



REPRESENTATION OF INJUSTICE IN POS-KUPANG.COM'S COVERAGE OF THE BESIPAE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE (NORMAN FAIRCLOUGH'S CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS)

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ABSTRACT

This research was carried out to uncover the practice of producing injustice about the Besipae Indigenous people in Pos-Kupang.Com news based on the analysis of Norman Fairclough's critical discourse. In achieving these efforts, a qualitative method was used with analysis techniques from Fairclough consisting of text analysis, discursive practices, and socio-cultural practices. Based on the results of this study, information was obtained that (a) from the aspect of the partiality of the text of the Pos-Kupang.Com news emerged with the use of diction choices (vocabulary), the use of grammar, coherence, a series of sentences, and elements of intertextuality that sought to legitimize the position of the NTT Provincial Government in Besipae and rationalize the acts of violence that have been launched by the NTT Provincial Government against the local community. (b) The process of media news production cannot be separated from the socio-cultural context that underpins it, including: (1) situational level, where news production Pos-Kupang.Com clash with the massive rejection of the Besipae community, (2) institutional level, which can be captured from the dominance of the NTT Provincial Government's statements in the news. (3) At the social level, the researcher found that there is a political choice of this mass media that tends to legitimize the position of the NTT Provincial Government in Besipae.

Keywords: (a) Critical Discourse Analysis, (b) Legitimacy, (c) Rationalization and Domination

1. INTRODUCTION

The problems facing the indigenous community of Besipae, Mio Village, South Amanuban Sub-District, South Central Timor District, East Nusa Tenggara Province have sparked the attention of many parties. This was triggered by a condition, where it is unusual for a case to occur between a small community and its own government, which is the authority that guarantees the quality and quality of life of the people. The recognition of ownership of 3,780 hectares of Pubabu Customary Forest land by the East Nusa Tenggara Provincial Government certainly burdens the Besipae community who inhabit the area. Nevertheless, the East Nusa Tenggara provincial government still insists on maintaining the decision to explore and turn the area into livestock, plantations and tourism, quoted from bbc.com (Thursday, August 20, 2020).

Public discourse became increasingly dialectical, when mass media recorded several mothers from the local community giving themselves shirtless to demand that the East Nusa Tenggara provincial government stop the exploration of the Pubabu Customary Forest area on May 12, 2020. However, the government, which has been driven by the development narrative, ignored

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the community's vulgar reaction, instead continuing to argue with welfare issues to the point of evicting houses and launching repressive actions against the local community by mobilizing the state apparatus. As a result of "Evicted from Pubabu Customary Forest, Besipae Indigenous People Live Under Trees," quoted from Kompas.Com (Friday, August 21, 2020). This phenomenon is a portrait of moral decline and the issue of equal rights between citizens in East Nusa Tenggara is still very relevant.

In this chaotic situation, the presence of journalism is important to fight for humanism and equality. Pramoedya Ananta Toer, in four novels he wrote during his 14-year imprisonment on Buru Island, framed the mass media as a means of struggle. The presence of mass media is certainly not to judge one party, but to delegitimize various efforts that defame the sovereignty of the people from what they have, both their physical bodies and their rights to land ownership to care for generations. The researcher assimilates this responsibility in two fragments of thought highlighted from the dimensions of mass media communication ethics, namely: (1) tolerance of mass media in favor of victims and (2) the responsibility of mass media to provide an information base that is as it is, sharp and sensitive to a social phenomenon. However, this ethical impulse does not appear in Pos-Kupang.Com's online media coverage of the Besipae indigenous people. This fact was recorded from some of Pos-Kupang.Com's reporting in the period October 2022 - December 2022, as presented in the following table:

