

**CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THEO VAN LEEUWIN'S
INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION STRATEGIES IN
MERDEKA.COM NEWS PORTAL EDITION OF DECEMBER 20,
2020 AND DETIK.COM NEWS**

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Abstract

One of the things that makes it easy to get information is the mass media or social media which contains a lot of information itself, this convenience is easy to get anywhere and anytime. Unfortunately, obtaining easy information is risk with hoaxes circulating in the community. Therefore, the reader must be more critical in filtering the information obtained. This study aims to find inclusion and exclusion strategies as Theo Van Leeuwin, the owner of the theory. Research on news discourse 6 Rizieq Followers Died During Clashes with Police in Tolo Cikampek from Merdeka online media and Event Runuta Up to 6 Habib Rizieq Followers Killed Shot on the Toll Road from online media This second found several irregularities, in which the editorial team tended to be more inclined to one party. This study uses a qualitative descriptive method in which data are obtained from literature studies on news text discourse. The marginalities found include the exclusion strategy of the passivation process, nominalization, and substitution of clauses. As for the inclusion strategy, the process of objectivation, determination-indetermination, and assimilation-individualization was found.

Keywords: Media, police, Rizieq, inclusion, exclusion

Abstrak

Salah satu hal yang memudahkan untuk mendapatkan informasi adalah media massa atau media sosial yang berisi banyak informasi itu sendiri, kemudahan ini mudah didapatkan di mana saja dan kapan saja. Sayangnya, mendapatkan informasi yang mudah berisiko dengan hoaks yang beredar di masyarakat. Oleh karena itu, pembaca harus lebih kritis dalam menyaring informasi yang diperoleh. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menemukan strategi inklusi dan eksklusif seperti Theo Van Leeuwin, pemilik teori tersebut. Riset Wacana Berita 6 Pengikut Rizieq Meninggal Dunia Saat Bentrokan Polisi di Tolo Cikampek dari media online Merdeka dan Event Runuta Hingga 6 Pengikut Habib Rizieq Tewas Ditembak di Jalan Tol dari media online Yang kedua ini menemukan beberapa penyimpangan, di mana tim redaksi cenderung lebih condong ke satu pihak. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif di mana data diperoleh dari studi literatur tentang wacana teks berita. *Marjinalitas* yang ditemukan meliputi strategi pengecualian proses pasivasi, nominalisasi, dan substitusi klausa. Sedangkan untuk strategi inklusi, ditemukan proses objektivitas, determinasi-ketidakpastian, dan asimilasi-individualisasi.

Kata kunci: Media, polisi, Rizieq, inklusi, pengucilan

INTRODUCTION

Language is a fundamental tool of communication for humans, enabling the exchange of ideas and information. Mass media, both offline and online, play an important role in the social life of society by delivering information and shaping public perception (Supriyadi & Zulaeha, 2017). Discourse analysis, particularly critical discourse analysis, allows us to understand how media uses language to convey certain ideologies and interests. From this perspective, mass media is not only a transmitter of information but also an agent that can influence public opinion, both positively and negatively (Hamad, 2004).

Along with the development of technology, online media has become increasingly dominant in disseminating information. Online media has the ability to alter and modify language for specific purposes, often for certain ideological interests (Chandradewi et al., 2022; Mubasyira et al., 2021; Rahayu et al., 2022). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) takes into account the context of discourse, including background, situation, and conditions, as well as how language is used to conceal or highlight social actors in news reporting (Eriyanto, 2009). Theo van Leeuwen's theory on exclusion and inclusion strategies provides a framework for analyzing how individuals or groups are presented in the media, whether they are marginalized or emphasized in the discourse being conveyed.

The main issue in this research focuses on how online media use exclusion and inclusion strategies in their reporting, which directly affects public perception. Mass media has great power in shaping public opinion through the selection of words, phrases, and sentence structures used in news articles. The choice of certain words can highlight or obscure information, while sentence structure can influence how readers understand and interpret the news. In the context of political reporting, exclusion and inclusion strategies are often applied to support specific agendas, whether to elevate the positive image of a figure or to undermine a political opponent. Exclusion can be understood as the omission or disregard of certain information that could alter public views, while inclusion refers to the emphasis on aspects that are considered beneficial to the desired party.

