Jurnal Penelitian Inovatif (JUPIN)
Vol. 6, No. 4, Oktober 2026, Hal. 3735-3744
https://jurnal-id.com/index.php/jupin

DOI: https://doi.org/10.54082/jupin.2893
p-ISSN: 2808-148X
e-ISSN: 2808-1366

Humanitarian and Constitutional Arguments in Kompas.com's Coverage of Political and Religious Elites' Opposition to Israel's 2023 U-20 World Cup Participation

Leni Winarni[*1], Firdastin Ruthnia Yudiningrum[2], Sri Herwindya Baskara Wijaya[3]

[1] Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Sebelas Maret, Indonesia.
[2,3] Department of Communication, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Sebelas Maret, Indonesia
Email: [1*]leniwinarni@staff.uns.ac.id, [2]firdastin_ry@staff.uns.ac.id, [3]sriherwindya@staff.uns.ac.id

Abstract

This study examines how Kompas.com represented the stated justifications of political and religious elites during the controversy over Israel's participation in the 2023 FIFA U-20 World Cup in Indonesia. The dataset comprises 26 purposively selected articles published between March 14 and April 4, 2023, that reported relevant statements or positions by political figures and religious organizations. Qualitative content analysis compares the reasons explicitly reported for actors associated with PDI-P, PKS, PAN, Muhammadiyah, and the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI). The findings identify constitutional and anti-colonial arguments, support for Palestinian independence, the absence of diplomatic relations with Israel, and regional security concerns. Ganjar Pranowo's position was associated with support for Palestine and Sukarno's political legacy; I Wayan Koster's with regional security; Hasto Kristiyanto addressed allegations of electoral motivation; MUI and Muhammadiyah were reported mainly through constitutional and diplomatic arguments; and the available report did not provide enough detail to establish PAN's principal rationale. Islamic solidarity was not consistently presented as an explicit justification. The findings concern the representation of elite statements in the selected Kompas.com articles and do not establish the actors' internal motives or media effects on audiences.

Keywords*: Media Representation, Political Elites, Humanitarian Concerns, Constitutional Principles, Israel–Palestine Conflict.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The controversy surrounding Israel's participation in the 2023 FIFA U-20 World Cup in Indonesia attracted extensive national media attention in March 2023. The debate intensified after several Indonesian political figures opposed the Israeli national team's participation, and FIFA subsequently withdrew Indonesia's hosting rights. Tempo.co (2023) reported that Bali Governor I Wayan Koster sent a letter to the Ministry of Youth and Sports on March 14, 2023, expressing opposition to the Israeli team competing in Bali. Koster's reported position was associated with concerns about the consequences of the team's participation in the region. Ganjar Pranowo, then Governor of Central Java, also opposed the team's participation, linking his position to Indonesia's support for Palestinian independence and the political legacy of President Sukarno (Fauziyah & Khairina, 2023). However, not all PDI-P figures expressed the same position. The party's secretary-general, Hasto Kristiyanto, stated that the party's position was not intended to prevent the tournament from taking place in Indonesia (Aditya & Prabowo, 2023). These differences make it necessary to distinguish the arguments reported for individual actors rather than treat party affiliation as proof of a shared motive.

The debate extended beyond political parties to religious organizations and public figures. Sudarnoto Abdul Hakim, representing the Indonesian Ulema Council (Majelis Ulama Indonesia, MUI), supported opposition to the Israeli team's participation, referring to Indonesia's lack of diplomatic relations with Israel and constitutional principles concerning colonialism and international justice (Hardianto & Firdaus, 2023; Sutari, 2023) . Haedar Nashir, chairman of Muhammadiyah, was reported as emphasizing the consistency of football-related decisions with state policy and Indonesia's anti-colonial principles (Yuwono & Utomo, 2023). These reported positions bring constitutional, diplomatic, humanitarian, and religious considerations into the same public controversy. The article analysis must

DOI: https://doi.org/10.54082/jupin.2893
p-ISSN: 2808-148X
e-ISSN: 2808-1366

nevertheless distinguish statements directly attributed to actors from interpretations of their broader political or religious motivations.

