneously gives comparison of the news construction in the Jakarta Post and Jakarta Globe. Jakarta Globe focuses on reporting verbal reactions. The verbal reactions in Jakarta Globe come from several parties starting from the government, HTI, representatives of moderate Islamic groups, and representatives of rights activists. The interesting thing is that the voice from the government and HTI has similar percentage meaning that Jakarta Globe tried to provide comments from two opposing parties even though their voices are contradictory to each other. The voices from two opposing parties are included due to Jakarta Globe's aims to bring objective and reliable news and information. Even though the verbal reactions from the government and HTI are in opposition to each other and Jakarta Globe may not agree with the opinions expressed but at least they are included in the news as a strategy to show objectivity in Jakarta Globe's attitudes.

The other thing is that Jakarta Globe tends to give negative labels to HTI. There are various negative labels given to HTI such as "hardliner", "anti-Pancasila", "radical", and "extremist". Moreover, HTI is also associated with "cancer cell". The identities attributed to HTI by Jakarta Globe have had negative meaning in the society. The use of various negative labels toward HTI in Jakarta Globe makes sense considering that the management staffs of Jakarta Globe belong to political party, in which the political party supports HTI's disbandment. There are some people in its management that at the same time occupy certain positions in political parties. It is found that those political parties highly support the decision to disband HTI. Jakarta

Globe then uses frequent negative labels, such as "anti-Pancasila", "extremist", and "radical" to crate negative image of HTI and to gain support from society if HTI is dangerous. Eventually, this research emphasizes that similar reality can be differently constructed in the form of news due to the influence of media's interests.

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