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## Critical Discussion of Exclusion and Inclusion in CNN Indonesia Online News: Theo Van Leeuwen's View

# Wacana Kritis Eksklusi dan Inklusi dalam Berita Online CNN Indonesia: Sudut Pandang Theo Van Leeuwen

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## **Abstract**

The critical theory of exclusion and inclusion analysis by Theo van Leeuwen is used as a tool to study the clash problems between Asmat residents and members of the Fayit Koramil. Basically, this research focuses more on the Asmat people who experience marginalization in their social life. The purpose of this research is to analyze the criminal news with the title "4 Asmat residents shot dead, Kodam Forms an Investigation Team in the CNN Indonesia online news published on Tuesday, May 28, 2019" using Theo van Leuween's theory. Data collection was carried out in three stages, namely (1) reading news to gain understanding of the content of the discourse to be studied, (2) marking the part of news discourse related to Theo van Leuween theory, and (3) inventorying sentences related to Theo van Leuween theory. . This study uses a qualitative approach based on the content analysis method. Based on the research results, two types of exclusion (passivation and nominalization) and three types of inclusion (differentiation, abstraction, and identification) were found. So, it can be concluded in the criminal news entitled "4 Asmat residents shot dead, Kodam Forms an Investigation Team on CNN Indonesia online news" journalists hid the actor by using the passive voice in the headline.

**Keywords:** critical discourse, exclusion and inclusion, online news

#### **Abstrak**

Teori kritis analisis eksklusi dan inklusi oleh Theo van Leeuwen digunakan sebagai alat untuk mengkaji permasalahan bentrok antara warga Asmat dengan anggota koramil Fayit. Pada dasarnya penelitian ini lebih menekankan perhatiannya pada warga Asmat yang mengalami pemarjinalan dalam kehidupan sosial. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah menganalisis berita kriminal dengan judul "4 Warga Asmat tewas Tertembak, Kodam Bentuk Tim Investigasi di berita online CNN Indonesia terbitan selasa 28 Mei 2019" dengan menggunakan teori Theo van Leuween. Pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan tiga tahap, yaitu (1) membaca berita untuk memproleh pemahaman isi wacana yang akan diteliti, (2) menandai bagian wacana berita yang berkaitan dengan teori Theo van Leuween, dan (3) menginventarisasi kalimat yang berkaitan dengan teori Theo van Leuween. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif berdasarkan metode



analisis isi. Berdasarkan hasil penelitian, ditemukan dua jenis ekslusi (pasivsi dan nominalisasi) dan tiga jenis inklusi (diferensiasi, abstraksi, serta identifikasi). Jadi, dapat disimpulkan dalam berita kriminal yang berjudul "4 Warga Asmat tewas Terembak, Kodam Bentuk Tim Investigasi di berita online CNN Indonesia" wartawan menyembunyikan aktor dengan menggunakan kalimat pasif di dalam judul berita.

Kata kunci: wacana kritisi, ekslusi dan inklusi, berita online

#### Introduction

Informative functioning language has an important role in life. Language tries to convey good ideologies to be discussed. Therefore, language is used in the world of the press to convey information. The information was conveyed through mass media.

Mass media is a place to spread the values of social life in society. The statement is in accordance with the five functions of the mass media, namely supervision, interpretation, linkages, the spread of values, and entertainment. In this case, social functions play an important role in influencing public opinion. Through this function, the community will bring up a perspective based on the values given by a mass media.

The above problems reveal the role of language in mass media which is the most important element related to the social life of the community. Language in the mass media has a specific purpose in spreading ideology so that it is hegemonyed towards the broader layers of society. Language becomes the main means used to change the ins and outs of politics in social life. Language in the mass media is a weapon that is used by certain groups for the sake of an interest. The mass media has expertise in creating images before the public, has a perspective in interpreting reality (Andheska, 2015; Burhan, 2017; Maghvira, 2017; Mardikantoro, 2008).

Language in the mass media is examined in the realm of linguistics namely discourse analysis. The term discourse analysis is very complex with a discussion of various problems in the use of language such as psychology, social affairs, politics, literature, communication, and so on. This branch of linguistics emphasizes its study of messages in opinion on discourse encountered in the life of the wider community. In particular, a study in discourse analysis is useful for research and analysis of written and oral language in society. The presence of discourse analysis is due to the awareness that there are problems in the use of language in communication or messages. Discourse analysis is intended to describe the rules of language and also meaning.