News media make competing statements visible and contextualize them for audiences (Huzieva et al., 2020). Through selection, presentation, and contextualization, news coverage represents political issues in particular ways (Alisherovna, 2022). This study therefore asks how Kompas.com presented the reasons given by political and religious elites for opposing Israel's participation. It does not assume that the outlet is neutral or that its reports provide a complete account of the actors' motivations. The analytical focus is the stated rationale represented in the articles, including whether the reports foregrounded humanitarian and constitutional arguments, diplomatic considerations, regional security, or Islamic solidarity.

Previous studies have examined the controversy through several perspectives, including online discourse, news construction, media framing, and public sentiment. Irawati et al. (2023), for example, investigated sarcastic and impolite language in comments posted on Ganjar Pranowo's Instagram account. Their findings identified football, politics, and religion as important contexts for sarcastic expressions in the comment section. Although their study provides insight into online reactions to a prominent political figure, it focuses on audience discourse rather than the representation of elite arguments in mainstream news reporting.

Pradana and Fensi (2023) compared coverage of the cancellation of the 2023 FIFA U-20 World Cup by the online sports news outlets Bola.com and Bolasport.com. Their study examined differences in journalistic presentation and the construction of the cancellation as a national or sports-related issue. Their findings indicate that media outlets may frame the same event differently according to their reporting approaches and institutional contexts. This research provides a useful point of comparison for examining how mainstream news coverage represents the arguments advanced by political and religious elites.

Other studies have examined the framing of individual political figures and decisions concerning Israel's participation. Nainggolan and Suratnoaji (2023) analyzed Media Indonesia's online coverage of Ganjar Pranowo's opposition using Entman's framing model. Pratyaksa and Putri (2023) examined coverage of I Wayan Koster's decision in Balipost.com and Nusabali.com. These studies focus on the framing of a particular actor or decision in specific outlets. The present study differs by comparing how one mainstream online outlet represented statements from multiple political figures and religious organizations in the same controversy. It places Ganjar, Koster, and Hasto alongside MUI, Muhammadiyah, PKS, and PAN to examine both shared constitutional language and differences in the reasons reported for each actor.

Research on social media sentiment has also documented public responses to the cancellation. Maulana et al. (2023) analyzed Twitter sentiment concerning Indonesia's loss of hosting rights for the tournament using Naïve Bayes and lexicon-based methods. Their findings indicated that negative sentiment predominated in the dataset they examined. Setiawan and Zufria (2023) likewise investigated sentiment concerning the cancellation using a Naïve Bayes approach and reported a distribution of positive, negative, and neutral responses that differed from the results reported by Maulana et al. Differences in datasets, classification procedures, and model performance mean that these findings should not be treated as directly interchangeable. Nevertheless, both studies illustrate the relevance of public sentiment as a dimension of the broader controversy.

Although previous research has addressed media framing, online discourse, and public sentiment, further analysis is needed to compare the stated justifications of political elites and religious organizations within the same news outlet. The relevant arguments are not interchangeable: constitutional opposition to colonialism, support for Palestinian independence, the absence of diplomatic relations, humanitarian concern, religious solidarity, regional security, and alleged electoral calculations represent distinct categories. An actor's affiliation with a party or religious organization cannot, by itself, establish which category best explains a specific statement. The study therefore codes the reasons reported in the text and keeps explicit statements separate from researcher interpretation.

This study examines selected reports published by Kompas.com between March 14 and April 4, 2023. Kompas.com was selected because it is a mainstream national online news outlet and the retained

DOI: https://doi.org/10.54082/jupin.2893
p-ISSN: 2808-148X
e-ISSN: 2808-1366

article set includes reports on statements by multiple political figures and religious organizations, making within-outlet comparison possible. The selection is not intended to establish that Kompas.com is inherently more neutral or more representative than other outlets. Saptoyo and Galih (2022) provide contextual evidence on the importance of digital platforms in Indonesian news consumption, but that evidence alone does not prove the superiority of any particular outlet. The period captures a concentrated phase of public controversy, from the March 14 statement attributed to Koster through early April reporting after the withdrawal of Indonesia's hosting rights. Because public discussion continued beyond this window, the findings should be read as a bounded analysis of this period rather than a complete account of the controversy.

