

News Representation Of 212 Reunion on The *Harian Republika*, *Jawa Pos*, *Rakyat Merdeka*, and *Kompas*

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Abstract

The language in the mass media has different backgrounds and ideologies to lead public opinion in framing the news discourse. Language in this context has been formed by an ideology background that carries a certain charge of power in reporting the 212-movement action reunion. This lead researcher interested to examine the representation of the 212-reunion news in the *Republika*, *Jawa Pos*, *Rakyat Merdeka*, and *Kompas*. The purpose of this study is to describe the textual dimensions, interpret discursive practices, and explain the sociocultural dimensions of reporting on the *Harian Republika*, *Jawa Pos*, *Rakyat Merdeka*, and *Kompas* in the construction of 212 reunion representations. This research used descriptive qualitative and Fairclough Discourse Analysis theoretical approach in identifying and analyzing the data. Based on data analysis, the following results were obtained. First, the 212-action reunion is represented positively and negatively. The procedure of this representation can be seen from the vocabulary, grammatical, and textual structures used by the *Harian Republika*, *Jawa Pos*, *Rakyat Merdeka*, and *Kompas*. Second, the positive and negative representations are determined by the discourse practices of the four-mass media, such as supporting, rejecting, or leading public opinion as desired by the mass media. Third, the socio-culture of media coverage of the 212-action reunion is influenced by media institutions, the media economy, political institutions, and sociocultural processes that develop in society.

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INTRODUCTION

Journalistic activities rely heavily on language as a medium. Language is also not just a communication tool to describe reality, but also a certain representation or image to be conveyed to the public (Poentarie, 2015). Discourse in mass media constructs the meaning of social phenomena/realities. Meaning is constructed in language through a system of representation. The process of constructing meaning cannot be separated from the ideological role of the mass media. Ideology is used for ruling mass ideas so that they can be accepted by the whole society as natural and natural (Fiske, 1990). Ideology plays a role in displaying messages and the reality of the construction results looks like real and true.

As one of the mass media, printed media is a medium for conveying information that has benefits and is related to the interests of the people in front of written style. Discourse in media is used as a persuasive source to present materials to sharpen and construct public perceptions of a particular issue. Discourse is also a very important factor in the spread of certain cultures and stereotypes in society (Kuwandari, 2017).

One of the news that is often raised in the print media is about political news. Politics is an interesting topic to be discussed from various sides, for example the form of ideology, power, interests, or negative stereotypes are often depicted from the emergence of policy products. Political coverage in the mass media represents a meaning that is in agreement with the ideology of the mass media, including the news regarding the 212 action reunion at Monas Jakarta on Sunday, December 2, 2018.

The news of the 212 action reunion was chosen because that was one of the major events that has become the focus of the public for the millions of people who gathered at Monas. The issue of the 212 reunion leads to issues of politicization, the number of participants, and reporting in the mass media. These three aspects are interrelated. The issue of politicization arose because one of the presidential candidates was present at the event. The issue of the number of participants is discussed because it is considered

as a representation of electability. The issue of news coverage in the mass media has become a hot topic because the coverage of the 212 action reunion is different in each media.

Various media in Indonesia which highlight the 212 reunion event have different points of view in reporting the news. That perspective ultimately determines what facts are taken, which parts are highlighted and omitted, and which will be brought to the direction of the presenter's ideology. Journalists decide what to report, what to cover and what to discard, what to highlight and what to hide from the public (Eriyanto, 2002).

There was a big debate on how to write the news on the 212 action reunion in the mass media. The representations displayed in each media aim to shape public opinion to match the views of the mass media. Journalists as news gatherers are believed to not only present what is, but also constructed the news in agreement with the ideology and purpose of action of the media. Language can change public opinion on issues. Language in this context is interpreted as something that is not neutral and been formed by an ideology that carries a certain charge of power (Badara, 2012).

