

The Fall of Egyptian President Morsi and the Media Representation: A Critical Discourse Analysis of *Kompas* Daily Newspaper

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ABSTRACT

Kompas is one of the most well-known media outlets in Indonesia. Reporting about the fall of President Morsi on 3 July 2013 and the political conflict in Egypt that followed had attracted the attention of international media, including in Indonesia. Using Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, this study aimed to find out how the discourse of political strife was packaged in the daily newspaper of *Kompas*. Six editions were investigated as the data sources and analyzed by using the content analysis technique. This research proves that *Kompas*, from the linguistic aspect, in reporting the political conflicts of Egypt after the coup, inclined to be balanced and straightforward. This was evidenced

by particular word choices and quotations from natural speakers with no inclination towards the military and Morsi's supporters. In the aspect of text production, the *Kompas* produced an independent news production which is free from all the pressures by accommodating and channeling a fair share of different voices. And In the aspect of the socio-cultural practices, *Kompas* in producing text cannot be separated from the context that built the news. Therefore,

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it can be concluded that *Kompas* provides a platform from both parties that views a difference in a relatively fair manner.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, Egyptian President, Kompas, media representation

INTRODUCTION

Mohamed Morsi's victory in the 30 June 2012 election made him the first civilian president to represent the Islamic party camp in Egypt (El-Mallakh, 2017; Karkazis et al., 2018; Özkan, 2013). However, Morsi's reign of power did not last long. The situation began to heat up when the military started to interfere with political affairs. Military involvement in Egyptian political issues resulted in a government coup and ended Morsi's rule (Beck, 2013; Lust, 2014; Rezaei, 2015).

Another contributing factor to the political conflict was the role of the media in forming public opinion. Headlines in global media at that time were dominated by reports on Egyptian political conflict from two camps: Arabian media that supported Egyptian military action on one side, and media supporters of *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* on the other (Abdulla, 2014; Mansour, 2015). Several mainstream Western media outlets also contributed significantly in shaping public opinion and criticism of the perpetrators of the conflict in Egypt (Halawa, 2013).

Elena (2016) analyzed and compared the role of two international English-language television news networks, *Al Jazeera* and *CNN*, informing a public opinion of the post-coup events in Egypt. Through the framing

analysis approach, the results showed that *CNN* framed the coup as a necessary evil, whereas *Al Jazeera* took a more Islamic approach and regarded the coup as a form of democratic legitimacy. The transition to democracy in Egypt was not seen as a linear process of progress without interruption, but the coup was seen as a setback in the development of the conflict. This was the result of power dynamics in Egypt, where the military remained above and beyond social movements.

In Egypt itself, after the military coup, Egyptian media faced the problematic reality of building an independent standpoint. El Issawi (2014) was concerned with the role played by Egyptian national media in supporting a military coup which led to the overthrow of the elected government from the Muslim Brotherhood and Morsi.

Egypt's internal crisis did not escape the attention of Indonesia. Various opinions also spread into two major narratives: supporters of the Egyptian military who rejected the Muslim Brotherhood and supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood who rejected the military. Pringgandani (2014) saw a different point of view between the two major media outlets in Indonesia, *Republika* and *Kompas*, in discussing the resignation of Morsi from the Presidency by using Theo van Leeuwen's model of critical discourse analysis which focuses on actors involved in the event. Prianggandani wrote that in the 5 July reporting on the fall of Morsi, *Republika* tended to be more straightforward in reporting on the event, as evidenced by the dominant use of the verb "strategy." Meanwhile, *Kompas* tended to defend the

military and discourage Morsi supporters. As for the 14 August coverage of the military clash with Morsi supporters, both media outlets tended to preach negatively about the army and highlight Morsi supporters.

This paper seeks to identify trends in reporting on the Egyptian political conflict after the fall of President Morsi, especially in *Kompas*, by using the Fairclough's critical discourse analysis approach. In contrast to Pringgandani's conclusions, this paper looks more at *Kompas*, who tends to report equally between the military and Morsi supporters. This is evidenced among others by the selection of proportional diction and resource persons.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Media and Critical Discourse Analysis

Today, news discourse has moved beyond the surface of the structure of language. News articles can be analyzed to reveal the ideology behind the construction of the discussion. Therefore, it can be one of the goals of a news producer to manipulate facts and convince the audience in line with their interests. In fact, in the political process, there is a strong relationship between the media and the political process in which the media is the link between the public and the decision-making regime. These methods contribute significantly to the success or failure of the political system through its governmental functions and activities (Al-Katatsheh, 2019; Sadeghi et al., 2014).