The study addresses two research questions: (1) How did Kompas.com represent the arguments advanced by political and religious elites concerning Israel's participation in the 2023 FIFA U-20 World Cup in Indonesia? (2) What similarities and differences can be identified between the narratives attributed to political figures associated with PDI-P and those attributed to Muhammadiyah, MUI, PKS, and PAN? PDI-P is treated as a party historically associated with Indonesian nationalism, while PKS is commonly characterized as an Islamist party and PAN as a party with historical links to Muhammadiyah and a broader national political profile. These labels are used as contextual descriptors, not as substitutes for analysis of each reported statement. The study compares the narratives in the selected articles and does not infer individual motives solely from party or organizational identity.

2. METHOD

This study employs a qualitative approach and content analysis to examine how political and religious elites' positions on Israel's participation in the 2023 FIFA U-20 World Cup were represented in Kompas.com. The unit of analysis is the individual news article; within each article, the coding focus is the statement or paraphrased position attributed to an identifiable political or organizational actor. The study analyzes media representation rather than attempting to establish actors' private motivations or measure effects on public opinion (Li et al., 2018).

Kompas.com was selected as a bounded case because the retained reports cover statements from several political figures and religious organizations within one outlet, enabling a comparison of how their stated reasons were represented under a broadly shared editorial context. This design does not establish that Kompas.com is neutral or representative of Indonesian media as a whole. Saptoyo and Galih (2022) are cited only to contextualize the relevance of digital news consumption, not as evidence of the outlet's neutrality.

The dataset comprises 26 articles published from March 14 to April 4, 2023. The date range was selected to cover the concentrated period in which public statements opposing Israel's participation became prominent and the hosting controversy reached its decisive outcome. It begins with the reported March 14 response from Muhammadiyah and covers subsequent statements and reactions through early April. Debate continued after April 4; the cutoff is therefore a purposive boundary for a focused comparison, not a claim that the controversy ended on that date. The available manuscript records the final set of 26 articles but does not preserve a complete initial-search log or the number of records screened out. Accordingly, no initial hit count is reported here rather than supplying an unverifiable figure. The selection criteria were relevance to the research questions, publication by Kompas.com within the stated period, and substantive reporting of an elite or organization's position on Israel's participation.

The articles cover statements attributed to MUI and Muhammadiyah, as well as political figures associated with PDI-P, PKS, and PAN. For comparison, PDI-P is contextualized as a party historically associated with Indonesian nationalism; PKS as a party with an Islamist political orientation; and PAN as a party historically connected with Muhammadiyah but operating as a national political party. These are contextual groupings rather than claims that every party member or organizational representative shares the same position. The analysis remains focused on the statements reported in the articles.

The coding framework distinguished six categories: (1) constitutional/anti-colonial reasoning, when a statement referred to the 1945 Constitution, opposition to colonialism, or Indonesia's constitutional principles; (2) humanitarian concern, when the reported statement explicitly invoked

DOI: https://doi.org/10.54082/jupin.2893
p-ISSN: 2808-148X
e-ISSN: 2808-1366

human rights, justice, or harm to Palestinians as people; (3) diplomatic-policy reasoning, when it referred to the absence of diplomatic relations or consistency with Indonesia's foreign policy; (4) support for Palestinian independence or historical commitment, when it referred to an independent Palestinian state or Sukarno's legacy; (5) Islamic solidarity, only when the report explicitly framed the objection as a shared religious obligation or solidarity among Muslims; and (6) regional security or electoral politics, when a report explicitly discussed security consequences or electoral allegations/denials. Categories could overlap where an article reported more than one explicit argument. A category was not assigned solely because an actor belonged to a political party or religious organization. The researchers reviewed the coding against the wording and context of the reported statements; because no formal intercoder-reliability coefficient or complete independent-coding log is available, the classifications are presented as qualitative interpretations rather than as a statistically validated measurement.

Tables 1 and 2 present selected articles that illustrate the principal narratives identified in the dataset. Table 1 focuses on reports concerning Islamic mass organizations, while Table 2 presents reports concerning political figures affiliated with PDI-P, PKS, and PAN. The tables are illustrative rather than exhaustive lists of all 26 articles. The findings are interpreted qualitatively by comparing the arguments reported in the selected articles and examining similarities and differences across the actor groups. The analysis does not claim to measure the prevalence of each narrative across all Indonesian media or to establish a causal relationship between media coverage, elite motivations, and public opinion