This research aims to uncover how exclusion and inclusion strategies are applied in political reporting by online media. By understanding the patterns and methods of

implementing these strategies, we can identify biases and hidden agendas in the news that readers may not be aware of. Awareness of media bias is important so that the public can consume information critically and not be easily influenced by narratives shaped by the media. The research conducted by (Youna Bachtiar et al., 2016) provides an important framework for understanding these dynamics, highlighting how language choices in media can be used as a tool for social and political influence. Thus, this research not only examines the technical aspects of news writing but also the broader social impact of these journalistic practices.

A common solution to this issue is through critical discourse analysis using Theo van Leeuwen's theory. By analyzing news texts from the perspective of exclusion and inclusion strategies, we can uncover how online media constructs their discourse to achieve specific objectives. This involves identifying and analyzing the language elements used to conceal or highlight social actors in the news text (Tenriawali, 2018).

Theo van Leeuwen developed the theory of exclusion and inclusion strategies to analyze how social actors are presented or hidden in texts. Exclusion strategies involve techniques such as passivation and nominalization to conceal actors or obscure their roles in an event. For example, research by (Chandradewi et al., 2022) shows that the news portal Kompas.com more frequently uses the exclusion strategy of passivation in their reporting, while Detik.com more often uses inclusion strategies to provide additional information that highlights certain parties.

Inclusion strategies, on the other hand, involve techniques such as objectivation-abstraction, nomination-categorization, and nomination-identification to highlight actors or provide additional details that clarify their roles in an event. Research by (Alfianika, 2016) found that journalists in crime reporting often use inclusion strategies to conceal or obscure the identity of the perpetrator, using passive sentences in headlines to shift focus away from powerful actors.

Research by (Rilma et al., 2019) shows that online media in Indonesia tend to use inclusion and exclusion strategies selectively, depending on their context and editorial agenda. In the case of reporting on the KTP corruption scandal, some media were more inclined to use inclusion strategies to defend the Ministry of Home Affairs, while others used exclusion strategies to conceal the perpetrators.

Although much research has been conducted on the use of exclusion and inclusion strategies in the media, there are still some gaps that need further exploration. Previous studies by (Chandradewi et al., 2022) and (Rilma et al., 2019) show variations in the use of these strategies by different media, but their focus is often limited to specific cases or contexts. For example, Alfianika's research focuses on crime news, while Chandradewi et al. examine certain political reporting.

However, there is still little research that directly compares the use of exclusion and inclusion strategies in online media reporting on the same event but from different media perspectives. This gap is important to address as it can provide deeper insights into how media shapes different narratives about the same event and how this affects public perception.

This research aims to (1) describe and analyze the exclusion and inclusion strategies of online news media regarding the clash between police members and followers of Rizieq Shihab in the news channel Detik.com. This study focuses on how the news media chooses to include or exclude certain information in their reporting, as well as how this affects public perception of the reported events. (2) Describe and analyze the inclusion strategies of online media regarding the clash between police members and followers of Rizieq Shihab using Theo van Leeuwen's analytical approach in the news channel Merdeka.com. This approach allows the researcher to explore how subjects and objects in the news are presented, as well as how various involved actors are positioned in the news narrative.

The novelty statement of this research is the in-depth comparative analysis of how two different online media use exclusion and inclusion strategies to construct narratives about the same event. This study will also explore how these differences affect public perception of the event. The scope of this research includes the analysis of news texts from the news channels Detik.com edition of December 7, 2020, and Merdeka.com edition of December 20, 2020, using Theo van Leeuwen's critical discourse analysis framework to identify and analyze the exclusion and inclusion strategies employed.

METHOD

This research uses a qualitative method that is descriptive in nature, involving activities such as analysis and observations sourced from the news of Merdeka.com on December 20, 2020, and Detik.com on December 7, 2020. One reason for selecting these news articles is the in-depth coverage by both media regarding the case of Rizieq Shihab, which will be critiqued in this research. By identifying potential issues using qualitative research, the data analysis will also employ qualitative analysis (Sugiyono, 2019). In this study, the descriptive qualitative method is used to describe and analyze data related to the aforementioned news using Theo van Leeuwen's discourse analysis approach. The focus of this research is on the exclusion and inclusion strategies in the reporting of Habib Rizieq Shihab. In this study, the collected data will be critiqued in terms of word choice and the grammatical structure used by the media to portray the figures in the news.