According to Mills (1997), discourse is not a group of signs or parts of the text, but rather a systematic practice of forming the

object in question. In this sense, the dialogue is something that produces something else (speech, concept, effect), not something that is inside and that can be analyzed separately. Thus, analyzing text discourse means having the aim to make implicit norms and rules for producing language explicitly.

In the connection between discourse with the social sphere, critical discourse analysis (CDA) provides a reasonably broad scope of studies, both from the aspect of methodology and meaning. CDA has different characteristics from the analysis of non-critical discourse which tends only to describe the structure of a discourse. This analysis goes further, namely by exploring the reasons why a discussion has a specific structure which will ultimately lead to a study of social relations between the parties involved in the discourse. According to Philips and Jørgensen (2004), CDA makes a significant contribution of methods for empirical studies relating to discussion and social and cultural development in different social domains. CDA is a social construction approach that believes that world representation is linguistic-discursive, containing a historical meaning, and knowledge created through social interaction. This is also the reason why critical discourse analysis is multidisciplinary—its relationship with social science, politics, and culture is inevitable (Widuna, 2018).

The use of CDA in social science research has been highly valued in recent decades. However, critical discourse analysis is not a research method in the conventional

sense because it does not consist of a series of procedural techniques. CDA is more than an approach used in social science research that seeks to identify practical solutions to various social problems (Abdullah, 2014; Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

CDA emerges as one of the most effective approaches in the analysis of discursive power relations. CDA's emancipatory agenda is to analyze power relations that do not highlight the hidden ideologies embedded in them (Fairclough, 1995a; Paniagua et al., 2007). As an overall characteristic of media language, Fairclough (1995b) pointed out conversationalization. In many media texts, for instance, in documentaries that deal with scientific or technological subjects, the public language of these disciplines presents properties of conversational style, which belongs to the sphere of the private. Science and technology are part of public, institutional life, as indeed is the whole business of producing television programs, but the applications signalled are received and consumed overwhelmingly in private contexts, in the home, within the family. Public life and private life involve different ways of using language, and Fairclough found this tension realized in a combination of private and public communication in a large number of media texts (Fairclough, 1995b).

CDA aims to make transparent connections between discourse practices, social practices, and social structures, relationships that may be blurry to laypeople. From these two views, it can be said that the CDA plan is both clear and

sophisticated because it relates not only to social practice but also social structure, namely the sequence of discourse. Another essential dimension of CDA is to express power relations through specific techniques and methods.

METHODS

The data used in this study were 22 daily news articles published by *Kompas* newspaper from 5 to 9 July 2013 that contained headlines about the Egyptian political conflict after the overthrow of President Morsi. *Kompas* daily was chosen as the source of research data because, aside from being one of the mainstream newspapers and having a significant market share, *Kompas* has also frequently been a reference source for public discourse in Indonesia.

Using a qualitative descriptive model that aimed to systematically describe data, properties, and relationships of phenomena to be studied (Rosman & Rallis, 2003), this study used the technique of critical discourse analysis from Norman Fairclough's perspective. The analytical discourse analysis framework from Fairclough's perspective uses a three-dimensional analysis model, namely (1) textual (micro), which is a description of the text; (2) discourse practice (meso), namely interpretation of the relationship between the discourse process and the manuscript; and (3) sociocultural practice (macro), namely an explanation of the relationship between the discourse process and social processes (Fairclough, 1995b).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Micro-Structural Analysis: Text

The first analytical focus of Fairclough's model is text. Its analysis includes linguistic analysis of vocabulary, grammar, semantics, the sound system and writing system and cohesion-organization above the sentence level as well as the organization of turn-taking in the case of media shaped in a dialogue form (Fairclough, 1995a). Any analysis is selective and the textual features in focus in CDA are those that are most significant for a critical analysis, an analysis designed to contribute to the understanding of power relations and ideological processes in discourse (Fairclough, 1989). Through an analysis of both syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations in a text, CDA can inform one's reading of a text by providing evidence for identifying underlying experiential, relational and expressive values in the choices made concerning vocabulary, grammar, and textual structures (Kean-Wah & Ming, 2010).

Based on the language used by *Kompas* in reporting political conflicts in Egypt after the fall of President Morsi, three tools mark the representation of themes and figures involved in the reporting, namely through: (1) lexical choice (2) use of causal sentences, and (3) the use of direct quotations of sources.

Lexical Choice

After reading the text in the *Kompas*, forms of discourse were discovered through the discovery of the use of the diction of specific discourses.