Tables 1 and 2 present selected articles that illustrate the principal narratives identified in the dataset. Table 1 focuses on reports concerning Islamic mass organizations, while Table 2 presents reports concerning political figures affiliated with PDI-P, PKS, and PAN. The tables are illustrative rather than exhaustive lists of all 26 articles. The findings are interpreted qualitatively by comparing the arguments reported in the selected articles and examining similarities and differences across the actor groups. The analysis does not claim to measure the prevalence of each narrative across all Indonesian media or to establish a causal relationship between media coverage, elite motivations, and public opinion.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section presents the qualitative comparison of the 26 selected Kompas.com articles. The two tables below summarize the articles used as illustrative evidence; they are not a complete article-by-article inventory of all 26 reports. The discussion distinguishes the arguments explicitly attributed to actors from interpretations of their wider political or religious context. Because the study did not calculate category frequencies across a fully reproduced coding matrix, terms such as "frequent" and "prominent" refer to recurring patterns identified qualitatively, not statistically measured prevalence.

Table 1. Selected Kompas.com Reports on Opposition to Israel's Participation in the 2023 FIFA U-20 World Cup by Islamic Mass Organizations.

News article title	Organization	Publication date	Main argument or narrative identified
"Several Parties Reject Israel in the U-20 World Cup and the Reasons"	Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI)	March 30, 2023	Absence of diplomatic relations with Israel; humanitarian and constitutional arguments based on the 1945 Constitution of Indonesia.
"The Israeli National Team Is Participating in the U-20 World Cup; This Is the Response from the General Chair of Muhammadiyah"	Muhammadiyah	March 14, 2023	Indonesia's foreign policy and constitutional commitments concerning colonialism; the need for football-related decisions to remain consistent with state policy.

Source: Authors' analysis of selected Kompas.com reports (Hardianto & Firdaus, 2023; Yuwono & Utomo, 2023.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.54082/jupin.2893
p-ISSN: 2808-148X
e-ISSN: 2808-1366

Table 2. Selected Kompas.com Reports on Opposition to Israel's Participation in the 2023 FIFA U-20 World Cup by Political Figures.

News article title	Political party or affiliation	Publication date	Main argument or narrative identified
"Several Parties Reject Israel in the U-20 World Cup and Their Reasons"	Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)	March 30, 2023	Opposition to colonialism and occupation; constitutional arguments concerning the elimination of colonialism.
"Several Parties Reject Israel in the U-20 World Cup and Their Reasons"	National Mandate Party (PAN)	March 30, 2023	Opposition to Israel's participation; the article does not provide a sufficiently detailed explanation to establish a specific motive beyond the reported objection.
"Ganjar Refuses Israel to Play in the U-20 World Cup in Indonesia, Here's Why"	PDI-P; Ganjar Pranowo	March 23, 2023	Support for Palestinian independence and reference to Sukarno's political legacy.
"Regarding the Rejection of the Israel U-20 National Team, Bali Governor: 'That's Not My Attitude, but…'"	PDI-P; I Wayan Koster	March 27, 2023	Regional security concerns and the potential consequences of the Israeli team's participation in Bali.
"PDI-P Acrobatics After the U-20 World Cup Event Canceled: From Regional Heads Rejecting Israel to Blaming PSSI"	PDI-P; I Wayan Koster	March 31, 2023	Discussion of the political controversy surrounding Koster's position and the cancellation of Indonesia's hosting rights.
"Hasto Affirms PDI-P's Position in Rejecting the Presence of the Israeli National Team Has Nothing to Do with Elections"	PDI-P; Hasto Kristiyanto	March 30, 2023	Constitutional, historical, and humanitarian justifications; rejection of the claim that the party's position was motivated by electoral considerations.

Source: Authors' analysis of selected Kompas.com reports (Hardianto & Firdaus, 2023; Fauziyah & Khairina, 2023; Saptohutomo, 2023; Aditya & Prabowo, 2023).

3.1. Islamic Organizations and Islamic Mass-Based Political Parties: Humanitarian Concerns and Islamic Solidarity

The selected Kompas.com reports indicate that representatives of Islamic organizations and Islamic mass-based political parties frequently articulated their opposition to Israel's participation through constitutional, diplomatic, and humanitarian arguments. Although these actors were associated with Islamic organizations or political constituencies, the reports did not consistently present Islamic solidarity as their explicit justification. This distinction is important because the analysis concerns the arguments reported in the news coverage, rather than assumptions about the actors' underlying beliefs or motivations.

