

**DISCOURSE ON ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION:  
A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL STATEMENTS  
PRESENTED BY THE MEMBERS OF INDONESIA HOUSE OF  
REPRESENTATIVE IN SOCIAL MEDIA**

**THESIS**

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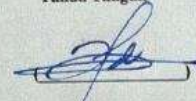
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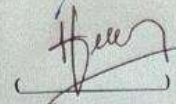
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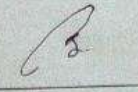
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## ABSTRACT

**Cicilia, Siska. 2022. “Discourse on Ethnic Discrimination: A Critical  
Discourse Analysis of Council Members Indonesia Statements  
Presented in Social Media”**

This study examines the discriminatory discourse contained in the statements of members of the Indonesian Council which is addressed to ethnicity. This study aims to reveal the topics of discourse presented and the discourse strategies used by council members in their tweets and speeches when presenting ethnic minorities negatively. The type of research used in this research is descriptive qualitative research. The results of this study based on Youtube found 9 racist statements. Then, Twitter found 8 tweets. The theoretical framework of critical discourse analysis (CDA) used in this study is based on Van Dijk's 'ideological square', namely positive self-presentation and other negative presentations. From the discriminatory discourse analysis posed by the council members, it was found that 6 statements were categorized as problematization strategy, 1 statement categorized as blaming the victim (scapegoating), 2 statements categorized as metaphor, 3 statements categorized as prejudice strategy, 5 statements categorized as negative attribution.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Ethnicity, Discrimination, Social Media, Ideological Square, council members.

## ABSTRAK

Cicilia, Siska. 2022. "Discourse on Ethnic Discrimination: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Council Members Indonesia Statements Presented in Social Media"

Penelitian ini mengkaji wacana diskriminasi yang terdapat dalam pernyataan anggota dewan Indonesia yang ditujukan kepada etnis. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap topik wacana yang disajikan dan strategi wacana yang digunakan oleh anggota dewan dalam cuitan dan pidatonya saat menghadirkan etnis minoritas secara negatif. Jenis penelitian yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah penelitian deskriptif kualitatif. Hasil penelitian ini berdasarkan Youtube ditemukan 9 pernyataan yang bernada rasis. Lalu, Twitter ditemukan 8 cuitan. pernyataan. Kerangka teori analisis wacana kritis (CDA) yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini didasarkan pada 'ideological square' Van Dijk, yaitu presentasi diri positif dan presentasi negatif lainnya. Dari analisis wacana diskriminasi yang dilontarkan oleh anggota dewan, ditemukan bahwa 6 pernyataan dikategorikan pada strategi problematisation, 1 pernyataan dikategorikan pada blaming the victim (scapegoating), 2 pernyataan dikategorikan pada metafora, 3 pernyataan dikategorikan pada prejudice strategy, 5 pernyataan dikategorikan pada negative attribution.

Kata Kunci: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Etnis, Diskriminasi, Media Sosial, Ideological Square, Anggota Dewan.

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## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Background of the Research Problem**

Critical discourse analysis is one approach that is widely used in analyzing discourse. CDA aims to expose the sociopolitical inequalities, power relations rooted in political, economic, cultural, and religious contexts (Khoirunisa & Indah, 2018; Mogashoa, 2014; Suppiah et al., 2019). According to Van Dijk (2004: 138) “Critical Discourse Analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context”. CDA is able to determine how people in power play their discourse in discriminating against ordinary people. Fairclough & Wodak (1997 in Van dijk, (2015) noted that in CDA, the term discourse or the use of language in spoken and written form is seen as a form of ‘social practice’ text in social and political context.

Discriminatory treatment can befall any ethnicity, but mostly targets ethnic minorities. This is influenced because their existence is not strong and hidden causes them to become the main target for the ethnic majority to oppress them. Racial and ethnic discrimination can be said as an act of refusing or treating individuals or groups unfairly and even immorally because of the differences inherent in them such as: skin color, descent and ethnicity. In some countries, discrimination continues and is unavoidable. Even the government is overwhelmed

with this problem. for the government discrimination is a big problem that is very difficult to overcome.