Differences in the formation of news discourse on the 212 reunion are found in *Republika*, *Jawa Pos*, *Rakyat Merdeka*, and *Kompas* as data sources adapted to the needs of data variations and indications of different ideologies in each of these mass media. The news discourse was then analyzed using the Norman Fairclough Critical Discourse Analysis (AWK) approach.

The problems revealed in this study include the textual dimensions, discursive practice, and the sociocultural dimensions of reporting on the *Harian Republika*, *Jawa Pos*, *Rakyat Merdeka*, and *Kompas* in the formation of 212 reunion representations. The aims of this research are to describe the textual dimensions, interpret discursive practices, and explain the sociocultural dimension of reporting in the *Republika*, *Jawa Pos*, *Rakyat Merdeka*, and *Kompas* newspapers in the formation of 212 reunion representations.

Sighted this problem, it is important to know more about the meaning of the representation of the 212 reunion in the mass media to analyze the purpose of representation, a critical discourse analysis approach is needed through the stages of analysis of description, interpretation, and explanation to reveal the text of the news produced and the social practices carried out by the mass media.

There were several researches used a critical discourse analysis approach Dianastiti & Mardikontoro (2016), in their research mentions that the vocabulary aspect has the intention to emphasize and obscure the real meaning. In addition, the construction of each news tends to be firm and shows the attitude of the media towards each phenomenon. The reason for constructing news discourse in such a way is influenced by situational, institutional, and social aspects.

Rahmania & Rustono (2013), examines the representation of education policy in the dimensions of discursive practice in national and regional newspapers. Rahmania & Rustono's results show that education policies are represented positively and negatively. The representation is determined by the mass media's discursive practices, such as refusing, supporting, or leading public opinion as the media wants.

Based on some of these research studies, it appears that previous studies still apply Critical Discourse Analysis CDA segmentally. In addition, the research entitled "Representation of Reunion 212 in Harian Republika, Jawa Pos, Rakyat Merdeka, and Kompas" is a new study, because previously no one has studied the object of this research by using the study of Critical Discourse Analysis by Norman Fairclough's model. For this reason, this research was conducted to complement various existing studies according to current principles and scientific development, especially in critical analysis research using the Norman Fairclough model.

METHODS

The approach used in this research includes a methodological and theoretical approach. The methodological approach used in this research is descriptive qualitative with a theoretical approach to Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

The research design used is Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis model. The CDA of Norman Fairclough mapped the object of research into three things, there are (a) text, (b) discourse practice, and (c) sociocultural practice (Fairclough, 1995). The data source used is the discourse on the 212 reunion news in the newspapers Harian Republika, Jawa Pos, Rakyat Merdeka, and Kompas editions 1 – 10 December 2018.

The method used is observation method. The techniques used in the listening method include free listening, conversation, and notes. The data analysis method was carried out in agreement with Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis model, namely (a) text analysis, (b) discursive practice, and (c) sociocultural practice. First, the text is analyzed linguistically, by looking at vocabulary, grammar, and textual structure. Second, the practice of discourse is carried out by analyzing the processes of production, distribution, and consumption of texts. Third, sociocultural practice is analyzed using three levels, namely (a) situational, (b) institutional, and (c) social.

At the analysis stage, a description, interpretation, and explanation are carried out on the discourse that is the source of the data and at the description stage, the content and analysis are described descriptively on the text. The interpretation stage, which is interpreting the text associated with the practice of discourse. Furthermore, the explanation stage is carried out by correlating the production, distribution, and consumption of texts with sociocultural practices that develop in society.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the results of data collection from the Harian Republika, Jawa Pos, Rakyat Merdeka, and Kompas for ten sequential days, a

total of 35 news discourses about the 212 reunion were obtained. The details of the data consist of, (a) Harian Republika 14 discourses, Jawa Pos as many as 7 discourses, Rakyat Merdeka as many as 12 discourses, and Kompas as many as 2 discourses.