The analysis is conducted by first reading and observing online news about the Rizieq Shihab case from Merdeka.com on December 20, 2020, and Detik.com on December 7, 2020, which discuss similar cases. The news articles are then classified based on the types of inclusion and exclusion by grouping them into tables. Subsequently, the data that have been separated using inclusion and exclusion strategies are interpreted or concluded based on existing theories

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Result

Analysis of the news coverage of the clash case involving 6 followers of Habib Rizieq Shihab, based on Theo van Leeuwen's theory of inclusion and exclusion strategies, shows different patterns in the presentation of narratives by the two media outlets, namely Merdeka.com and Detik.com. The table below summarizes the focus of the reporting by both news portals:

Tabel 1. Reporting by Both News Portals

No	Subjek	Title
1	News 1	6 Followers of Rizieq Killed in Clash with Police on Cikampek Toll Road (Merdeka.com)

2	News 2	Chronology of Events Leading to the Shooting Death of 6 Followers of Habib Rizieq on the Toll Road (Detik.com)
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The tables below show the data acquisition regarding exclusion and inclusion strategies on the Merdeka.com media portal in the reporting of Rizieq Sihab.

Table 2. Exclusion Strategies on the News Portals Merdeka.com and Detik.com in Reporting Habib Rizieq Shihab

Eksklusi Strategi	News Portal	Amount	Persentase
Pasivasi	Merdeka.com	3	60%
Nominalisasi		1	20%
Penggantian Anak Kalimat		1	20%
Jumlah		4	100%
Pasivasi	Detik.com	1	20%
Nominalisasi		3	60%
Substitutes for Sentence Elements		1	20%
Amount		5	100%

Based on the table, it can be seen that the news portal Merdeka.com uses the passive exclusion strategy more frequently than other strategies, while the news portal Detik.com tends to use nominalization strategies more. This is reflected in the percentage results, where passive strategies account for 60% on the Merdeka.com portal, and nominalization also accounts for 60%. The tendency for passivation is to construct news with the aim of concealing the perpetrators so that they are not displayed in the reporting, and this strategy relates to the values upheld by the media itself. On the other hand, the Detik.com news portal, which tends to use nominalization strategies, aims to eliminate certain groups or social actors by changing verbs into nouns. The similarity between the two news portals is the amount of sentence element substitution, which is 20%. This is because the use of

exclusion to substitute sentence elements in the reporting of Habib Rizieq Shihab does not significantly conceal the perpetrators in the news. Therefore, both news portals tend to use other exclusion strategies to hide actors in their reporting. The following excerpts provide evidence of the tendency toward specific strategies in the Merdeka.com channel: 'Six people referred to by Metro Jaya Police Chief, Irjen Pol Fadil Imran, as special guards were shot dead.' (Nominalization): The word 'shot' is changed to 'hit by bullets,' obscuring the agent or subject that carried out the shooting. 'Four others fled.' (Passivation): There are no details about who those four individuals were or how they fled; they are omitted from the main narrative. 'The thugs OTK assigned to the operation obstructed and opened fire on the family's guard.' (Substitutes for Sentence Elements): The use of the term 'thugs OTK' as a general reference does not provide a clear identity, which reduces the personalization of the subject

Furthermore, the following quotes provide evidence from the news portal Detik.com: 'Then, the officers were attacked by a vehicle allegedly filled with followers of Habib Rizieq.'—This sentence demonstrates passivation where the actor of the action (followers of Habib Rizieq) is not explicitly stated as the active subject; instead, the action of attacking is made the focus through the use of a passive sentence (Passivation). 'As for the 4 others, they fled.'—The act of fleeing is expressed in nominalization form (changing a verb into a nominal phrase) without mentioning a clear subject, thus placing the focus on the action itself, not on who did it (Nominalization). 'Based on information that there would be a mass mobilization when Brother MRS was being questioned at the Metro Jaya Police from various sources, including media colleagues who might have received news through a WA group that there would be a mobilization of mass groups...'—This sentence uses the subordinate clause 'that there would be a mobilization of mass groups,' which replaces a more detailed or explicit explanation regarding the source of information, making the information presented in a more general and less specific manner (Substitutes for Sentence Elements).