Discrimination is an action or practice that excludes, disadvantages, or merely differentiates between individuals or groups of individuals on the basis of some ascribed or perceived trait, although the definition itself is subject to substantial debate (Kohler and Hausmann, 2020). Fershtman, Gneezy, and Verboven (2005: 371) define discrimination as “differential treatment of people depending on their group affiliation”. Bodanhausen and Richeson (2010) also describe discrimination as the condition when individuals are treated differently because of their belongings to certain groups. Discrimination cannot be justified because it can traumatize people who receive discrimination.

Discrimination occurs because there are excessive prejudices and stereotypes in the minds of people. These bad thoughts eventually make people compelled to spread hatred. Either by insulting, harassing, spreading false news and others. For example: ethnic blacks are characterized as dark, scary, criminal, lazy and others. Stereotypes that are maintained for a long time and even cultivated by society will lead to the emergence of prejudice and discrimination. These two concepts are then suspected to be one of the causes of ongoing conflicts between community groups in Indonesia. Richard Schaefer as quoted by Neulip defines stereotype as an exaggerated description of the characteristics of a particular group based on the prejudices of individuals who have bad feelings towards that group (Neulip, 2012). Meanwhile, Barker (2004:415) defines stereotypes as overt, but simple

representations that reduce people to a series of exaggerated and usually negative character traits.

Discrimination is almost the same as prejudice, in fact the two terms are sometimes used interchangeably. The difference between the two is that prejudice is an attitude, while discrimination is an action. It can be said that discrimination is prejudice in action. Thinking that ethnic Chinese are stingy is prejudice, while prohibiting them from trading or going to school is discrimination.

Usually discriminators will show hatred and fear of disliked people by depicting them in unpleasant (negative) images. On the other hand, they will present themselves well (positive). Be it from gender, race, ethnicity, religion and between groups. And this is the theory of Van Dijk known as the ideological square. "Ideological Square," as proposed by Van Dijk (1998b), is a theoretical and methodological approach that combines positive in-group and negative out-group strategies. This approach is widely used by haters to destroy their opponents. By slandering, inciting and bringing down the enemy's mentality with bad sentences. They believe that such a method is very powerful and effective. Van Dijk argues that many group ideologies seem polarized in representing Self and Others, namely We and Them, in terms of "We are good and They are bad" (Shojaei et al., 2013). The "ideological square" operates to present a polarized image of in-group and out-group by portraying "Us" in a favorable way and "them" in an unfavorable way (Kuo & Nakamura, 2005). The "Ideological Square" is a theoretical model that emphasizes on examining media texts to determine ideological strategies that ascertain eminent descriptions of different social groups (Philo, 2007).

The following studies have used the “ideological square” approach in their research (Minaei, Farid Khezr, 2021; Khan et al., 2021; Noor, Natrah & Bahiyah, Abdul Hamid, 2021; Adnan et al., 2019; Ghauri, Muhammad Junaid & Salma Umer, 2019; Rezaei et al., 2019; Dilaimy et al., 2022; Guler, Kamber, 2018; Khan et al., 2019; Ghauri et al., 2021). The topics discussed were varied, ranging from Cyberbullying, images of Muslims in the Western Media, Islamophobia, National and foreign Islam in the Australian Press, Islamophobia in Donald Trump's Tweets, Anti-Muslim-Islam, The Nature of Islam and Muslims in The Australian Press, President Trump's Speeches, Donald Trump's Aggressive and Offensive Language and Anti-Immigration Europe. from some of the studies above discuss statements from public officials in the context of Islam and gender. Therefore, the researcher adds two studies that specifically examine the analysis of public officials' statements by using Van Dijk's Ideological Square. The research is titled Polarization and Ideological Weaving in Twitter Discourse of Politicians (Masroor et al., 2019) and The Representation of America and China in Trump's Press Conferences Concerning COVID-19: A Critical Discourse Analysis (Mohammad, Zainab Abd Al-Razaq & Weaam Hussain Ali, 2021).