Table 1. Pos-Kupang.Com News Table about Besipae Community

Title	Link
<i>Persoalan Besipae Timor Tengah Selatan Belum Selesai, ITA PKK Minta Pemerintah Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur Duduk Bersama</i> (Means: South Central Timor Besipae Issue Unfinished, ITA PKK asks East Nusa Tenggara Provincial Government to discuss together)	https://kupang.tribunnews.com/2022/10/15/per-soalan-besipae-timor-tengah-selatan-belum-selesai-ita-pkk-minta-pemprov-ntt-duduk-bersama?page=all
<i>Besipae TTS Kembali Memanas, Pemrov NTT Gusur Rumah Warga</i> (Means; Besipae, South Central Timor Reignites Heat, East Nusa Tenggara Provincial Government Evicts Residents' Houses)	https://kupang.tribunnews.com/2022/10/20/besipae-tts-kembali-memanas-pemprov-ntt-gusur-rumah-warga
<i>Pemprov NTT Sebut Kejadian di Besipae TTS Adalah Penertiban</i> (Means: East Nusa Tenggara Provincial Government Calls Besipae Incident a Curbing Order)	https://kupang.tribunnews.com/2022/10/22/pemprov-ntt-sebut-kejadian-di-besipae-tts-adalah-penertiban
<i>Kasus Besipae TTS, Para Okupan Enggan Bertemu Gubernur NTT</i> (Means: in Besipae Case, Okupan Reluctant to Meet East Nusa Tenggara Governor)	https://kupang.tribunnews.com/2022/10/27/kasus-besipae-tts-para-okupan-enggan-bertemu-gubernur-ntt
<i>Gubernur NTT Viktor Laiskodat Tanam Lamtoro di Besipae</i> (Means: East Nusa Tenggara Governor Viktor Laiskodat Planting Lamtoro in Besipae)	https://kupang.tribunnews.com/2022/10/28/gubernur-ntt-viktor-laiskodat-tanam-lamtoro-di-besipae
<i>Tunggu Kebijakan Status Tanah Pubabu, Warga Besipae Masak di depan Kantor Gubernur NTT</i> (Means: Waiting for Pubabu Land Status Policy, Besipae Residents Cook in front of East Nusa Tenggara Governor's Office)	https://kupang.tribunnews.com/2022/12/08/tunggu-kebijakan-status-tanah-bubabu-warga-besipae-masak-di-depan-kantor-gubernur-ntt

Source: Researcher, (2024)



News construction with such an asymmetrical language structure is an indicator of Pos-Kupang.Com's attitude that leans in favor of the authorities. The siding is certainly not obvious, but is decomposed in the form of vague news sentences, unclear words, ambiguous terms and a lowly language style, but hides a certain intention. Such a mass media ecosystem seems to confirm Marshall McLuhan's theory "the medium is the message", the media is the message itself. The influence of mass media in producing and distributing messages can configure a desired social order. This condition implies that realism becomes invalidated at this level. So, to reveal the interests of the mass media that are crystallized in their news discourse, a complete methodological tool is needed. This lawsuit certainly cannot follow the logic of mechanistic positivistic thinking or structuralism which tends to examine media language from a structural perspective, even though language is not a fixed and static entity. Therefore, a method is needed that goes beyond the analysis of positivism and structuralism, which Norman Fairclough calls Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Critical Discourse Analysis study is one of the disciplines based on the traces of post-structuralism and neo-marxism thinking with emancipative goals. The role of critical discourse analysis studies is becoming increasingly important in the midst of the current information onslaught and disruption. By integrating social, economic and political elements that Fairclough classifies into three aspects of study, critical discourse analysis studies associate themselves as an empirical study and distance themselves from abstract and contemplative analysis. The three aspects Fairclough refers to are: (a) text analysis; (b) production process analysis; and (c) sociocultural analysis.

Therefore, the concentration of critical discourse analysis studies focuses on aspects that hegemonize and dominate the process of meaning production in the newsroom. This implies that the main spotlight of critical discourse analysis leans on elements of critical language or critical linguistics. This foundation is due to the subject's position which is always changing and is fully determined by the relations and configuration of the discourse that surrounds it. Language is then not only a material that constructs a news discourse, but becomes a medium that dominates due to the influence of these relations.

The exclusivity of language is only by critical dismantling (de-construction) that the burden of ideological meaning is known (Ajidarma, 2023) and the existence of domination that is often hidden in the building of language texts is exposed (Narwaya, 2021). Martin Heidegger calls it "the house of human being (Antonius, 2021)", the common house. The house intended by Heidegger, of course, does not only unite physically, but also the interests of its inhabitants. At this level, language becomes a medium of power (Pierre Bourdieu) that shows characteristics that hide the interests and goals of the ruler. This is affirmed by Eriyanto (2001), "language is a battlefield through which various groups and social classes try to instill their beliefs and understandings." The ideas put forward by these experts also affirm that the meaning of language is not a-priori, but an a-posteori meaning that has been influenced by the socio-historical context.