The Indonesian Ulema Council (Majelis Ulama Indonesia, MUI) was among the organizations reported to have opposed Israel's participation. In the article "Several Parties Reject Israel in the U-20 World Cup and the Reasons," published on March 30, 2023, Sudarnoto Abdul Hakim's position was reported in connection with Indonesia's lack of diplomatic relations with Israel and constitutional principles. The report also described Singapore as an alternative venue for the Israeli team (Hardianto & Firdaus, 2023). The available article record used for this analysis does not preserve a verified verbatim quotation from Sudarnoto; therefore, this discussion paraphrases the reported position rather than presenting reconstructed wording as a direct quote.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.54082/jupin.2893
p-ISSN: 2808-148X
e-ISSN: 2808-1366

The reported arguments place the MUI's position within a constitutional and diplomatic framework. Rather than explicitly presenting the objection as a religious obligation, the report foregrounded Indonesia's foreign policy and the constitutional rejection of colonialism. This framing provides evidence that the public justification attributed to the MUI was expressed in terms that could be understood beyond a specifically religious constituency. Nevertheless, the absence of an explicit religious argument in the selected report does not establish that religious considerations played no role in the organization's broader position. The analysis can establish what the report emphasized, but it cannot determine every factor that informed the organization's deliberations.

A similar pattern appears in the coverage of Muhammadiyah. In "The Israeli National Team Is Participating in the U-20 World Cup; This Is the Response from the General Chair of Muhammadiyah," published on March 14, 2023, Haedar Nashir's reported position emphasized consistency between football-related decisions, state policy, and Indonesia's anti-colonial principles (Yuwono & Utomo, 2023). The retained article record does not provide a verified verbatim quotation for direct insertion, so the argument is paraphrased here. The source article should be checked before a direct quotation is added.

The statement, as reported by Kompas.com, connected the issue of Israel's participation to the consistency of public policy rather than presenting it primarily as a religious dispute. This distinction is relevant to the study's central question: the reported argument invoked national policy and constitutional principles as the basis for evaluating the participation of the Israeli team. It would, however, be too strong to conclude from this single report that Muhammadiyah's position was entirely independent of Islamic solidarity. The more defensible conclusion is that the report foregrounded constitutional and policy-based reasoning.

The coverage of the Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, PKS) also emphasized opposition to colonialism. In the March 30, 2023 report "Several Parties Reject Israel in the U-20 World Cup and Their Reasons," Nasir Djamil, a member of the House of Representatives from the PKS faction, referred to the constitutional mandate to abolish colonialism (Hardianto & Firdaus, 2023). The reported argument placed the party's objection within the framework of anti-colonial principles and Indonesia's political position on Palestine.

This framing is significant because it shows how an actor associated with an Islamic mass-based political party was represented as grounding the objection in constitutional and anti-colonial reasoning. The argument does not necessarily exclude religious solidarity; rather, it demonstrates that the justification presented in the report was not confined to religious identity. The distinction between the stated argument and the actor's possible broader motivations must remain explicit, since the article alone cannot establish the relative importance of constitutional, humanitarian, ideological, and religious considerations in the party's decision-making.

The report concerning the National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional, PAN) requires a cautious interpretation. The same Kompas.com article reported that PAN deputy chairman Yandri Susanto opposed the Israeli team's participation (Hardianto & Firdaus, 2023), but the available report does not provide a sufficiently detailed explanation of the grounds for his position. The evidence therefore supports only the conclusion that opposition was reported; it does not establish whether the rationale was primarily constitutional, humanitarian, religious, diplomatic, or electoral.

Although PAN has historical connections with Muhammadiyah, that relationship cannot, by itself, demonstrate that PAN's position in this specific controversy was determined by Muhammadiyah's influence. Such a claim would require additional evidence, such as direct statements establishing the relationship between the party's decision and the organization's position. The analysis therefore treats PAN's reported objection as part of the broader pattern of elite opposition while acknowledging the limited information available about its explicit justification.

Taken together, the reports concerning MUI, Muhammadiyah, PKS, and PAN show differences in the amount and type of reasoning presented. MUI's position was associated with diplomatic and constitutional considerations; Muhammadiyah's with consistency between state policy and anti-colonial principles; and the PKS statement explicitly invoked the constitutional rejection of colonialism. The report concerning PAN documented opposition but offered less evidence about its rationale. These

DOI: https://doi.org/10.54082/jupin.2893
p-ISSN: 2808-148X
e-ISSN: 2808-1366

findings caution against treating Islamic organizations and political parties associated with Muslim constituencies as a homogeneous group. They also show that the public arguments reported in the articles were not uniformly framed as explicit appeals to Islamic solidarity.