The results of the research presented follow the stages of Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, including (a) textual dimensions, (b) discourse practice, and sociocultural.

Textual Dimension

Analysis of the textual dimensions in the perspective of Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis includes the description of vocabulary, grammar, and textual structure. Regarding the vocabulary aspect, there are several aspects of vocabulary that lead to the formation of positive and negative representations of reunion 212.

The positive feelings of the 212 reunion were built by the journalists of the Harian Republika using vocabulary, sentence structure, and several times conjunctions were used in the discourse. The core information conveyed in the news contains the realization of peace in the 212 reunion brotherhood as presented in the following data.

(1) Reuni 212 *Damai*

Peserta diharapkan menjaga kedamaian dan persatuan Indonesia selepas aksi.

JAKARTA – Meski berhasil mendatangkan massa yang memenuhi Lapangan Monumen Nasional (Monas) dan jalan-jalan protokol di Jakarta Pusat, aksi Reuni 212 pada Ahad (2/12) berjalan dengan damai dan khidmat. Aksi tersebut diharapkan bisa mengautkan ukhuwah umat Islam pada tahun politik ini. (Republika, 3 Desember 2018)

In the data (1) the news text entitled Reuni 212 Damai (212 Peaceful Reunion) in Harian Republika contains the word damai equivalent with peace which has a semantic relationship with the word safe or harmonious. The word peace based on word class has the form and meaning of the noun which means there is no

chaos and anarchism, and the adjective is peaceful or calm. In some relationships, peace can refer generally to the absence of distractions or temptations or a state of calm.

The word damai is always parallel to the word indah which equivalent with beautiful, as the wise expression that we often hear 'peace is beautiful' is a message of human values that opposes destruction in an unjustified way. The concept of peace carries a positive connotation for the audience and readers who read the news.

In addition to the word damai, journalists also use the vocabulary of persatuan (unity), khidmat (respect), silaturahmi (friendship), and ukhuwah (brotherhood) to support and describe the 212 reunion as good image of Islam.

The word khidmat (respect) is a form of situation that does not ignore something, pay close attention, respect it and focus on the purpose. Khidmat in the context of worship is a form or way of a person in relation to his God. Khidmat in the context of the state is defined as an obligation for every citizen. The attitude of Khidmat in society is an attitude of mutual respect with politeness and courtesy as the custom and the century, so it is hoped that a harmonious society will be created.

There are modalities bisa (can) that can be combined into a phrase bisa menguatkan ukhuwah (can strengthen ukhuwah). The modality can represent that journalists focus information on the hope of creating ukhuwah or peaceful Muslim unity. The positive representation of the 212 reunion action was built by completing the modality with the adjective ukhuwah.

The Harian Rakyat Merdeka also represents the 212 reunion through positive feelings vocabulary which is shown in the following news;

(2) Sementara itu, anggota Badan Komunikasi Partai Gerindra Andre Rosiade menegaskan reuni 212 merupakan silaturahmi aksi dua tahun sebelumnya. "Berikah saja ruang kepada umat untuk berekspresi," tuturnya. Andre mengingatkan, aksi 212 pada 2016 berjalan damai. Karena itu, dia optimistis aksi hari ini tidak akan kalah damai. "Ini

silaturahmi umat Islam. Memperkuat ukhuwah Islamiyah. Rundown acaranya jelas. Ada salat Subuh berjamaah, lalu tablig akbar, doa bersama, bahkan ada hiburan,” jelasnya. (Jawa Pos, 2 Desember 2018)

Data (2) above, journalists use the vocabulary of silaturahmi (friendship), damai (peace), ukhuwah (brotherhood), berjamaah (congregation), tablig akbar, prayer together to show the condition of the atmosphere for the 212 action reunion. The use of repetition of the word silaturahmi (friendship) has the equivalent meaning of brotherhood which is used to emphasize information that the presence of participants The 212 reunion is based on the aim of tying the ties of brotherhood among Muslims. In addition, the repetition of the word peace represents journalists to provide a positive representation of the 212 reunion.