Language as an ideological practice implies that power is actually not centralized in patron-client relationships, but decomposes into all lines of life. This affirms Michel Foucault's panopticon theory, which suggests the omnipresent characteristics of power. Therefore, this research actually seeks to explore the practice of power that is hidden behind the language games of the mass media. Because ontologically language in the framework of critical discourse analysis is a tool to reveal hidden interests in the mass media.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

This type of research is descriptive qualitative. In this case, the researcher seeks to reveal the production practices of injustice about the Besipae indigenous people on the Pos-Kupang.Com news through Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis framework. The data sources in this study are categorized into two, namely document data from the Pos-Kupang.Com news text in the period August 2022 - December 2022 and interview data with journalists as news writers and leaders of Pos-Kupang.Com mass media. The data collection technique is a document technique by collecting data directly from data sources and the interview process with news writers and the head of the Pos-Kupang.Com mass media to find out the influence of media political ideology on the configuration of mass media coverage. The data analysis technique used is a qualitative technique.

The procedures followed from the data collection process to the data analysis process are (a) Searching for written data sources in the Pos-Kupang.Com newspaper for the period October 2022 - December 2022. (b) Determining purposively the news to be analyzed. This is in line with the opinion of Guba and Lincoln (in Alwasilah, 2011), purposive selection of samples because researchers want to increase the scope and distance of the data sought in order to obtain a variety of realities, so that the findings will be firmly grounded. (c) After going through the news selection stage, the interview process was then carried out in depth (closed).

3. RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Text Analysis

In the description section, the analysis is concentrated on the study of media coverage texts. The fundamental thing that needs to be analyzed is the use of vocabulary associated with certain meanings (Haryatmoko, 2022). Critical Discourse Analysis here is certainly not to verify the structure of language, but to analyze the meaning of mass media language. Because ontologically, Critical Discourse Analysis sees language as an instrument used by the ruler to strengthen his power. This certainly does not pretend to displace the function of language structure with its various methodical tools. However, the concentration of structuralist studies on language structure has distorted the interest content of a news text so that it escapes attention and criticism. Broadly speaking, the text analysis process can be explained into four levels that Fairclough categorizes at the level of representation, relation, identity and intertextuality. Based on these four levels of analysis, researchers found several aspects in this dimension of textuality.

Representation Level

The level of representation refers to how the use of diction (vocabulary), grammar, coherence, and interrelationships between sentences are displayed in the news. This process is orchestrated



to create an understanding that legitimizes the government's position in Besipae and rationalizes the violence that the government has committed against the local community.

Construction of Understanding (Cognitive) on the Besipae News

The cognitive construction referred to here is the journalist's effort to build understanding with readers. This is in line with Cohen's opinion (in Noor, 2010), "the media do not influence viewers or readers how to think, but the media influence their readers to determine what to think." The enormous influence of mass media in creating social reality, of course, cannot be separated from the position of language as a marking commodity. Therefore, the phenomenon of language is interesting to examine because language is no longer an autonomous and arbitrary entity, but is a social construction that holds various interests in it. Fairclough calls it the commodification of language, where language has been used for interests outside of the language element itself, a tool of positioning, siding and manipulation. This commodification process is also actualized in Pos-Kupang.Com's reporting on the Besipae community which is intended to encourage the Kosabangsa Program in the Pubabu Customary Forest area by the government.

This legitimization process can be seen from the representation between sentences in the first, third, fifth and sixth news reports. The representation between sentences in the first news reads "Separately, the Head of South Amanuban Sub-District Yohanes Asbanu, S.Pt when confirmed by Pos Kupang said that he could not comment much because the condition of Besipae was the authority of the East Nusa Tenggara Provincial Government" (Beginning) and "He explained that his party on October 14, 2022 had calmed the condition of the mass action and until now the situation was safe." (End).