- (1) The Egyptian armed forces say they will allow "*protes damai*" (peaceful protests) to be held ahead of demonstrations held by the party supporting ousted President Muhammad Morsi (Patnistik, 2013b).
- (2) Coordinating Minister of Economics Affairs Hatta Rajasa said: "*gejolak politik*" (political turmoil) in Egypt could disrupt regional security stability and affect world oil prices (Djumena, 2013).
- (3) We hope that the Egyptian situation can recover soon, internal "*ketegangan politik*" (political tensions) are easing and have a positive impact on the economic situation in the region," said Hatta (Djumena, 2013).
- (4) For this reason, he hopes that the condition of Egypt can recover, and "*krisis politik*" (the political crisis) can be overcome so that regional stability in North Africa and the Middle East region can occur (Djumena, 2013).
- (5) "*Intervensi militer*" (military intervention) is supported by millions of Egyptians, including liberal leaders and religious leaders, who expect new elections under a revised set of rules (Patnistik, 2013a).

Data (1) - (5) came from a Friday edition of the newspaper, July 5, 2013. In lexical semantics, the data (1) phrasing of "*protes damai*" (peaceful protest) has the meaning

of a statement not agreeing to a friendly decision. Meanwhile, the phrase “*gejolak politik*” (political upheavals) in data (2) also tends to have a meaning that leads to political rebellion. In data (3), the phrase “*ketegangan politik*” (political tensions) means violent opposition in politics. Data (4), “*krisis politik*” (political crisis), says the dangerous situation that occurs in the political field. Meanwhile, the use of the phrase “*intervensi militer*” (military intervention) in data (5) refers more to the existence of military intervention in the political sphere.

(6) Seventeen people were killed in violence in Egypt in a “*bentrok*” (clash) between supporters of ousted Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi against the military and the opposition stronghold of Morsi on Friday (7/5/2013). Local government TV reported this data, citing a statement by the local health office (Auliani, 2013a).

(7) “*Pertempuran*” (battle) erupted Friday night local time. The two opposing parties faced each other on a bridge. This incident further increased fears of widespread violence, following the overthrow of Morsi by the military on Wednesday (3/7/2013) (Auliani, 2013a).

Data (6) - (7) were quotes from *Kompas* on Saturday, 6 July 2013 edition. In data (6), the word “*bentrok*” (clash) means disputes. This word refers to the differences that cause strife. Meanwhile, the use of “*pertempuran*”

(combat), for example (7), means a great fight or battle and tends to refer to a rebellion between two opposing parties with the use of weapons. This word choice reinforces the use of the previous word “*bentrok*” (clashed) which, if interpreted, means that the clashes that occurred in Egypt led to a battle between the parties involved in the conflict.

(8) “*Aksi kekerasan*” (violent acts) in Egypt after the overthrow of Mohamed Morsi continues, and now the death toll has reached 36 people throughout Egypt due to pro-anti-Morsi mass clashes (Hardoko, 2013a).

(9) Egypt’s “*transisi politik*” (political transition) after the overthrow of Mohamed Morsi did not turn out smoothly. One problem that arose was the appointment of Mohammed ElBaradei as interim prime minister (Hardoko, 2013b).

In *Kompas*, on Sunday, 7 July 2013, the phrases “*aksi kekerasan*” (violence acts) and “*transisi politik*” (political transition) were used. In data (8), the phrase “*aksi kekerasan*” (violent acts) means a movement that refers more to actions that contain violence. Meanwhile, in data (9), the phrase “*transisi politik*” (political transition) means a transformation that occurs in the political field which tends to refer to the change of power in a country’s government structure.

(10) The *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* group, Monday (07/08/2013), called for “*pemberontakan*” (rebellion) against the new Egyptian

government after dozens of supporters were shot dead outside the Cairo army headquarters (Hardoko, 2013c).

- (11) Erdogan called the Egyptian military intervention a coup and criticized Western reluctance to call the overthrow of Morsi as “*kudeta*” (coup) (Hardoko, 2013e).
- (12) The *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* called for “*perlawanan*” (resistance) to the government after dozens of followers were shot dead by the Egyptian military on Monday morning (Hardoko, 2013d).

In the Monday, 8 July 2013 edition of *Kompas*, the articles used the words “*pemberontakan*” (rebellion), “*intervensi*” (intervention), “*kudeta*” (coup), and “*perlawanan*” (resistance). In data (10), the word “*pemberontakan*” (rebellion) refers to a process of opposing power or something that is considered contrary to policy. In data (11), “*kudeta*” (the coup) means the seizure of government power by force. Meanwhile, in data (12), “*perlawanan*” (resistance) tends to refer to efforts to survive or prevent undesirable things.