The use of temporal conjunctions sementara itu (while) at the beginning of a sentence to explain the time relationship of two things that are different events. Temporary conjunctions function as a way to describe the chronology of a situation or event, so that the sentence is easy to understand.

Quotation clause “Berikah saja ruang kepada umat untuk berekspresi” which equivalent with “Just give the people space to express themselves” to complete the direct quote from Andre Rosiade, the sentence used by journalists represents that journalists agree and support the 212 reunion, which is a gathering place for the people to express themselves, as in the previous two years, which went peacefully. This gives a positive representation of the 212 reunion.

The core information of the 212 Reunion which is packaged in the theme of ummah, nationality, and humanity, was conveyed by the Deputy Coordinator of the 212 Reunion Steering Committee, as presented in the following data.

(3) Fenomena aksi damai Reuni 212 sejatinya dijadikan fakta untuk dunia bahwa Islam Indonesia itu ramah, tertib, toleran, koeksisten, dan kompak. Islam yang damai. Islam yang beradab. Realitas aksi Monas menjadi fenomena yang harus dijadikan

pelajaran oleh manusia di seluruh dunia bahwa Islam Indonesia bukan ancaman melainkan teman. Kita bisa dan siap berkolaborasi dengan siapa saja untuk menata dunia yang cinta damai. Jangan lagi ada yang mengotori. (Rakyat Merdeka, 3 Desember 2018)

The use of repetition of the word Islam combined with the phrases Indonesian Islam, Islam yang damai (peaceful Islam), Islam yang beradab (civilized Islam) is used to emphasize the information that the existence of Islam in the 212 reunion is not a threat. Journalists want to show their ideology and identity by placing and identifying themselves as part of the group (Suharyo, 2015).

Phrases fakta untuk dunia (facts for the world) and the use of conjunctions bahwa (that) are used to express elaboration relationships. Conjunctions bahwa (that) function to connect two elements, one of which is an explanatory element for the other elements. In the excerpt the discourse explicitly leads to the formation of a positive representation of the 212 reunion action.

There is a modality harus (must) makes attention to the 212 reunion at Monas as a global fact of the peaceful and orderly existence of Islam in Indonesia. The association's language style jangan lagi ada yang mengotori (no longer dirty), which is used by journalists to represent Islam which is friendly, orderly, tolerant, co-existent, and compact so that it does not be damaged, disturbed and judged negatively by making Islam a threat. Instead, it makes the phenomenon of the 212 action a reality of a peaceful love union.

In addition, a positive representation of the 212 action was built by Kompas and Republika newspapers using the language association strategy used by journalists in the following discourse.

(4) JAKARTA, KOMPAS — Peserta Reuni Akbar Persaudaan Alumni 212, Minggu (2/12/2018), begaikan lautan manusia memenuhi kawasan Monas dan sekitarnya. Selain berlangsung tertib, kondusif, dan damai, aksi itu pun berlangsung sesuai rencana semula, sebagai forum silaturahmi. (Kompas, 3 Desember 2018)

- (5) Menjelang tengah hari, *massa yang menyemuti* Monas dan sekitarnya mulai membubarkan diri. Beberapa tampak sigap membersihkan sampah-sampah yang ditinggalkan sebagai peserta. *Tak ada insiden keamanan sepanjang aksi kemarin. (Republika, 3 Desember 2018)*

The data fragments (4 and 5) above are found in the association figure of speech lautan manusia (sea of humans) and the metaphorical figure of speech menyemut (like a sea of ants) in Kompas and Republika. The figure of association of the sea of humans is a figurative meaning and has to do with the five senses, has the meaning of a mass of people gathered in large numbers (a lot), and contains a figure of speech that makes it interesting for those who read it.