In the initial quote, Amanuban Selatan Sub-District Head Yohanes Asbanu explicitly explains that Besipae is under the authority of the government. This statement certainly eliminates the rights of the Besipae community as owners of the Pubabu Customary Forest area and negates the decision of Komnas HAM with letter number 2.720/K/PMT/XI/2012 which instructs to return agricultural land borrowed by the Livestock Service Office of NTT Province which ended in 2012 to residents and evaluate the UPTD of East Nusa Tenggara Province and the Livestock Service Office Program involving residents. In addition, the embedding of mass to identify community efforts to stop government projects in Besipae semantically has the potential to imply linguistic and cultural colonization of the Besipae community. Because the term mass itself is usually interpreted as 'uncultured, ignorant and anarchic groups of people' (Faruk, 2018). Thus, the embedding of the masses in the Besipae community by journalists is analogous to a destructive group.

This legitimization process is again tightened by the use of the word want which illustrates the form of participants in the second news report which reads, "Meanwhile, Niko Manao, another Besipae resident, said they wanted the government to show the boundaries of the land owned by the East Nusa Tenggara Provincial Livestock Service." The use of the word want by journalists illustrates the will of the community, which seems to want to acquire the Pubabu Customary Forest to the Government under the pretext of showing boundaries. The term want is an attempt by journalists to translate the attitude of the Besipae community with the intention of strengthening the existence of the government in Besipae.

This process is reaffirmed by the use of coherence of extension in the third news which explains, "he admitted, various programs carried out by the government also involved the community. However, a handful of people actually took the opposite action and rejected the



development of the location. This quote is an excerpt of a direct statement delivered by the Head of the East Nusa Tenggara Revenue and Assets Agency Alex Lumba. Structurally, the use of the conjunction but explains an opposition relationship attempted by journalists to show the seriousness of the government in developing the Pubabu Customary Forest into a productive forest which allegedly includes the community in its implementation.

The use of conjunctions but also appears in the combination between sentences in the second and third news which has the same meaning collocation with coherence of extension which reads, "This eviction action was blocked by local residents. However, the government through the Regional Revenue and Assets Agency together with the East Nusa Tenggara Province Pamong Praja Police Unit, which was closely guarded by security forces, continued to carry out the eviction" (second news). The use of the conjunction but by journalists in the text reviews the dynamics of the forced eviction process of the Besipae community's dwelling. In addition, the position of the conjunction but explains the authority and share of the government over the Pubabu Customary Forest, which is represented by the presence of the Regional Revenue and Assets Agency and the East Nusa Tenggara Province Pamong Praja Police Unit in the text.

The following representation in a series of inter-sentences in the third news reads, "Previously, on Thursday, October 20, 2022, the Government carried out curbs on a number of house buildings in the Besipae area" (beginning) and "The house occupied by the residents is a building carried out by the Provincial Government in 2020" (end). In both excerpts of this news text (beginning and end), journalists show one plural participant, namely the provincial government of East Nusa Tenggara. In the first sentence, the participant explains that government assets have been demolished in the Pubabu Customary Forest area. Then in the final sentence, the journalist affirms his statement by using the minor premise that the asset is a building (dwelling) owned by the government. So the conclusion is that dismantling the building is legal and reasonable.

From this it appears that the journalist's logic is built on a narrow, twisted and unsubstantiated foundation of reasoning. Any state has its people and the responsibility of the state is to accommodate the interests of its people. Even long before the state was formed, the people existed, so this eviction process certainly negates the obligations of the state and the ideals of Indonesian independence to protect all of its citizens. Bung Karno said that land and people cannot be separated, the state is an integral unit between the two (Kleden, 2020). The Besipae community is a representation of small communities and other minorities whose citizenship rights are alienated and even oppressed in the name of policy. Whereas the state without the people, will not be a state.

Representation in a series of inter-sentences that follows is in the fifth news report which reads, "The Governor of East Nusa Tenggara, Viktor Laiskodat, said that the planting of lamtoro saplings was as cattle feed and besides the leaves as feed, the stems can be used for woodchips as raw materials to replace coal for the Steam Power Plant in Bolok" (beginning) and "After planting, the Kosabangsa program launching event took place at the Besipae livestock installation mess" (end). The two quotes above have a correlation between one another. In the initial quote, the journalist describes the lamtoro plant as one of the Government's cultivation plants in Besipae which is projected to have more use value. Among them, the leaves of this plant can be used as animal feed, while the stems of the lamtoro plant can be used for woodchips as raw materials to replace coal for the Steam Power Plant in Bolok. Confirming this statement,



in the final sentence the journalist confirmed it with the launching of the Kosabangsa program as a follow-up to the government's idea in the first sentence.