In order to find out the contents of the discourse and the intended purpose, it is done through a discourse analysis based on research by looking at phrases, sentences, and language style. This discourse analysis is a form of interaction to see the meaning as a whole which can present a variety of meanings to the reader and can unpack certain meanings and meanings (Faridi, 2014; Imam, 2012; Maghvira, 2017; Sudaryanto, 2006; Vidiadari, 2017).

This discourse study favors the emancipation of certain parties in the newspaper. Newspapers as symbolic representations and community values form stereotypes that often adversely affect one party (Badara, 2014). A discourse can show the form of statements that contain accusations and threats. A group tends to be shown in the text as a guilty and bad party. To delegitimize, marginalize a person or group, several parties make use of a discourse as in online news.

Social inequalities in online news are social inequalities experienced by Asmat residents who make speeches. The online mass media presented the Asmat people in

the language that formed the background of this study using a critical approach. Discourse analysis model used to examine a group that marginalized its position in the discourse, namely by using the Theo van Leuween theory discourse analysis model (Eriyanto, 2011). Theo Van Leuween created an analytical model that can be used to see social events and actors portrayed in the media and a group that does not have access to become a marginalized party. Van Leuween argues that the marginalization of certain social groups can be seen based on the group's presence in a discourse. Some are issued in the discussion (exclusion) and some are presented in the discussion (inclusion) (Eriyanto, 2011).

In particular, Theo Van Leeuwen stated that language is a picture of ideology so that by studying the language in the text, ideology can be identified. Theo Van Leeuwen introduced this discourse analysis model to find out and examine how a group or a person is marginalized in their position in discourse. This opinion refers to discourse and power. According to Eriyanto (Eriyanto, 2011) that power does not only operate through formal channels, laws and state institutions with the power to prohibit and punish, but also operates through a series of discourses to define a group as untrue or bad. The marginalization can be seen from the presence or absence of a group or a person in the text.

Thus, the model created by Theo van Leuween is used to see the marginalization of a particular social group that is described in the discourse. In addition, this model can be used to identify parties who continue to be marginalized. Teo van Leuween argues that the marginalization of certain groups can be seen from the existence of groups that are described as bad groups in the discourse. In many cases, media coverage, especially events involving dominant parties, is always portrayed with poor portrayals. It is not surprising if a woman, laborer, and farmer is precisely described as being all-bad (Sobur, 2006).

In this regard, (Eriyanto, 2011) states that a series of discourses can contain strength that aims to define a group as the wrong group. The form of grouping certain groups can be seen from the presence or absence of these groups in the discourse. CNN Indonesia's online news shows a form of marginalization of Asmat residents. CNN Indonesia places the Asmat people as a rebel group in large numbers. However, the TNI and elected clerks were placed as groups to prevent the riots from the Asmat residents. Therefore, it is clear that news in a newspaper can determine whether something is good or bad in the eyes of society. One of the social inequalities that has become online news on CNN Indonesia is that the Asmat people experience marginalization in their social life. Thus, the aim of this research is to analyze the criminal news with the title "4 Asmat residents shot dead, Kodam Forms an Investigation Team in the CNN Indonesia online news published on Tuesday, May 28, 2019" using Theo van Leuween's theory.

## Method

The approach used in this study is a qualitative approach that uses descriptive methods. Bogdan and Taylor (Suwandi & Basrowi, 2008) stated qualitative research as one of the research procedures for analyzing data in the form of speech or writing and the behavior of the people observed. States that qualitative research is research that does not use calculations (Moleong, 2005). Content analysis is used to analyze qualitative data. This method is used to analyze the news about Asmat citizens. This analysis method is determined based on the data source. The object of this research is

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aimed at CNN Indonesia's online news. In this study the data is limited to online news CNN Indonesia. The reason this news was chosen was because there was a limiting in a group.

The data used in this study are in the form of phrases, clauses, and sentences relating to the exclusion and inclusion of Theo van Leuween's theory in the CNN Indonesia criminal news discourse titled 4 Asmat Death Shot citizens, Kodam Formed an Investigation Team. The data source of this research is the online news CNN Indonesia Tuesday, May 28, 2019. The research instrument is a researcher and is assisted by other supporting instruments such as inventory inventory, and books about the exclusion and inclusion of Theo van Leuween's theory.

Data collection techniques used are (1) reading and understanding news discourse to gain an understanding of the content of the discourse to be examined, (2) marking the discourse section related to Theo van Leuween's theory, and (3) inventorying sentences in the discourse related to Theo van Leuween's theory.