Based on previous research, several have investigated the discrimination used by public officials in their speeches and tweets on social media. The issues discussed were also related to sensitive issues for the community, such as religion and gender. This study examines the discourse of discrimination against ethnic groups, especially ethnic minorities in Indonesia who often receive unpleasant treatment from the majority ethnic group. The causes also vary, ranging from

dislike, strangers, to troublemakers. There are three things that distinguish this research from previous research, namely: first, members of the DPR selected as subjects and ethnic minorities as objects in the study. second, the ideological square approached become the main tool used to analyze statements from members of the DPR RI. The researcher intends to analyze the representation of "self" and "others" in the political discourse of members of the DPR RI. third, the researcher takes the issue of ethnicity as a discourse to be discussed.

In the last decade, social media have been widely used as a public relation tool, also in political discourse (Frame & Brachotte, 2015). One of them is twitter. Twitter's substantial bearing, especially in politics, has garnered the attention of researchers to explore its effects in the elections and public opinion poll results (Liu, 2017). Hendricks and Kaid (2014) and Campos-Dominguez (2017) argued that Twitter has become the main theoretical trend in political communication. Political communication is a means of grabbing support for politicians to gain public recognition by spreading negative rumors to their opponents. One of the goals of political communication is to form a good political image for the community so that they can win the hearts of the people. Political elites are ideologically aware and use various structures, strategies, and rhetorical movements that are at odds with other powerful groups when their interests are at stake (van Dijk, 2006c).

This development provides a suitable platform for politicians to connect to their followers through social media. Twitter was chosen because the application facilitates politicians to connect with their followers with the help of retweets and reactions to questions and comments. This gives a positive impression that



politicians can understand and respect the opinions of their followers. The role of Twitter in the transformation of democracy is irrefutable as it provides a platform to political leaders and the public to communicate in an easy way (Grant et al., 2010).

In this study, members of the DPR were chosen as subjects because they were often caught making bad statements that sparked public anger. and it is clearly addressed to a person or group who has a different ethnicity from them. The statement is sometimes spoken directly or written on social media when they are still serving as representatives of the people. Therefore, the ideological square approach is needed in developing this research. There are two reasons why the researcher chose this topic: first, the researcher wanted to examine how the discourse of ethnic discrimination became a tool for public officials in attacking their opponents. Second, because the researcher wants to analyze how public officials present itself well (positively) while portraying the opposite party badly (negatively). This study aims at providing insight and information to the public so that they can think critically and be able to understand the meaning of the discourse played by public officials, so that the public does not get trapped and fall into the hate narrative that is played well by public officials.

According to the Republic of Indonesia Government Regulation Number 14 of 2008 concerning Public Information Disclosure, Article 1 paragraph 4 states that a public official is a person who is appointed and given the task of occupying certain positions or positions in public bodies. Meanwhile, a statement is a sentence made from information obtained or only based on personal assumptions and it has a true

or false value. or often interpreted as giving a personal statement in expressing opinions to someone. Based on the above understanding, it can be concluded that a public official's statement is an utterance or announcement made based on what he/she gets and it can be fact or hoax.

## **1.2 Identification of the Problem**

Based on the above background, political communication often becomes a stage for politicians to declare or attract public support to bring politicians to a higher position. Moreover, when approaching the election year. They launched a series of attacks or political maneuvers. One of them is spreading negative statements in front of many people or on social media. it aims to bring down, corner or give a negative stigma to the person or group being addressed. In fact, politicians associate itself and their supporters as “us” while their opponents as “them”. to separate or distance people or groups who do not have the same goals as them. however, the ideological square approach is still rarely used to analyze the statements of DPR members in previous studies. whereas, ideological square is very appropriate to be used to uncover and explore discriminatory practices used by council members.