The use of vocabularies of lautan manusia (the sea of humans) and the use of suffocation in the reports of Kompas and Republika daily data (4 and 5) is used by journalists to represent that the 212 reunion action was attended by many people. It is assumed that with ants, which are small insects that live in groups, then the massa yang menyemut (stifling mass) is defined as crowds of people, flocking to large numbers, as evidenced by the total mass of the entire area of Monas Square which expands to areas of Cempaka Putih, Menteng, Tanah Abang, and Kuningan.

Meanwhile, the sentence *tak ada insiden keamanan sepanjang aksi kemarin* (there was no security incident during yesterday's action) journalists wanted to point out a fact that would have a surprising effect on readers because the 212 reunion was attended by many people, but after the mass activity, the mass dispersed in an orderly manner without any incident.

Furthermore, forming a negative feelings vocabulary at the 212 reunion also featured in Harian Republika, Jawa Pos, Rakyat Merdeka, and Kompas. The first analysis starts from the Republika which contains news about the conflict between the public figures as a result of the 212 reunion. In one paragraph, the journalists, supported by quotes from the sources, informed that there was a dispute between the Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU), the Central

Board of NU and the Ambassador of Saudi Arabia regarding the holding of the 212 reunion as a defense of tauhid due to the burning of the flag. monotheism in the following discourse.

- (6) JAKARTA-Pengurus Besar Nah'dlatul Ulama (PBNU) mengungkapkan penyesalannya atas pernyataan Duta Besar (Dubes) Arab Saudi untuk Indonesia Osamah Muhammad Suaibi. Melalui akun Twitter pribadinya, Dubes Osamah menyebut Reuni 212 sebagai kegiatan bela tauhid akibat pembakaran bendera oleh organisasi menyimpang. (Harian Republika, 4 Desember 2018)

Data (6) above, journalists use a nominalization strategy for the word pembakaran (burning) by changing the verb membakar (to burn) into the noun pembakaran (burning) by giving the suffix "pe-an" to omit the subject, group or social actor.

The process of changing a verb which means action/activity into a noun which means event, this strategy is used by journalists to tell an event that touches the emotions of the readers. In this case, the journalist wants to lead the reader to an association that seems dramatic, large, and occurs sporadically until the media is unconsciously hegemonized to hide the perpetrators of the arson that should be known.

Through a source from the Nah'dlatul Ulama (PBNU) Executive Board, journalists wanted to show a negative representation by complaining about the statement of the Saudi Arabian Ambassador to Indonesia Osama Muhammad Suaibi, which related the 212 reunion with the event of defending monotheism due to the burning of the flag by a deviant organization.

Negative vocabulary is also formed in the Harian Rakyat Merdeka, journalists present the results of interviews with informants in the following fragment of discourse.

- (7) Pengamat Politik Ray Rangkuti menilai, banyaknya masyarakat yang hadir pada Reuni 212 karena adanya sentimen keagamaan. Fenomena semacam ini sengaja dipelihara oleh kelompok-kelompok tersebut. Sementara, di saat yang

bersamaan, ada komoditas yang sedang puber agama. "Itulah yang membuat aktivitas-aktivitas beragama yang dipertunjukkan menjadi cepat diikuti orang," ujarnya. (Rakyat Merdeka, 3 Desember 2018)

The 212 reunion negative vocabulary is again shown in data (7) with the use of *kelompok-kelompok* (groups) word reduplication to point and corner the unnamed subject. By using reduplication, journalists want readers to be more convinced that they are suspicious of who is behind the 212 reunion which was attended by many people.

Through political observer Ray Rangkuti, journalists also displayed messages of *Sentimen keagamaan* (religious sentiments) and *puber agama* (religious puberty) which were displayed to form a negative representation of the reasons for the large number of people or masses who attended the 212 reunion.

Journalists pointed out that the presence of the 212 reunion community was motivated by views based on exaggerated feelings and contrary to religious considerations. Therefore, the 212 reunion action which was considered a religious act was performed and became quickly followed by people. It is no longer a secret religious activity such as remembrance in the mosque or seeking solitude. However, people now want to show that he is religious.