3.2. Nationalist Political Elites: Constitutional Commitments, Historical Ideology, and Regional Security

The coverage of political figures affiliated with the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan, PDI-P) presented several distinct justifications for opposing Israel's participation. Ganjar Pranowo emphasized support for Palestinian independence and referred to the political legacy of Sukarno, whereas Bali Governor I Wayan Koster foregrounded regional security concerns. PDI-P secretary-general Hasto Kristiyanto, meanwhile, rejected the claim that the party's position was motivated by electoral considerations. These differences indicate that opposition among nationalist political elites was represented through more than one rationale.

In the article "Ganjar Refuses Israel to Play in the U-20 World Cup in Indonesia, Here's Why," published on March 23, 2023, Kompas.com reported Ganjar Pranowo's position that Israel's participation conflicted with Indonesia's commitment to Palestinian independence. The report connected his argument to Sukarno's historical support for Palestine and to the political traditions associated with PDI-P (Fauziyah & Khairina, 2023).

The reference to Sukarno's legacy placed Ganjar's position within a historical and ideological framework. His argument, as presented in the report, linked opposition to Israel's participation with Indonesia's longstanding commitment to Palestinian independence. This narrative overlaps with the constitutional and anti-colonial arguments identified in the coverage of Islamic organizations and Islamic mass-based parties. The comparison suggests that humanitarian and anti-colonial reasoning was not exclusive to actors associated with Islamic constituencies.

The same report included statements emphasizing the importance of continued support for an independent Palestinian state and the possibility of finding a solution that would allow the tournament to proceed without the Israeli team (Fauziyah & Khairina, 2023). These statements indicate that the reported position distinguished between hosting the tournament and accepting the participation of the Israeli national team. The distinction matters because opposition to the team's participation should not automatically be equated with opposition to the World Cup itself.

However, the presence of Sukarnoist references in the report does not, by itself, establish that ideological commitment was the sole motive behind Ganjar's position. The available evidence supports the interpretation that historical and anti-colonial commitments formed part of his publicly stated justification. Other possible political considerations cannot be confirmed or excluded solely through the selected news report.

Koster's position was represented differently. Kompas.com reported that he expressed concerns about the security implications of the Israeli team's participation in Bali. In the article "PDI-P Acrobatics After the U-20 World Cup Event Canceled: From Regional Heads Rejecting Israel to Blaming PSSI," the report described his opposition in connection with the regional government's concerns about maintaining public security (Saptohutomo, 2023). The coverage also referred to the formal objection submitted by the Bali provincial government regarding the Israeli team's participation in the province.

Unlike Ganjar's emphasis on Sukarno's political legacy and Palestinian independence, the reported justification associated with Koster foregrounded potential security consequences in Bali. This difference is analytically important: two figures affiliated with the same party were represented through different reasons. Ganjar's reported position linked the issue to historical commitments and support for Palestinian independence, while Koster's was presented primarily through regional security concerns. The comparison does not establish that security was Koster's only consideration; it identifies the rationale foregrounded in the selected coverage.

The distinction also illustrates why party affiliation alone is insufficient to explain an actor's position. Although both figures were affiliated with PDI-P, the selected reports emphasized different considerations. The evidence therefore supports a comparison of their reported justifications, rather than a conclusion that their positions were motivated by an identical party strategy.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.54082/jupin.2893
p-ISSN: 2808-148X
e-ISSN: 2808-1366

Electoral politics formed another dimension of the controversy. In a report concerning PDI-P's position, secretary-general Hasto Kristiyanto rejected allegations that the party opposed Israel's participation to gain electoral support. The report presented the party's position as grounded in constitutional, historical, and international-relations considerations (Aditya & Prabowo, 2023). This is evidence that electoral motivation was explicitly contested in the public debate, not proof either that electoral calculations were absent or that they caused the party's position.

This statement is important because it documents an explicit rejection of the allegation that the party's position was electorally motivated. Nevertheless, a denial by a political actor cannot independently establish the absence of electoral considerations. Conversely, the timing of the controversy before the 2024 presidential election does not prove that electoral calculations caused the position. The evidence available in the selected coverage supports the conclusion that electoral motivation was part of the public debate, but it does not establish it as the definitive explanation for PDI-P's position.