In politics, council members must have a strong mentality. Because they must be ready to accept criticism and insults by the public and parties outside the government who suddenly come. however, the fact is that some council members could not accept this treatment so they got emotional and said something racist. In fact, there are cases of council members suddenly attacking one ethnic group because of something trivial and need not be exaggerated. Sometimes, politicians

use identity politics as a political tool to gain public recognition of elements of their culture or identity. on the other hand, identity politics has actually become a trigger for acts of intolerance or disrespect for existing differences. And this is the cause of the emergence of many negative stigmas that are used by certain groups to attack and corner other groups between the majority and the minority or vice versa, an example of negative stigma that often arises is that black ethnicity is criminal.

The existence of bad-sounding designations or calls against one ethnic group to another indicates that the negative impact of identity politics is real. Therefore, the research problem concerns the first, the lack of application of the ideological square in analyzing the statements of members of the DPR. second, there are many ethnic discriminations used by parliamentarians to attack their opponents for their personal and party interests. Third, identity politics used by council members often causes divisions between council members and the community. Therefore, this discussion is not only interesting but also important to discuss and find a solution so that divisions between the nation's children can be minimized or even eliminated.

### **1.3 Focus of the Problem**

This study focuses on analyzing and uncovering issues or problems regarding ethnic discrimination presented in speeches and tweets of members of the council with the CDA approach and assisted by using the Ideological Square model from Van Dijk. With this model, researcher can find clarity on the topic of discourse from the statements of DPR. Then, discriminatory discourse strategies also discussed because these strategies are useful in explaining in greater depth how DPR members play their discourse while inserting some harsh or bad terms, calls

and sentences to the intended party as well as to intimidate and insult their opponents from minority groups.

#### **1.4 Formulation of the Problem**

The problems of this research were formulated as in the following:

1. What are the topics of discourse presented and disseminated in the statements of members of the House of Representatives?
2. What are discourse strategies used in the statements of members of the House of Representatives when presenting discrimination?

#### **1.5 Purposes of the Research**

Based on the questions above, the purposes of this research are:

1. to find topics of discourse presented and disseminated in the statements of members of the House of Representatives
2. to reveal the discourse strategies used in the statements of members of the House of Representatives

#### **1.6 Significance of the Research**

This research is expected to contribute theoretically and practically.

Theoretically

- a. This research is expected to be an appropriate reference or benchmark to be used in further studies related to critical discourse analysis, especially when analyzing discrimination.
- b. This research is expected to be useful in providing more detailed and clear thoughts on the ideological square.

#### Practically

- a. This research is expected to add insight and information for readers to be wise in responding to every statement of discrimination spread by members of the board. so that it can be a solution to the problems that exist in society.
- b. The results of the study are expected to be useful as an evaluation material in understanding CDA and to dismantle the discourse game in discriminatory practices by members of the council.

### **1.7 Definition of Key Terms**

To clarify some phrases and words that have the potential to cause misunderstanding or ambiguity, the definitions of some key terms are:

1. Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis is an approach that studies almost all aspects of language use in both social and political matters.

2. Discrimination

Discrimination is an act that is unfair and even leads to violence against individuals or groups because of the differences they have based on race, ethnicity, and religion.

3. Topic discrimination

Topic discrimination is one type of topic discourse contained in the CDA.

4. Discourse strategy

Discourse strategy is a strategy used during their conversation as an effort to understand each other in a particular conversational context (Gumperz, 1982).

5. Discourse topic

Topic discourses are an intrinsic feature of the logical form of coherent discourse, they govern the principles of discourse interpretation (van Kuppevelt, J. 1995).

6. Discourse discrimination

Discourse discrimination is a study of how racism, antisemitism and ethnicism are reflected in discourse (Reisigl et al. 2001).

7. Ethnicity

Ethnicity is a group of people whose members identify themselves with each other, usually based on a lineage that is considered to be the same.

8. Social media

Social media is an internet-based platform or tool that facilitates its users to interact and communicate with other people virtually.