The exclusion strategies employed by both media also show an interesting pattern. On Merdeka.com, the victims who died in the incident are only mentioned by number without providing further details about their identities or the stories behind them. They are reduced to mere numbers, eliminating the human dimension from the report.

Additionally, the claims from FPI regarding an attack by unknown individuals (OTK) are also only briefly mentioned without further identification, which creates ambiguity in the readers' understanding of the event.

On the other hand, Detik.com also employs a similar exclusion, but with some significant differences. Rizieq Shihab, despite being the center of this event, is not directly presented in the narrative of the clash. He is only mentioned as background, seemingly downplaying his involvement in the incident. The victims who died in this incident are also mentioned without further details, similar to the reports on Merdeka.com, indicating a tendency to minimize the focus on the human impact of this event

Discussion

From the analysis above, it can be concluded that both media use different linguistic strategies while remaining consistent in directing their narratives toward positions they deem important to emphasize. The inclusion of police officials in the narrative reinforces legal authority, while the exclusion of the identities of the victims and Rizieq Shihab creates a narrative that is less focused on the individuals directly affected. This illustrates how media can selectively highlight or obscure certain information according to their editorial agendas.

The use of exclusion and inclusion strategies in this context is very important to understand, as it can influence public perception of the reported events. By identifying these patterns, we can be more critical in assessing media reports and more aware of the potential biases present. This research makes a significant contribution to critical discourse studies by highlighting the ways in which media shape narratives that align with their objectives, both explicitly and implicitly.

Reporting in online news media, particularly related to the clashes between police officers and followers of Rizieq Shihab, often employs certain strategies to present information to the public. One of the frequently used strategies is the inclusion strategy, which is a discourse approach used to describe or highlight something, someone, or a group in the news text. This strategy is important in examining how media influences public perception of the reported events. The inclusion strategy is a discourse approach used to describe or highlight something, someone, or a group in the news text (Badrih,

2022; Tenriawali, 2018). The scope of this strategy includes various forms of inclusion, such as indifferentiation-differentiation, objectivation-abstraction, individualization-assimilation, and nominalization-identification. The depiction in the table below can show the acquisition of data regarding the inclusion strategy on the news portals Merdeka.com and Detik.com in their reporting on Habib Rizieq Shihab.

Table 3. Inclusion Strategy on the News Portals Merdeka.com and Detik.com in Reporting on Habib Rizieq Shihab.

Inklusi Strategi	News Portal	Amount	Persentase
Indeferensiasi-deferensiasi	Merdeka.com	1	33,3%
Objektivitasi-abstraksi		2	66,6%
Amount		3	100%
Objektivitasi-abstraksi	Detik.com	3	50%
individualisasi-asimilasi		1	25%
nominalisasi-identifikasi		1	25%
Amount		5	100%

Based on the table above, it can be seen that the news portal Merdeka.com uses the objectivation-abstraction inclusion strategy more frequently. Objectivation refers to the specification of a quantity in a clear manner, such as the following quote that mentions 'Metro Jaya Police Chief, Inspector General Fadil Imran' specifically, indicating the individual as the main actor. In contrast, abstraction refers to a quantity that is not clearly defined or is expressed in general terms, such as hundreds, thousands, or many (Alfianika, 2016; Setiawan et al., 2022).