The legitimacy effort above is confirmed through the use of the word launching, which illustrates the process of action in the fourth news report which reads, "Meanwhile, the Governor of East Nusa Tenggara, Viktor Bungtilu Laiskodat, in his remarks at the Launching of the Social Collaboration Building Communities (Kosabangsa) program, said that the government is present everywhere for the welfare of its people". The use of the word launching in this news text by journalists reveals the intention behind the acquisition of Pubabu Customary Forest by the government. Journalists claim that the government is present everywhere for the welfare of its people, including in Besipae. The narrativization constructed by journalists seeks to form a collective imagination in readers that the government has good intentions, even though its practices are unilateral and violent. Then, the forced eviction of the Besipae community by the government has certainly acted outside the boundaries of reasonable humanity.

Representation in the series between the last sentences is in the sixth news which reads, "Yohana Bait residents ask the government to provide certainty about the boundaries of Pubabu land so that the community gets clarity on the status of land in Pubabu" (beginning) and "Because the provincial government of East Nusa Tenggara has evicted residents' houses so that they no longer have a place to live and for shelter residents live under trees and open tarpaulins for shelter from heat and rain" (end). These two news quotations are semantically relevant and interrelated between the first and last quotations. In the first quote, the journalist explains the Besipae community's request to the government for a boundary, between land owned by the community and land to be managed by the government. The phrase boundary designation implicitly explains the authority of the East Nusa Tenggara provincial government over the Pubabu Customary Forest. In the final sentence, the journalist then elaborates on the urgency of the establishment of the boundary and compares it with the condition of abandonment experienced by the Besipae community after the eviction of their homes by the government. Here, it can be seen that the journalist is trying to strengthen the position of the East Nusa Tenggara provincial government in Besipae by using the people's destitution as a vehicle.

The affirmation effort is also affirmed by the use of action grammar in the third news report by using the word order, which reads, "So by order, the asset agency then carried out the order or dismantled the houses built by the government and community houses on government land." The word order in this discourse quote is used by journalists to explain the intention behind the eviction of houses in the Besipae area by the government. The journalist explained that the buildings that were demolished belonged to the government and the residences that stood unlicensed on government land. Therefore, the government has a stake and the right to demolish the houses. The phrase "on government land" at the end of the quote confirms and legitimizes the eviction.

The Process of Rationalizing the Injustice of Pos-Kupang.Com News Coverage

The rationalization process referred to here is the journalist's attempt to justify the violence perpetrated by the government against the Besipae community. This process can be traced from linguistic facts, especially the choice of diction (vocabulary). The choice of diction in question is the word action, occupation, and order. The journalists' choice of diction can be categorized into two aspects based on the method of analysis, namely the process of dysphemism (action) and the process of euphemism (occupation, demolition, and order).



First, the process of dysphemism or roughening of word meaning. This process is manifested in the word action found in the first news article that reads, "Besipae residents who are members of the ITA PKK Group held a protest action at the Besipae Livestock Installation in Dusun III Besipae, Linamnutu Village, Amanuban Selatan Subdistrict, TTS Regency, Friday, October 14, 2022 at around 12.00 Wita." The term action semantically has a harsh and evolutive meaning. The dysphemism of the word action by journalists also implies the uncompromising and exclusive mentality of the Besipae community and its collocation with destructiveness. Second, the process of euphemism or the smoothing of word meaning. The first euphemism process can be traced from the use of the word okupan in the third news report which reads, "The Head of the East Nusa Tenggara Revenue and Assets Agency, Alex Lumba, explained that in 2020 through the policy of Governor Viktor Bungtilu Laiskodat, a house was built for local residents. The house was built and identified okupan or local residents to occupy the house." Journalists By using the word okupan, the position of the Besipae community is simplified in terms of terminology. In this way, violence becomes impersonal. This triggers the banalization of crime because the state apparatus does not feel that they are intimidating the people, but those who occupy government land (okupan).