Data analysis was carried out by (1) identifying data using Theo van Leuween, (2) analyzing the data by analyzing phrases, clauses, or sentences that refer to Theo van Leuween's theory, (3) interpreting the data, and (4) summarizing the descriptive data using write a report.

### **Result and Discussion**

Based on the results of the data analysis, it is clear that news writers side with the elite. Elites referred to in the news are elected members who hold positions as DPRD. Apart from that, in the news this time the discourse is also in favor of members of the TNI. In addition, it was also found that there were parties who were marginalized, namely those who were marginalized, namely Asmat residents who had no position.

#### A. Exclusion

Exclusion is a central issue in discourse analysis. Basically, exclusion is the process of how a particular group or social actor is not involved in a process of discussion or discourse (Eriyanto, 2011). The elimination of this social actor has a specific purpose. According to Van Leuween, news readers need to criticize how each group is presented in the text, whether there are parties or actors who with certain discourse strategies are missing in the text or not. There are several strategies for how an actor (person or group) is excluded in the conversation. Among them can be described as follows.

The use of the exclusion strategy was found in the analyzed news texts. Of the three exclusion processes put forward by Theo Van Leeuwen in his theory, two exclusion processes were found in this news, namely passivation and nominalization. In this news, it is seen that there are several actors who are disguised and even excluded in the discussion. The author focuses more on the news center on the passengers who resisted during the curbing. Thus, the reader's attention seems to be directed at the actions of the Asmat residents who are disciplined.

#### 1. Passivation

Passivation on exclusion is carried out to provide protection for perpetrators. In discourse, exclusion is found by using passivation. This method is carried out with the aim of protecting the actors who are heading towards the politicians and members of the armed forces who are in favor of the politicians. Passivation forms in the discourse can be seen in the following sentence.

- (1) 4 Asmat residents were **shot** dead, Kodam formed an investigation team.
- (2) However, instead of dispersing, the masses carrying various sharp weapons attacked the Angora. *The member* returned fire to hit five residents.
- (3) Of the five residents who were **shot**, four of them died, namely Xaverius Sai (40), Nilolaus Tupa (38), Matias Amunep (16), and Fredrikus Inepi (35).

The use of the passive form in the news sentences obscured the Asmat shooters. These three sentences do not show the perpetrators of the shootings that protect elected DPRD members. The discourse illustrates that Asmat residents who visited and damaged the Fayit District office and the homes of elected DPRD members. On that news the person who carried out the shooting was only described as "*the member*" by using the word "*shot*." As it is known, those involved in the incident were the TNI, police and Asmat residents. This is consistent with the opinion of (Eriyanto, 2011) that the way to passivate is to use sentences in passive form. The use of passive forms of actors is not presented in the news, which does not occur in sentences with active structure. This passive form is used in order to change the meaning of the news.

In the news, the media presents meaning that accentuates the bad actions of the citizens supporting one of the legislators who failed to sit. The language strategy carried out by the media causes uncritical readers to understand the news because of the absence of actors transparently. In contrast to news that uses an active form, the actor as the subject will be of interest to the reader. The choice of strategy can occur for several possibilities. *First*, the mass media wants to make supporters of failed legislative candidates the object of news. *Second*, the mass media have not yet received accurate information on the problem. *Third*, the mass media indeed protect the TNI, Polri from this case.

#### 2. Nominalization

Actors who were eliminated by the process of nomination only found one sentence that forgot the form of nominalization. Determination of this form is done by paying attention on the basis of word classes. The word class with the working form changes to the noun form. Nominalization does not require a subject, because nominalization is the process of converting verbs that have meaningful actions into forms of nouns that have meanings of events. The form of nominalization found in the news text is as follows.

(1) The shooting incident occurred at the Fayit District Office, Asmat Regency on Monday (5/27). Around 350 people who were supporters of one of the legislative candidates who failed to sit in the Asmat DPRD, JK came to and damaged the Fayit District office and the house of Asmat DPRD member, Handayani.

The language strategy used through nominalization causes the perpetrators to disappear. The statement is in accordance with the opinion of (Eriyanto, 2011) which states that in the subject nomination is not needed, but the process of converting verbs into nouns. Based on the news sentence above, it appears that the news breaks away from context, actors, and place.

The data above shows that there is a nomination process in the word "shooting" which is a noun. The shooting word is actually a verb of "firing." Based on these data,

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there is no visible perpetrator who shot the Asmat residents. Supposedly, in the news sentence presented the perpetrators who shot the Asmat residents. The use of nominalisation focuses the attention of the reader on the victim and not on the offender. This has an impact on the negative viewpoint of the Asmat residents.