- (13) In the midst of “*konflik politik*” (political conflict), Egypt established Ramadhan 1434 H beginning on Wednesday (07/10/2013). Although the new moon has been seen throughout the country, there has been no report of the sighting of the new moon on the western horizon (Auliani, 2013c).

- (14) Currently, “*krisis politik*” (the political crisis) is bubbling in Egypt. Monday morning, at least 42 people were killed and 322 injured from supporters of ousted Egyptian President Muhammad Morsi (Auliani, 2013c).

- (15) Hamdeen Sabahi, the former presidential candidate and leftist opposition leader, said the only beneficiary of this bloody incident in the midst of Egypt’s “*krisis politik*” (political crisis) was the *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* and “others” who were trying to polarize the situation, and Egypt would be pushed into civil war (Hardoko, 2013a).

- (16) The *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* supporters of Morsi, who led a demonstration to protest the overthrow of Morsi by the military on Wednesday, have called for “*pemberontakan*” (rebellion) (Patnistik, 2013f).

In *Kompas*, on Tuesday, 9 July 2013, the phrases used still have lexical similarities to the sentences in the previous *Kompas* editions, like data (14) and (15), “*krisis politik*” (political crisis), (see also data 4), and data (16), “*pemberontakan*” (rebellion), (see also data 10). However, except for this edition, *Kompas* used the phrase “*konflik politik*” (political conflict). “*Konflik politik*” refers to a political battle that leads to disputes between two or more parties in the political field.

In the editions of *Kompas* from 5 – 9 July 2019, which contained news about the

political conflict in Egypt after the fall of President Morsi, 18 phrases were found in the reporting. The better political conflicts reporting in Egyptian media have different semantic meanings. Seen from a lexical semantic perspective, for example, the use of the phrase “peaceful protest” has a more neutral meaning than the divisive phrase “*pergolakan politik*” (political upheaval). The phrase “*Protes damai*” (peaceful protest) means a statement of disapproval of a decision made amicably. Meanwhile, the phrase “*pergolakan politik*” (political upheaval) means turbidity in the political sphere which tends to point to a resistance movement. Another example is “*krisis politik*” (the political crisis) which means dangerous situations that occur in the political sphere. The use of this phrase is the most neutral compared to the other phrases used by *Kompas* in reporting on the political

conflict in Egypt after the fall of President Morsi. “*Krisis politik*” (the political crisis) has a more affirmative meaning to describe the political slump that occurred in Egypt, creating political conflict between the Egyptian people and the government.

Kompas dominantly used the phrase “*krisis politik*” (the political crisis) in reporting political conflicts in Egypt after the fall of President Morsi. Therefore, it can be understood that *Kompas* viewed the conflict in Egypt as a political turmoil between the *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* as a support group for President Morsi and the Egyptian government. Details about the recapitulation of using word choice of *Kompas* edition are shown in Table 1.

Cause and Effect Sentences

From 22 articles in the *Kompas* about the political conflict in Egypt after the fall of

Table 1
Recapitulation of linguistic aspect through word choice

No	<i>Kompas</i> edition	Word Choice	Total
1		<i>Protes damai</i> (peaceful protests)	1
2		<i>Gejolak politik</i> (political turmoil)	1
3	5 July 2013	<i>Ketegangan politik</i> (political tensions)	1
4		<i>Intervensi militer</i> (military intervention)	1
5		<i>Krisis politik</i> (political crisis)	3
6	5 and 9 July 2013	<i>Bentrok</i> (clash)	1
7		<i>Pertempuran</i> (battle)	1
8	6 July 2013	<i>Aksi kekerasan</i> (violence acts)	1
9		<i>Transisi politik</i> (political transition)	1
10	7 July 2013	<i>Kudeta</i> (coup)	1
11		<i>Perlawanan</i> (resistance)	1
12	8 July 2013	<i>Pemberontakan</i> (rebellion)	2
13		<i>Konflik politik</i> (political conflict)	1
14	9 July 2013	<i>Konflik politik</i> (political conflict)	1
Total			16

President Morsi, 4 data were found that used the linguistic strategies of cause and effect sentences. Below are a few examples of news text excerpts.

- (1) According to Hatta, the upward trend in oil prices due to the Egyptian crisis could “*mengakibatkan*” (cause) disruptions in national fiscal security and hurt long-term economic growth (Djumena, 2013).
- (2) Violence also occurred in cities in the southern region of Egypt along the Suez Canal and the Nile Delta that “*mengakibatkan*” (cause) at least 200 people injured (Hardoko, 2013a).
- (3) ElBaradei’s appointment “*menjadi*” (will be) a drastic shift for someone who is not gaining widespread popularity among the Egyptian people (Patnistik, 2013d).
- (4) The fall of dozens of deaths from the supporters of ousted Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi has “*mengundang*” (invited) the international condemnation (Auliani, 2013b).