The reports concerning PDI-P figures present a combination of historical, constitutional, humanitarian, and security-related justifications. Ganjar's statements emphasized Palestinian independence and Sukarno's legacy, Koster's position was reported primarily through regional security concerns, and Hasto's statement addressed allegations of electoral motivation. These differences demonstrate the need to examine individual statements rather than assigning a single motive to all nationalist political elites.

3.3. Comparing Elite Narratives: Humanitarian Concerns, Constitutional Principles, and Islamic Solidarity

The comparison across MUI, Muhammadiyah, PKS, PAN, and PDI-P figures reveals shared use of constitutional and anti-colonial reasoning, despite differences in organizational and political backgrounds. MUI and Muhammadiyah were represented mainly through diplomatic and constitutional considerations; PKS through an explicit constitutional rejection of colonialism; and the available PAN report did not explain the objection in enough detail to assign a principal rationale. Among PDI-P figures, Ganjar's position was associated with Palestinian independence and Sukarno's legacy, Koster's with regional security, and Hasto's with a response to allegations of electoral motivation. These differences caution against treating either "nationalist" or "Islamic" actors as internally uniform.

The findings support a qualified interpretation of the relationship between humanitarian concerns and Islamic solidarity. In the selected Kompas.com coverage, opposition to Israel's participation was articulated through constitutional, diplomatic, anti-colonial, and support-for-Palestine arguments. The current coding does not justify a quantitative claim that humanitarian and constitutional reasons occurred more often than Islamic solidarity across all 26 articles, because a complete frequency table is not provided in the manuscript. The defensible finding is that explicit Islamic solidarity was not consistently foregrounded in the reported justifications, while constitutional and diplomatic reasoning appeared in multiple actor narratives.

The distinction between explicit humanitarian reasoning and religious solidarity should not be treated as an absolute opposition. Constitutional, humanitarian, historical, and religious considerations may coexist in an actor's political outlook, even when a particular news report foregrounds only one of them. The content analysis identifies the arguments emphasized in the selected articles; it does not establish a complete hierarchy of motives within the organizations or parties concerned.

The reports also show variation within actor groups. MUI and Muhammadiyah were presented through constitutional and diplomatic reasoning; the PKS statement referred to the constitutional rejection of colonialism; and PAN's rationale remained under-specified. Within PDI-P, Ganjar's position was associated with Palestinian independence and historical ideology, Koster's with regional security, and Hasto's with the public dispute over electoral motivation. Party or organizational identity helps contextualize these statements but cannot determine the explanation for any individual position.

The findings must also be interpreted in relation to the role of the media. Kompas.com provided a venue through which elite statements became part of the public debate, and its reports presented the controversy through different arguments and perspectives. However, the presence of these narratives in

DOI: https://doi.org/10.54082/jupin.2893
p-ISSN: 2808-148X
e-ISSN: 2808-1366

the news does not establish that the outlet was entirely neutral or that its coverage directly shaped public opinion. A claim about media neutrality would require a broader assessment of source selection, framing patterns, omissions, and coverage across the relevant period. Similarly, claims about audience effects would require reception data or other evidence beyond the content of the articles.

The controversy also intersected with electoral politics, but the evidence does not justify treating electoral strategy as the underlying cause of all elite positions. The selected reports document allegations and denials concerning electoral motives, while also presenting constitutional, historical, humanitarian, and security-based justifications. These competing accounts show that electoral considerations were part of the controversy's public interpretation, not that they have been conclusively established as the cause of the decisions.

The selected articles show that Kompas.com represented opposition to Israel's participation through a range of constitutional, anti-colonial, diplomatic, humanitarian, historical, and security arguments. Explicit appeals to Islamic solidarity were not consistently foregrounded. This is a finding about the reported narratives in this bounded dataset, not a conclusion about the private beliefs of the actors, the full internal deliberations of their organizations, or public opinion in Indonesia.

4. CONCLUSION

This study examined how Kompas.com represented the stated reasons of political and religious elites concerning Israel's participation in the 2023 FIFA U-20 World Cup in Indonesia. In the 26 articles analyzed, constitutional and anti-colonial principles, diplomatic considerations, support for Palestinian independence, humanitarian concerns, and regional security appeared as reported justifications. Explicit Islamic solidarity was not consistently foregrounded in the coverage.