The same thing is also true through quotations from the character's speech, implicitly journalists are showing readers a negative representation in the following fragment of discourse.

(8) Mendengar kabar Jokowi batal diundang, PDIP langsung menuding gerakan Reuni 212 sarat politik. "Ya, itu pasti," tutur Sekjen PDIP Hasto Kristiyanto saat ditemui di Kantor DPP PDIP, Sabtu (1/12). "Namanya unsur-unsur politik, bahkan itu menjadi kampanye terselubung pasangan calon tertentu," imbuhnya. (Rakyat Merdeka, 2 Desember 2018, paragraf 9)

In data (8) journalists use the verb *menuding* (accuse) to explain and emphasize an attitude in response that Jokowi was not invited

to the 212 reunion. The meaning of the word *menuding* (accusing) is to point a direction or accuse. The use of the word *menuding* (accusing) shows that journalists are trying to represent the 212 reunion in a negative way, namely as a party who is in a state of being accused because the 212 reunion is considered a politically-laden movement.

The affirmation relation function in data (8) is formed through the conjunction *bahkan itu* (even that). Conjunction *bahkan itu* (even that) is used to connect the first sentence as the main clause with the second sentence as subordinate clause. Then, the use of *kampanye terselubung* (covert campaign) noun phrases explains the existence of a propaganda political movement that took place at the 212 action reunion. The use of these conjunctions and phrases represents that the 212 reunion is indeed full of political elements by making the 212 reunion a campaign or consolidation of power ahead of the general election for one of the candidate pairs.

The use of *sarat politik* (politically-laden) vocabularies, *unsur-unsur* (political elements), *kampanye terselubung* (covert campaigns) represents that journalists agree to the 212 reunion containing political content. Journalists intentionally include data (9) in the form of a quote from Hasto Kristianto, Secretary General of PDIP to support his authority. Journalists want to point out that the 212 reunion held there is a big indication of the content of political interests used by certain pairs of candidates. El-Nashar (2014)

Dimensions of Discourse Practice

Discourse practice analysis analyzes how texts are produced, distributed, and consumed. The focus of this analysis is how a discourse is produced. Text production is closely related to the ideology of journalists and newspaper media owners

Harian *Republika* provides a large portion of various reports regarding the 212 reunion. Because the *Harian Republika* is a national-scale newspaper that was created by the Muslim community for the public in Indonesia. The basis for ideological considerations is determined by

the background of the founder or owner, PT Abdi Bangsa, namely nationality, citizenship and Islamic; with the aim of accelerating the formation of civil society. This orientation is what Republika transfers out on a daily basis in the form of information and other presentations. Republika presents news that tends to be attractive, clear, and complete (Santoso, 2016).

On the basis of political considerations, considering that the life of the press is never separated from political problems, besides that the life of the press in a country is an indicator of democracy. The basis for consideration of the next editorial policy is business. This is related to the inclusion of the mass media in the industrial realm, which causes the mass media to have to think about “profits” and “losses”.

The news about the 212 reunion was written from the point of view of the editorial policy of Republika Newspaper in news writing. These processes include three stages of the process, the first is the news gathering process, the news selection process and the news editing process.

To one side from the Harian Republika, the news on the 212 reunion in the Jawa Pos, Rakyat Merdeka and Kompas newspapers has special considerations in selecting issues that will be presented to readers every day. Some of these considerations relate to the eligibility criteria for a news item. The criteria for the eligibility of the news in question is that the news is needed by the community because it is being widely discussed, as well as the news about the 212 reunion.

The Harian Jawa Pos and Rakyat Merdeka gave a large portion of the news about the 212 reunion because it is undeniable that as the largest daily newspaper in Indonesia, they reported on the incident. The news about the 212 reunion was not only shown in the country, but the big event that became the spotlight of the international media.