Data (1) and (2) have a causal relationship marked by the verb “*mengakibatkan*” (cause), connecting the main clause at the beginning with the subclause at the end of the sentence. Meanwhile, in data (3), the relationship of cause-effect is marked by a verb that connects the main clause “*pengangkatan ElBaradei*” (the ElBaradei appointment) with the subclause “*pergeseran drastis bagi seorang yang tidak mendapat popularitas luas di kalangan masyarakat*

Mesir” (a drastic shift clause for someone who is not gaining widespread popularity among Egyptian society). Finally, in data (4), the causal relationship is marked by the use of verbs “*mengundang*” (invite) which connects the main clause “*jatuhnya puluhan korban tewas dari kubu pendukung Presiden Mesir Mohamed Morsi*” (the deaths of dozens of supporters from the stronghold of Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi) with “*kecaman internasional*” (international condemnation) clause.

From this finding, it can be understood that the *Kompas* strategy in reporting on political conflicts in Egypt after the fall of President Morsi tended to label political conflicts in Egypt as a cause of disruption to national fiscal security, the adverse effects of international economic growth and the emergence of violence that resulted in the deaths and injuries of many civilians in Egypt.

Direct Quotations of Resource Interviewees

In addition to the use of particular grammatical and lexical choices, *Kompas* voiced its aspirations through direct quotations of statements from figures who became the news sources related to the political conflicts in Egypt after the fall of President Morsi. From the findings obtained, it can be seen that in *Kompas*, there is a direct quote from the informant’s statement in favor of the *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn*, both directly and indirectly. Among the figures who stated their support for the *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* are: (1) Hidayat Nur Wahid,

Chairperson of the Regional Leadership Council (DPD) of the Prosperous Justice Party, Indonesia (Asril, 2013); (2) Ahmed Aref, spokesman for the *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* (Patnistik, 2013c); (3) Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu (Auliani, 2013b; Hardoko, 2013e); and (4) Heba Morayef, from Human Rights Watch (Hardoko, 2013a). The partiality of the figures towards *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* can be observed from the following quotations:

Ahmed Aref, the spokesman for *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* points out:

- (1) "Sixteen people died, and hundreds were injured. Many of them are in a serious condition," *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* spokesman Ahmed Aref told AFP. Police barricades prevented journalists from accessing the area (Patnistik, 2013c).

Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu made a statement:

- (2) "I strongly condemn the massacre of Morsi's followers in the name of the human values we stand for," Davutoglu said through his Twitter account (Hardoko, 2013e).

Herba Morayef from Human Rights Watch states in his Twitter account:

- (3) "Regardless of what started violence ... the military and police have a responsibility to refrain and not use excessive and deadly violence" (Hardoko, 2013a).

In Indonesia, the figure who appeared to side with the *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* was Hidayat Nur Wahid, the Chairman of Central

Leadership Council (DPP) of Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). This can be seen from his statement as follows:

- (4) The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) regretted a military coup against the recently overthrown Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi. The Chairman of DPP PKS Hidayat Nur Wahid assessed the military had heated the political situation in Egypt and finally carried out unconstitutional actions that were far from the spirit of democracy. "In principle, we deeply regret the democracy that had been properly built by the Egyptian people was destroyed by the military and then was couped to dissolve the government and establish a new government," Hidayat said in Jakarta, Friday (05/07/2013) (Asril, 2013).

On the other hand, we found related quotes from figures who were neutral, in the sense that they did not side with the *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* or with the Egyptian government and military. These figures, among others, were (1) Hatta Rajasa, Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, (2) Ahmed al-Meslemani, the assistant of Adly Mansour, Interim President, (3) Nadder Bakkar, Al-Nur's spokesman for the Egyptian Salafi Islamic group, (4) Egypt's National Mufti, Prof. Dr. Syeikh Shauqi Abdel Karim Allam, (5) Mohamed Saber el-Sebaei, one of the Egyptian people, (6) Salafi Noor from

Egypt's conservative camp, (7) Michael Mann, the spokesman of the European Union Foreign Policy Chief Catherine Ashton, and (8) Abbas Araqchi, the Spokesman of the Iranian Foreign Ministry.

The neutrality shown by these figures and the organizations in which they were affiliated can be observed in the following quotations. The first one is the statement from the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia Hatta Rajasa:

- (5) Coordinating Minister for the Economy Hatta Rajasa said political turmoil in Egypt could disrupt regional security stability and affect world oil prices. "This could lead to a market situation that can be said to be unstable, especially fears that could trigger an increase in oil prices," he said in Jakarta, Thursday 9/4/2013 (Djumena, 2013).