On the other hand, this word has a political ideological motive that is intended to strengthen the position of the NTT Provincial Government in Besipae. The second euphemism process is the use of the word order in the third news report which reads, "Previously, on Thursday, October 20, 2022, the Provincial Government carried out order on a number of houses in the Besipae area. The houses occupied by residents are buildings that were carried out by the Provincial Government in 2020." The use of the word order in the text explains the NTT Provincial Government's efforts to secure regional assets that have been annexed by the community in Besipae. The term order linguistically consists of the confix "pe(n)-kan" which means 'making order'. Thus, order can be interpreted as a series of activities aimed at achieving a state, precisely an orderly or safe state. The use of this term clearly overrides the rights of the Besipae community as an integral part of the Pubabu Customary Forest area and their rights as citizens to receive attention from the state, including proper housing facilities.

Relationship Level

Relationships relate to how participants in the mass media relate and are presented in the text. At this level, researchers seek to see how the pattern of relationships built between journalists, public participants and audiences.

Journalists' relationship with the Besipae community

The relationship between journalists and the Besipae community can be traced in the first news report, which seeks to strengthen the position and authority of the NTT Provincial Government over the Pubabu Customary Forest. The legitimization process is manifested in the following quote: "We are not rejecting, but we want to ask the provincial government that there should be a resolution of the problem first before the project can run. This is because in 2020 there was a massive problem and at that time the NTT Police Chief came down and met with the victim community, he advised the community that the community temporarily lived in a house built by the provincial government while waiting for a decision so we obeyed what the police chief said. However, because the decision has not yet been made, why is the project running. For this reason, we, the community, are protesting," he said irritably.



This quote is an excerpt of Niko Manao's direct statement representing the Besipae community. Here, Niko Manao explains that the community does not reject the government's efforts to manage the Pubabu Customary Forest area into a productive forest. This is introduced by Niko Manao from the use of the term "we are not rejecting" at the beginning of the quote which implicitly explains the desire of the community he represents to acquire the Pubabu Customary Forest to the NTT Provincial Government. This of course drowns out the long struggle of indigenous peoples who are trying to stop the exploration of the Pubabu Customary Forest area by the NTT Provincial Government. By building such an asymmetrical and unbalanced relationship, the journalist seeks to legitimize the NTT Provincial Government's position in Besipae.

Journalists' relationship with public participants (NTT Provincial Government)

The relationship built by journalists with public participants (NTT provincial government) has a motive that is no different from the relationship built with the Besipae community, which is orchestrated to legitimize the position of the NTT Provincial Government in the Pubabu Customary Forest area. The legitimization process is manifested in the following quote: "The process of demolishing residents' houses was carried out by members of the NTT Provincial Satpol and NTT Provincial Asset employees directly led by the Head of the NTT Regional Revenue and Asset Agency Alex Lumba, SH. Members of the TTS Police and NTT Regional Police Brimob were seen providing security at the location." In the news excerpt, the journalist displays the relationship of the public participant (NTT Provincial Government) represented by the Head of the NTT Regional Revenue and Assets Agency, Alex Lumba. The representation of the state apparatus in the text implies that the demolition process is an official policy of the government. In addition, the use of the word led which refers to the Head of the NTT Regional Revenue and Assets Agency, Alex Lumba, explains the authority of the NTT Provincial Government over the Pubabu Customary Forest.

Identity Level

The identity level relates to how journalists are constructed in a news report. This is to show how journalists position themselves with social problems or social groups involved. By referring to this aspect, researchers have arrived at the synthesis that the process of self-identification of journalists in Pos-Kupang.Com's coverage of the Besipae community is not proportional or asymmetrical. The six news articles show the journalists' partiality to continue the Kosabangsa Program in Besipae and rationalize the NTT Provincial Government's violent actions against the Besipae community. The following table presents the journalists' identity identification:

Table 2. Journalist identity identification table

News	Identity
First News	Identified as a community that legitimizes the NTT Provincial Government's presence in Besipae.
Second News	Identified as a community that legitimizes the NTT Provincial Government's presence in Besipae.
Third News	Identified as Head of NTT Revenue and Assets Agency
Fourth News	Identification as Governor of NTT
Fifth News	Identification as Head of Kosabangsa Program
Sixth News	Identification as Chairperson of Pospera TTS

Source : Researcher, (2024)



Intertextuality

Intertextuality analysis assumes that a text does not stand alone (Rokhman and Surahmat, 2016), meaning that there are other texts that support the existence of the text concerned. The intertextuality approach itself refers to a term in which texts and expressions are shaped by texts that came before, respond to each other and one part of the text anticipates the other (Eriyanto, 2001). In terms of intertextuality, the researcher found that there are four types of intertextuality elements that emerge in Pos-Kupang.Com's mass media coverage of the Besipae community. The intertextuality elements include genre, irony, presupposition, and metadiscourse.