The Harian Kompas, as a national-scale newspaper, did not report the 212 reunion in detail. They prefer to only news on a national scale, meaning that it originates from the central government or becomes a national issue, is reported by the daily. The news about the 212

reunion on Kompas was specifically shown on the online media Kompas.id.

The description related to the production stage of the 212 reunion discourse text carried out by the media above explains the discourse practice of how discourse is produced and interpreted. In terms of the number and formation of positive representations, the Harian Republika is more supportive of the 212 reunion action than the Harian Jawa Pos, Rakyat Merdeka, and Kompas. The Harian Jawa Pos and the Rakyat Merdeka are more likely to reject or not support the 212 reunion through the negative representations they display, thereby leading to public opinion of a fragile image and sympathy for the 212 reunion. The Kompas is more proportional in the formation of the news required by the number of reports and the formation of positive and negative representations of the reunion 212. The positive and negative representations are determined by the discourse practices found in the mass media concerned (Dianastiti, 2016).

At the text distribution stage, it relates to the pattern and type of text and how the nature of the institution inherent in the text is the capital and effort of the text maker so that his work can be accepted by the community. The Republika, Jawa Pos, Rakyat Merdeka and Kompas newspapers are included in the printed media that are able to spread messages or information to the public or the public simultaneously with a relatively wide reach and in a relatively short time.

In the text consumption stage, based on interviews with sources who are readers of the Harian Republika, Jawa Pos, Rakyat Merdeka, and Kompas. Readers have different attitudes and views towards news (Marikontoro, 2014). The widespread news about the 212 reunion action received various responses from readers.

Sociocultural Dimension

The analysis of sociocultural dimensions (sociocultural practice) is based on the assumption that the social context outside the media affects how discourse appears in the media. After analyzing the discourse on the

representation of the 212 reunion in the *Harian Republika*, *Jawa Pos*, *Rakyat Merdeka*, and *Kompas*, a mapping of the positive and negative forms of representation was obtained. The researcher then interprets the data, namely interpreting the results of data analysis at the description stage by relating it to the production process and socio-cultural context. Fairclough made three levels of analysis on the sociocultural dimension (sociocultural practice), namely (a) situational, (b) institutional, and (c) social aspects.

The situational aspect greatly influences how the text of the 212 reunion news is produced. The topics of news on the 212 reunion generally revolve around situational aspects that lead to issues of politicization, the number of participants, and news coverage in the mass media which are interrelated.

The issue of politicization arose because one of the presidential candidates was present at the event. The 212 reunion, which coincided with the political momentum, was suspected as a means of consolidating forces ahead of the general election by the presidential candidate pair Prabowo-Sandiaga Uno. The large number of participants who attended the event, allegedly they were pro Prabowo and anti Jokowi. There are at least two reasons the 212 reunion is accused of being a political movement. First, there is a political history behind the 212 reunion, which was previously preceded by a demonstration on November 4, 2016 triggered by the collective anger of the Islamic community, especially in Jakarta, which questioned the use of *Al-Maidah* verse 51 in Ahok's campaign in the Kepulauan Seribu.

Ahok is considered to have insulted Islam because he said that the Muslim voters in the DKI Jakarta Gubernur (Pilgub) election were "deceived by *Al Maidah*" as evidenced in a viral video. Gradually, the 212 movement's political stance supported Anies Baswedan and the Governor of DKI Jakarta, until finally 212 held a 212 reunion every year. Second, the 2018 212 reunion coincided with the political momentum of the presidential election (pilpres) and legislative elections (pileg).

Meanwhile, the issue of the number of participants was discussed because it was considered as a representation of electability. The Reunion 212 event was in the spotlight because it was attended by 8 million people gathered at Monas, coinciding with the general election campaign. The 212 reunion was allegedly used as a political interest to increase electability with the presence of Prabowo Prabowo as a presidential candidate.