There was also an attitude of neutrality in the quotations from some Egyptians interviewed by *Kompas*. This, for example, can be recognized from the statement of Ahmed al-Meslemani, an aide to Adly Mansour, the Egyptian interim President who was appointed following the Egyptian military coup before the democratic election of President Mohamed Morsi.

- (6) Ahmed al-Meslemani, Mansour's aide, expressed that talks were still ongoing regarding the prime minister's position. "We must consider objections to (people occupying) the position of the prime minister," he said (Patnistik, 2013d)

Also, one direct quote was found which tended to favor the government and the military. This can be obviously observed from the following statement:

- (7) The Egyptian army said Monday (07/08/2013) that "armed terrorists had tried to storm the headquarters of the elite Republican forces and killed a security officer." The country's military statement was quoted as saying by the state-owned daily website, *Al-Ahram*. "At dawn, an armed terrorist group tried to storm the Republican Guard building ... attacking army and police forces, which caused the death of an officer and injured several others, including six in a critical condition," the statement wrote. (Patnistik, 2013e).

Based on the findings related to the selection of direct quotation sources in its articles, *Kompas* daily used the voices of neutral parties regarding political conflicts in Egypt after the fall of President Morsi compared to those who supported the *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* and those who supported the Egyptian government and military. This can be seen from the eight neutral sources, compared to the four sources who favored the *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn*. In the meantime, there was only one source that favored the Egyptian government and military. Therefore, it can be concluded that *Kompas* daily prefers not to lean on one side and be neutral in reporting political conflicts in Egypt after the fall of President Morsi.

Meso-Structural Analysis: Practices of Text Production

Concerning discourse practices of a community, Fairclough (1995a) defined these as its standard ways of using language and understands them in terms of networks, which he called orders of discourse. In a particular discussion, there was an alternation between twin and complementary focuses, communicative events (for instance, a specific newspaper editorial) and the overall structure of the order of discourse, the configurations of genres and discussions, and the way it evolved in the context of social and cultural changes and the relations with other socially adjacent orders of discourses (Cremades, 2007; Fairclough, 1995a).

In meso-analysis, interpretation is made on discourse processing which includes aspects of production, distribution, and use of texts. This section analyzes how media workers produce documents. Therefore, through this discourse analysis, people not only know how the contents of the news text are written but also how the message is conveyed. Some of these aspects have a more institutional character, while others are processes of using and spreading discourse. Concerning institutional processes, Fairclough (1995b) refers to institutional routines such as editorial procedures involved in the production of media texts. Discourse practices include how media workers produce documents. Discourse analysis not only concerns how the contents of the news text are created but also how the message is conveyed.

Kompas began publishing on June 28, 1965. Since 1969, *Kompas* has dominated the national newspaper sales. In 2004, the daily circulation reached 530,000 copies. The Sunday edition specifically reached 610,000 copies. The newspaper reaches 2.25 million people throughout Indonesia (“*Kompas*,” 2019).

In 2011, the printed *Kompas* daily (not online version) had an average circulation of 500,000 copies per day, which were distributed to all regions in Indonesia and reached an average of 1.85 million readers per day. With an average circulation of 500,000 copies every day and 600,000 copies for the Sunday edition, *Kompas* is not only the largest newspaper in circulation in Indonesia but also in Southeast Asia. To ensure the accountability of its distribution, *Kompas* daily uses the services of ABC (Audit Bureau of Circulations), which has conducted audits since 1976.

In working in the press, the vision of *Kompas* is to develop a new Indonesian society based on the *Pancasila* (the Five National Principles of the Republic of Indonesia). This is implemented through the principle of unity and difference by respecting individuals and embodying a just and prosperous community (Sutanto, 2015). In running its journalistic profession, *Kompas* holds on these five principles: First, *Kompas* is a free and public institution. Second, *Kompas* does not involve itself in a certain group of society, whether it is political, religious, social, or economic. Third, *Kompas* actively opens a dialogue and interacts positively with all groups.

Fourth, *Kompas* is a national newspaper that seeks to realize the ideals of the nation. Fifth, *Kompas* is broad and free in the views developed.

Based on the description above, it is known that as one of the mainstream newspapers in Indonesia, *Kompas* can seriously influence the opinion of the Indonesian people, especially within the urban society where media literacy is high. The text production in *Kompas* newspaper is not only a stand-alone series, but an institutional series involving journalists, editors, and others to build a new Indonesian society based on *Pancasila* through the principle of unity and difference. The creation of the text produced by *Kompas*, especially its reporting on political conflicts in Egypt after the fall of President Morsi, is also considered to be in line with one of the missions carried out, namely to produce news that is independent and free from all pressures by accommodating and distributing a fair share of different voices. In this relation, *Kompas*, in its reporting, does not involve itself in a certain group of society, whether it is political, religious, social, or economic to in this sense.