- a) The genre element can be traced in the first and sixth news reports. In the first report, it is revealed from linguistic facts, especially those concerning the wording. This can be traced from the use of words or phrases, such as: protests, visiting and blocking, which show affinity for the NTT Provincial Government's position in Besipae by the author. The sixth news report is captured in the sentence, "Residents of Yohana Bait asked the NTT Provincial Government to provide certainty about the Pubabu land boundary so that the community gets clarity on the status of land in Pubabu. Because the NTT Provincial Government has evicted residents' houses so that they no longer have a place to live and for shelter residents live under trees and open tarpaulins for shelter from heat and rain." This quote, which consists of two sentences, shows an affirmative causal relationship. In the first sentence, the journalist explains that Yohana Bait, one of the residents representing the Besipae community, asked the NTT Provincial Government to show the land boundaries. This means that the community wants land boundaries. This message is of course very lame because it overrides the rights of indigenous peoples as customary owners. Then, in the second sentence, the journalist affirms his statement in the first sentence by explaining that the NTT Provincial Government has evicted people's houses, so the logical implication is that new land must be replaced for the affected communities.
- b) The element of irony can be seen in the second news. This is actualized in the text in the statement of Ester Selan, a resident of Besipae who argued, "he said that he felt funny with the NTT Provincial Government because the Provincial Government built the house, then the Provincial Government also demolished it itself." The word funny in the first clause, "he said he felt funny about the NTT Provincial Government" is semantically very paradoxical. On the one hand, the community must be faced with a condition of neglect due to the absence of shelter and protection. However, on the other hand, the journalist translates this condition by extracting it with the diction "funny" which reveals the mental situation of the people who seem not to be bothered by this situation.
- c) The element of presupposition is found in the third news. This process can be traced from the sentence "Previously, on Thursday, October 20, 2022, the Provincial Government carried out a number of house buildings in the Besipae area. The houses occupied by residents are buildings carried out by the Provincial Government in 2020." The previous modality in the first clause explains the process of controlling assets carried out by the government.
- d) The element of metadiscourse is found in the fifth news report. Referring to the definition put forward by Eriyanto (2001) metadiscourse is a condition in which the author of the text gives a different level to the text he has and makes a distance from other texts. The difference is manifested in the limitation and identification of the planting action carried



out by the Governor of NTT in Besipae. This is what distinguishes the text from several news reports from other mass media that tend to highlight the phenomenon (Besipae) with a general frame of understanding.

This can be seen from the application of news titles from several related mass media as attached to the following comparison table:

Table 3. News Comparison

Media	News title	Period
Victorynews.id	Besipae Becomes an Energy Forest and People's Farm	28 October 2022
Floresa.co	NTT Provincial Government Claims Pubabu Customary Forest, Ignoring Unresolved Conflicts with Besipae Residents	28 October 2022

Source : Researcher, (2024)

Discursive Process Analysis

The description of the discursive process is an attempt to reconstruct the news production process in the mass media. This process is attempted to see how the practice of ideological struggle occurs in the configuration of mass media news discourse. There are at least three stages or sequences that researchers record in this process, namely: (1) pre-production, (2) production, and (3) post-production. Basically, these three processes indicate an ideological struggle that is mutually binding and imperative. The pre-production stage is an ideologization process where journalists are directed to see the Besipae issue as a case. The implication is that Pos-Kupang.Com's mass media coverage of the Besipae community is very careful because there is a clash of interests between the government and the indigenous people there. This is very possible considering Pos-Kupang.Com is one of the profit-oriented oilopolitical organizations. Thus, the news of the Pos-Kupang.Com mass media is certainly very measured and tested. In addition, this process was also triggered by the intersection of interests between the NTT Provincial Government on the one hand and the Pos-Kupang.Com mass media on the other, which has existed since the mass media was initiated by government intervention. The Governor of NTT at that time, Elias Tari, supported the establishment of Pos Kupang (in 1977) which sought to become a government partner to socialize local government policies concerning people's welfare. So, at this level, the media ideology of this mass media can be concluded to be development journalism. The production stage should be the logical implication of the framework built by this mass media in the pre-production stage (ideologization). From the researcher's search, information was obtained that in the production process these mass media journalists were in the shadow of strict power. This can be seen from the choice of sources, which is dominated by the bureaucracy and the community, which seeks to legitimize the existence of the NTT Provincial Government in Besipae. In addition, any news produced by journalists in relation to the Besipae community will be confirmed back to the government under the pretext of data accuracy. This