#### B. Inclusion

Inclusion is to include actors in the news. Inclusion is carried out among others by differentiation, abstraction, and nomination-categorization. In the analyzed news discourse, inclusion is found by means of differential, abstraction, and identification.

## 1. Differential

Based on the analysis of the online news discourse, it was found that social actors can be displayed in the discourse independently as typical events and can show real differences when compared. The presence of other events or groups aims to show that certain groups are seen as not good compared to other groups. The group that contrasts the presence of the hegemony party (elected DPRD officials and members of the armed forces) and subordinated parties (Asmat residents). With pengonrasan one party will be cornered and one party becomes a respected party. For the differential case in the online news discourse is as follows.

- (1) To disperse the rampaging mob, members of the Fayit Koramil Koramil near the district office tried to deal with warning shots.
- (2) However, instead of dispersing, the masses carrying various sharp weapons attacked the members.

In the quote the discourse there is a group that is compared. The group is between members of the armed forces and the citizens of the Asmat. The use of the phrase "To disperse the mob is raging, members of the Fayit Koramil who are near the district office trying to deal with giving warning shots" raises the argument for readers that Fayit Koramil members have tried to overcome the commotion caused by the masses as a group that deserves blame.

The process of differentiation in discourse results in problems that actually become closed. The real problem in this case is in disbanding the period of conducting speeches which are not appropriate by issuing gunfire aimed at the residents, so that they did not hit the residents until killing four Asmat residents. If the resistance using firearms is not carried out, the residents will not be hurt and the people's emotions will not heat up.

#### 2. Abstraction

Abstraction can change its own perspective for the reader. Abstraction produces effects that are able to change the reader's perception. The reader can change his perspective from positive to negative. The statement relates to the point of view of (Eriyanto, 2011) which states that the audience will accept the meaning that is not the same as a result of abstractions whose backs are small in number, with abstractions delivered in large quantities. The statement was found based on the analysis of discourse on the following discourse.

- (1) To disperse the rampaging mob, members of the Fayit Koramil Koramil near the district office tried to deal with warning shots.
- (2) However, instead of dispersing, the masses carrying various sharp weapons attacked the members. The member returned fire to hit five residents.

Indirectly, there has been discrimination against citizens who make speeches. In this incident the news writer did not know the number of residents who were carrying sharp weapons in their speeches.

## 3. Identification

This discourse strategy is related to group portrayal or certain actions. Identification of the discourse is done by giving clauses that serve as explanatory. This strategy has two prepositions, namely the second preposition as an explanation of the first preposition. In general, the preposition is associated with conjunctions *which* and *where*. Editors may have the intention to give suggestions on certain meanings regarding the assessment of a person, group, action, or event. This is a discourse strategy in which a person, group, action, or event is given an explanation that is not good, giving rise to the view of the community to be bad too.

(1) To disperse the rampaging mob, members of the Fayit Koramil Koramil near the district office tried to deal with warning shots. However, instead of dispersing, the masses carrying various sharp weapons attacked the members. The member returned fire to hit five residents.

Subordinates carrying various sharp weapons are identified by the editor. With clauses carrying various sharp weapons are poorly described. Even if the resistance is not given to the residents, the residents will not attack until they are killed in that event. The use of explanations in the form of clauses often takes the form of subjective judgments about a person or his actions. It is associated with the public mind of how bad the Asmat residents are giving speeches, causing members of the Fayit Koramil to fire shots to several Asmat residents.

### Conclusion

Based on the discussion, it is concluded that there are social inequalities. On CNN Indonesia's online news, the news was written by journalists with the intention of fighting for armed groups and elected DPRD members. However, there are groups that are marginalized, namely Asmat residents who make speeches at the District Office as well as at the homes of elected Asmat DPRD members. The news discourse clearly shows that power was used in this incident. This critical discourse analysis is described based on Theo van Leuween's point of view based on two process reviews, namely exclusion and inclusion. The things found in the exclusion process are privacy and nomination, while the things found in the inclusion process are differentiation, abstraction, and identification.

The results of this study indicate that Asmat residents are described as marginal groups. The group was marginalized because the speeches carried out seemed to be the cause of death of four Asmat residents who were shot. This research is limited to one story with the title "4 Asmat Residents Shot Dead, Kodam Forms an Investigation Team" which was published on Tuesday, May 28, 2019. This research still has limitations in obtaining news data on the basic reasons that make citizens make speeches, so it has not can be used as a final conclusion regarding the representation of citizens who make speeches.

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