Macro-Structural Analysis: Social and Cultural Practices

A macro-level analysis is based on the idea that the social context that exists outside the media influences the discourse in the media. The editorial room or journalist is not a sterile field or space, but also very much influenced by factors outside the media itself. The socio-cultural practice, in turn,

includes three aspects: economic (economy of the media), political (power and ideology of the press) and cultural (issues of values).

Concerning the economy of the media, one must bear in mind that the media have a product to sell, and their product is the audience of interest to advertisers and, consequently, the mass media “are very much open to the effects of commercial pressures.” Related to this advertising function of the media is the issue of the concentrated ownership of mass media, which has an essential influence on media discourse (Cremades, 2007).

With regard to the politics of the media, many critics have argued that the commercial mainstream media work ideologically and are in the service of the powerful, the elite, and mass media raise the state (Cremades, 2007). Phenomena or events have news value because they are considered essential and necessary to be informed to the public. A political conflict, for example, whatever its form, is regularly covered in the media. Political conflicts always have the magnetic power to draw public attention. Therefore, it is natural that the main presentation of media coverage is generally about political conflicts in various forms.

The political situation that occurred when reporting political conflict in Egypt after the fall of President Morsi also cannot be separated from the context that built the news. As it is known, throughout 2013, there had been various open conflicts between the Egyptian military and the *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* as supporters of overthrown President Morsi. Also, this conflict was

compounded by the emergence of multiple responses from Middle Eastern countries. One of the Middle Eastern countries that responded to the Egyptian coup was Saudi Arabia. The Saudis responded by supporting the coup in Egypt. King Abdullah conveyed this support in various news outlets, both national and international (Hearst, 2013; “Saudi King backs”, 2013).

In the Indonesian context, the political crisis that struck Egypt is also a concern of Islamic mass organizations in Indonesia (Ruslan, 2013). In fact, some communities close to the *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* strongly condemned the coup. This position can be understood because of the emotional closeness between the *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* and some groups in Indonesia, such as the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) (Asril, 2013). For these reasons, all of these events received extensive coverage, not only the attention of international media but also the media in Indonesia, including *Kompas*.

On the other hand, writing news texts in the *Kompas* daily editions on 5 – 9 July 2013 concerning political conflicts in Egypt after the fall of President Morsi involved many informants. The involvement of the resource persons in the reporting showed that *Kompas* used voices from parties who were neutral compared to those who supported the *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* and the Egyptian military. This is proven by the dominant quoting of neutral speakers compared to those who favored the *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* and the Egyptian army.

From the 13 speakers involved, eight of them were more neutral in responding

to the Egyptian conflict, namely (1) Hatta Rajasa, Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, (2) Ahmed al-Meslemani, the assistant of Adly Mansour, Interim President, (3) Nadder Bakkar, Al-Nur’s spokesman for the Egyptian Salafi Islamic group, (4) Egypt’s National Mufti, Prof. Dr. Syeikh Shauqi Abdel Karim Allam, (5) Mohamed Saber el-Sebaei, one of the Egyptian people, (6) Salafi Noor from Egypt’s conservative camp, (7) Michael Mann, the spokesman of the European Union Foreign Policy Chief Chatherine Ashton, and (8) Abbas Araqchi, the Spokesman of the Iranian Foreign.

As for the selection of speakers who stated their partiality towards the *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn*, *Kompas* only involved four speakers, namely (1) Hidayat Nur Wahid, Chairperson of the Regional Leadership Council of the Prosperous Justice Party, Indonesia, (2) Ahmed Aref, the spokesman of *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn*, (3) Turkish Foreign Minister, Ahmet Davutoğlu, and (4) Heba Morayef from *Human Rights Watch*. Meanwhile, there was only one resource who sided with the Egyptian government, namely the Egyptian military

At the social level, in reporting the event of Morsi’s resignation from his position as the president of Egypt, *Kompas* tended to convey the information as it was. *Kompas* provided an opportunity for both parties to contradict the facts in a relatively fair manner. In the meantime, regarding the bloody clashes between the Egyptian military and Morsi’s support groups, *Kompas* also tended to report it reasonably.

This is designated by the tendency to write positively about groups that supported Morsi and the meaning that tended to be negative towards the acts of violence committed by the Egyptian military.