certainly emphasizes how this mass media has a high vigilance attitude in order to avoid excessive legal proceedings and of course maintain the business ecosystem built between these two institutions. Then, in the post-production stage, news that has gone through the two previous processes is intervened again by the editor to verify the content and writing rules determined by the editor.

Socio-cultural context analysis

Basically, sociocultural practice analysis is based on the assumption that the social context that exists outside the media affects how discourse appears in the media (Eriyanto, 2001). Fairclough studied it with three methods of sociocultural practice analysis, namely: situational, institutional, and social levels.

- a) Situational level, seeing that a special situation in a social phenomenon or news is able to influence and even shape a configuration of news discourse. The emergence of Pos-Kupang.Com's news related to the Kosabangsa Program in the Pubabu Customary Forest area goes hand in hand with the massive rejection of the Besipae community and non-governmental organizations (Walhi NTT), as well as mass media coverage that is pro-indigenous peoples. This rejection is based on considerations of the safety of the Pubabu Customary Forest from looting and illegal logging on behalf of certain policies.
- b) Institutional level, seeing how the influence of organizational institutions in the practice of discourse production in the Pos-Kupang.Com mass media. The institution in question does not solely come from within the media, but also comes from outside the media. Pos-Kupang.Com's coverage of the Kosabangsa program in Besipae clearly includes institutions outside of the media that seek to legitimize the Kosabangsa Program. This is reflected in the news sources that are dominated by affirmative and declarative statements from relevant officials who seek to maintain the status quo to continue the social collaboration program to build communities (Kosabangsa) in Besipae.
- c) Social level, the analysis of the social dimension leans towards the macro element, where the text is shaped by and shapes certain social praxis. In this dimension, researchers try to examine the influence of the dimensions of the political ideology of the media that are decomposed in the news of the Pos-Kupang.Com mass media which tends to favor the NTT Provincial Government. From the results of the analysis process, it can be seen that the dimensions of the political ideology of the Pos-Kupang.Com mass media tend to side with the NTT Provincial Government. This siding is based on the intersection of interests between the NTT Provincial Government and Pos Kupang. Since this mass media was initiated in 1976 (officially established in 1992), the then Governor of NTT (Elias Tari) supported the establishment of Pos Kupang to become a government partner in reporting government policies and people's welfare. This implies that the political ideology of this mass media tends to prioritize development journalism. Thus, Pos-Kupang.Com's coverage of the Besipae community tends to encourage the Kosabangsa Program in Besipae.

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4. CONCLUSION

Based on the results of this study, three conclusions can be drawn as follows. First, from the text aspect, the partiality of the Pos-Kupang.Com news appears with the use of diction (vocabulary), the use of grammar, coherence, and the series between sentences that attempt to legitimize the NTT Provincial Government's position in Besipae and rationalize the acts of violence that have been launched by the NTT Provincial Government against the local community. The impartial structure of mass media coverage also appears by building asymmetrical relationships and the process of identifying journalists disproportionately by representing figures who support the NTT Provincial Government's Kosabangsa Program in Besipae.

Second, the news production process of Pos-Kupang.Com mass media cannot be separated from the socio-cultural context. This implies that the analysis of critical discourse at the meso level, especially at the production level, cannot be separated from the analysis at the macro level, namely the socio-cultural context that overshadows it. The socio-cultural context in question refers to the analytical method used by Norman Fairclough which includes situational, institutional and social aspects. Third, from the theoretical side, Pos-Kupang.Com's siding in the news about the Besipae community is aimed at equalizing perceptions between readers and the NTT Provincial Government. This is sought to strengthen the position of the NTT Provincial Government in Besipae and rationalize the violent actions that have been launched by the government against the local community.

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