Then, the news about the 212 reunion was presented in different portions in each mass media. Criticism of media coverage leads to the formation of audience representation. One of them is that the headline debate on the news of the 212 reunion in several media is evidence of the ideology, power, social, economic, and political interests held by each mass media which have implications for the formation of public opinion (Budiwati, 2011).

The institutional aspect is very visible in the news of the 212 reunion in the mass media through positive and negative representations. The *Harian Republika* presents news that tends to be positive. This can be analyzed from the choice of title, vocabulary, grammar, and writing style that supports the 212 reunion. This tendency is very reasonable considering that *Republika* is quite loud in calling for Islamic ideology. *Republika* is known as a news publication for the Muslim community resulting in the representation of news about the 212 Action in a more positive tone.

The identical thing was done by the *Harian Jawa Pos* and *Kompas* in reporting the 212 reunion in a positive manner, although in the construction of the news, the trend was ordinary, flat and normative. Reporting on the same event, however, the news production of *Jawa Pos* and *Kompas* is very different from *Republika* in terms of quantity (amount) in reporting. The *Rakyat Merdeka* interpret the events of the 212 reunion differently.

This proves that the mass media brings a certain ideology in every news presentation. The mass media will not be neutral in reporting a news story, because it prioritizes the interests of

the dominant group that is related to the owner of the mass media (El-Nashar, 2014).

Judging from the social aspect, the news of the 212 reunion from the four media has its own value as a mass action movement. What started as a demonstration turned into a more institutionalized mass action in the social, political and economic fields. Reunion 212 uses Islamic ideology as a spirit of struggle and resistance. The process of transforming the social movement of the 212 reunion into social, economic and political institutions, indicates that there has been a change in the direction of the movement, their goal was not only to be convicted of Ahok in 2016 or the action to defend Islam in 2017, but to experience a shift in various objectives until the 212 reunion which was held year 2018.

This shift proves the presence of language as a textual device that has worked or is used as a tool to reproduce ideology (Sylvestre, 2013). The social and political background of the 212 reunion from year to year has become an event that shows ideology and social change in Indonesia by finding its momentum. Including the emergence of pros and cons that cause temporary disorganization as a feature of the social changes that occur, the presence of millions of participants in the 212 reunion is a socio-political phenomenon in Indonesian society. In the social context of media relations with political journalism, the reality of public interests is very difficult to separate from political interests when wrapped by the media.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the study, the conclusions of this study are as follows. First, after a textual analysis, it is known that the representation of the 212-reunion represented differently in the *Harian Republika*, *Jawa Pos*, *Rakyat Merdeka*, and *Kompas*. Representations in the *Harian Republika* are more directed to a positive representation of the 212 reunions. On the other hand, the *Harian Jawa Pos* and the *Rakyat Merdeka* are leading to the formation of a negative representation of the 212 reunions. The

Kompas is inclined towards the formation of positive and negative representations. The formation of the representation of the 212 reunions can be seen from the vocabulary, grammatical, and textual structures used by the *Republika*, *Jawa Pos*, *Rakyat Merdeka*, and *Kompas*.

Second, interpretively, the production of news texts in the *Harian Republika*, *Jawa Pos*, *Rakyat Merdeka*, and *Kompas* has special considerations in the selection of issues that will be presented to readers every day. The production of texts is closely related to the ideology of journalists and the actions to be achieved.

Third, the sociocultural dimension (sociocultural practice) is analyzed based on the assumption that situational, institutional, and social aspects influence the discourse that appears in the media. The situational aspects of reporting on the 212 reunions generally revolve around situational issues, which lead to issues of politicization, the number of participants, and reporting in the mass media. The institutional aspect displayed by the four-mass media is indicated by the position of the media which establishes a dominant relationship that puts forward the historical relations of ideology, media politics, and market interests on the issue of the 212 reunions. As for the social aspect, the reporting on the 212 reunions can be included as a mass action movement. The presence of the mass of millions of participants in the 212 reunion is a socio-political phenomenon in Indonesian society.

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