Apart from that, *Kompas* prefers the theme of reporting on political conflicts in Egypt after the fall of President Morsi as a polemic cause of national fiscal disruption and the adverse effects of regional and international economic growth, as well as the emergence of acts of violence which resulted in Egyptian civilians being killed and injured.

CONCLUSION

From the linguistic aspect, *Kompas* more dominantly used the phrase “*krisis politik*” (political crisis) because it seems that it tends to have a more neutral meaning for reporting the political turmoil and conflict in Egypt. In this case, using linguistic strategies in the form of broad sentence structure of cause and effect, *Kompas* tends to place the political conflict in Egypt as a polemic cause of disruption to national fiscal security and the adverse effects of international economic growth. Thus, this condition then led to violence that resulted in many civilians that became victims.

From the aspect of text production, especially in terms of reporting political conflicts in Egypt after the fall of President Morsi, the consideration is that the reporting is required to be in line with one of the missions to be implemented, namely to produce an independent news production which is free from all the pressures by

accommodating and channeling a fair share of different voices. *Kompas*, in its reporting, does not involve itself in a certain group of society, whether with regard to political, religious, social, or economic affiliation.

From the aspect of socio-cultural practices, the political situation that occurred when reporting on the political conflict in Egypt after the fall of President Morsi indeed cannot be separated from the context that built the news. The overthrow of President Morsi by the Egyptian military on 3 July 2013 has not only become a national feud within Egypt, but it has spread to become an international issue. In Indonesia, the political crisis that struck Egypt was also a concern for Islamic mass organizations. Thus, all these events received extensive coverage. It not only attracts the attention of international media but also the media in Indonesia, including *Kompas*.

Irrespective of those, *Kompas*' reporting tends to be balanced and is marked by the involvement of the informants. In the coverage, *Kompas* showed that it favored the voices of those who were more neutral rather than those who supported the *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* and the Egyptian military. This can be recognized from the utterances of the speakers who are considered neutral compared to those who favored the *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* and the Egyptian army. Therefore, it can be interpreted that *Kompas* provides fair information on the news of the fall of President Morsi without distinguishing the contradictory views of both opposition parties and supporters of Morsi. So that the compass media can be

used as a media that can present peaceful information on the turmoil in a country that is being hit by the conflict.

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APPENDIX

The following are the headlines of reports taken as sources of data (*kompas.com*). By putting the headline in the search box of the website, the report can be obtained.

Lexical Choice

- (1) Tentara Mesir Izinkan "Protes Damai"
- (2) Hatta: Gejolak Mesir Bisa Pengaruhi Harga Minyak
- (3) Hatta: Gejolak Mesir Bisa Pengaruhi Harga Minyak
- (4) Hatta: Gejolak Mesir Bisa Pengaruhi Harga Minyak
- (5) Pendukung Mursi Bentrok dengan Militer Mesir
- (6) 17 Tewas, Bentrok Jumat Malam di Mesir
- (7) 17 Tewas, Bentrok Jumat Malam di Mesir
- (8) Kekerasan Terus Berlanjut di Mesir, 36 Tewas
- (9) Penunjukan Perdana Menteri Interim Picu Krisis Baru di Mesir
- (10) Ikhwanul Muslimin Ajak Rakyat Mesir Kobarkan Perlawanan
- (11) Turki Kecam Pembantaian Puluhan Pendukung Mursi
- (12) Mesir Tutup Markas Besar Sebuah Partai Islam
- (13) Rabu, Mesir Masuki Ramadhan
- (14) Rabu, Mesir Masuki Ramadhan
- (5) Kekerasan Terus Berlanjut di Mesir, 36 Tewas
- (6) Presiden Sementara Mesir Janji Segera Gelar Pemilu

Cause and Effect Sentences

- (1) Hatta: Gejolak Mesir Bisa Pengaruhi Harga Minyak
- (2) Kekerasan Terus Berlanjut di Mesir, 36 Tewas
- (3) Klaim ElBaradei Jadi PM Mesir "Tidak Benar"
- (4) Pembunuhan Atas Pendukung Mursi Dulang Kecaman Internasional

Direct Quotations of Resource Interviewees

- (1) 16 Pendukung Mursi Ditembak Mati Tentara Mesir
- (2) Turki Kecam Pembantaian Puluhan Pendukung Mursi
- (3) Kekerasan Terus Berlanjut di Mesir, 36 Tewas
- (4) PKS: Mursi Dikudeta, Kemunduran Demokrasi Mesir
- (5) Hatta: Gejolak Mesir Bisa Pengaruhi Harga Minyak
- (6) Klaim ElBaradei Jadi PM Mesir "Tidak Benar"
- (7) Militer Mesir: Teroris Berusaha Serang Markas Tentara