This can be seen from the percentage of 66.6%, indicating that this strategy is used more frequently compared to other inclusion strategies, such as the differentiation-indifference strategy, which only amounts to 1 and, when calculated as a percentage, totals 33.3%

Detik.com portal more frequently employs the inclusion strategy (objectivation-abstraction) to steer readers' perceptions away from the existing reality. The use of this strategy can lead to increased reader expectations regarding the actual events. This can be evidenced by the data collected, which shows a rate of 50%. In contrast, the

percentages for the individualization-assimilation and nominalization-identification strategies are balanced at 1:1, or 25% for each of the inclusion strategies. Some quotes that demonstrate the application of Theo Van Leeuwen's theory in the Detik.com news portal are as follows: 'An attack has occurred against police officers carrying out investigations related to the planned examination of MRS (Muhammad Rizieq Shihab), scheduled for today at 10:00 AM WIB.' (objectivity), 'Starting from information regarding the mobilization of mass during the examination of Brother MRS at the Metro Jaya Police, from various sources, including media colleagues who may have received news via a WA group that there would be a mass mobilization.'"

The use of the phrases 'various sources' and 'mass group' represents a form of abstraction, as they do not specify the sources of information or the number of people involved. (Abstraction) 'Members whose lives were threatened due to the attack then took measured and decisive action against the group suspected to be followers of MRS, resulting in 6 out of 10 people dying.' - In this quote, 'the group suspected to be followers of MRS' presents social actors as a whole without identifying the individuals within it, which is an example of indifferentiation. (Indifferentiation) 'Fadil stated that the police acted in self-defense because they were attacked.' - In this quote, there is a differentiation made regarding the police's actions, clearly stating the specific reason 'because they were attacked,' which places the police's actions in a different context from the other actors. (Differentiation) - Here, the use of specific timing (10:00 AM WIB) indicates the presence of objectivity in the presentation of information.

In the reporting by Merdeka.com, inclusion strategies are applied through the inclusion of police officers and followers of Rizieq Shihab in the narrative. The police are explicitly portrayed through the statement of the Metro Jaya Police Chief, who reveals that their actions in the incident were part of their investigative duties and were a self-defense effort. This narrative reinforces the image of the police as law enforcers acting according to procedure. Supporters of Rizieq Shihab are included in the narrative as the party that attacked the police, which then led to decisive actions from law enforcement. Rizieq Shihab himself, although not directly present in the narrative, appears as a central figure who incited reactions from his supporting masses

In the reporting by Detik.com, inclusion strategies also depict police officers as the main actors carrying out investigative duties and responding to real threats. Followers of Rizieq Shihab are included as the group that attacked the police, which then faced retaliatory actions that resulted in the deaths of six of these followers. Although differing in some details, both media consistently highlight the roles of the police and Rizieq Shihab's supporters in the incident, reinforcing the narrative of authority in managing the crisis situation.

This study is considered to provide significant contributions to the broadcasting system in Indonesia because the two aforementioned variables, namely the reporting on Habib Rizieq Shihab in the news portals Detik.com and Merdeka.com, are interconnected as they show a significant relationship.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this study indicates that online media, such as Merdeka.com and Detik.com, actively employ exclusion and inclusion strategies in their reporting to shape narratives and influence public perception. Critical discourse analysis using Theo van Leeuwen's theory reveals that these two news portals have differing tendencies in employing these strategies. Merdeka.com more frequently uses passive exclusion strategies to obscure social actors, while Detik.com tends to use nominalization strategies to obscure the roles of specific actors

In terms of inclusion strategies, Merdeka.com predominantly uses the objectivation-abstraction strategy to describe events in a general or abstract manner, while Detik.com also employs this strategy to guide reader perception, but with the addition of individualization-assimilation and nomination-identification strategies. The differences in the use of these strategies indicate that each media outlet has specific agendas and values that they aim to convey to the public

This research contributes to the understanding of how online media in Indonesia shapes and conveys information through language choices and news structures, as well as how this can influence public opinion. The findings of this study also highlight the importance of critical discourse analysis in identifying biases and hidden agendas in reporting, which can ultimately enhance media literacy among the public.

The results indicate that there are marginalized actors or those without power, such as during the assimilation stage where victims from Rizieq Shihab's side are sidelined by emphasizing the police, who were first threatened by Rizieq Shihab's side. It is hoped that these findings will have a positive impact on the development of knowledge, particularly in the field of critical discourse analysis. The author encourages readers to be more critical of the news discourse they encounter by comparing it with other reports, and urges future researchers to use different news objects to advance knowledge related to critical discourse

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