Similar constitutional and anti-colonial arguments appeared across actors with different political and organizational backgrounds. MUI and Muhammadiyah were represented mainly through constitutional and diplomatic reasoning, while the PKS statement invoked the constitutional rejection of colonialism. The available report on PAN did not provide enough detail to establish a principal rationale. Among PDI-P figures, Ganjar Pranowo's position was associated with Palestinian independence and Sukarno's legacy, I Wayan Koster's with regional security, and Hasto Kristiyanto's statement with a rejection of alleged electoral motivation. These differences show why individual statements should be analyzed rather than assigning one motive to an entire party or organization.

The study is limited to 26 purposively selected Kompas.com articles published from March 14 to April 4, 2023. It does not compare coverage across outlets, measure audience effects, or establish the actors' internal motivations. The manuscript also does not retain a complete initial-search log or a formal intercoder-reliability statistic, so the coding should be understood as a qualitative interpretation. Future research could compare Kompas.com with other national and regional outlets, extend the publication period, and use a fully documented coding matrix to assess similarities and differences in the representation of elite statements.

The study contributes a cross-actor comparison of reported justifications in one mainstream online news outlet. Its principal contribution is to show that constitutional and anti-colonial reasoning appeared across political and religious groupings, while the stated reasons differed among individual actors. These findings should not be generalized beyond the selected articles without comparative evidence from other media and periods.

REFERENCES

Aditya, N. R., & Prabowo, D. (2023, November 15). Hasto Tegaskan Sikap PDI-P Menolak Kehadiran Timnas Israel Tak Ada Kaitannya dengan Elektoral. *KOMPAS.Com*. https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2023/03/30/17455441/hasto-tegaskan-sikap-pdi-p-menolak-kehadiran-timnas-israel-tak-ada-kaitannya?page=all

Alisherovna, B. D. (2022). Media Discourse as A Modern Way of Interpretation. *American Journal Od Social and Humanitarian Research*, *3*(6), 80–84. https://grnjournals.us/index.php/AJSHR%0ACopyright

Fauziyah, T. A., & Khairina. (2023). Ganjar Tolak Israel Main di Piala Dunia U-20 di Indonesia, Begini Alasannya. *KOMPAS.Com*. https://regional.kompas.com/read/2023/03/23/155403878/ganjar-tolak-israel-main-di-piala-dunia-u-20-di-indonesia-begini-alasannya

Hardianto, A., & Firdaus, F. (2023). Sejumlah Pihak yang Tolak Israel di Piala Dunia U-20 dan Alasannya. *KOMPAS.Com*. https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2023/03/30/133000965/sejumlah-pihak-yang-tolak-israel-di-piala-dunia-u-20-dan-alasannya

Huzieva, O. V., Masimova, L., Vernyhora, N., & Soshynska, V. (2020). Digital Culture and Digital Media: Professional Competences. *International Journal of Innovative Technology and Exploring Engineering*, *9*(3), 282–288. https://doi.org/10.35940/ijitee.C7945.019320

Irawati, R. A., Sujatna, E. T. S., & Yuliawati, S. (2023). Strategi ketidaksantunan sarkasme warganet pada kolom komentar Instagram Ganjar Pranowo. *Diglosia: Jurnal Kajian Bahasa, Sastra, Dan Pengajarannya*, *6*(3), 911–930. https://doi.org/10.30872/diglosia.v6i3.739

Li, J., Pearce, P. L., & Low, D. (2018). Media representation of digital-free tourism: A critical discourse analysis. *Tourism Management*, *69*(June), 317–329. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2018.06.027

Maulana, M. A., Hakim, M. L., & Sukma. (2023). Politik, Olahraga, dan Islam Studi Kasus Pembatalan RI Menjadi Tuan Rumah Piala Dunia U-20 2023. *Islamic Education*, *1*(3), 16–24. https://maryamsejahtera.com/index.php/Education/article/view/192

Nainggolan, I. D. P., & Suratnoaji, C. (2023). Analisis Framing Pemberitaan Ganjar Pranowo Menolak Kehadiran Timnas Israel di Indonesia pada Mediaindonesia.com. *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi Dan Media Sosial (JKOMDIS)*, *3*(2), 534–541. https://doi.org/10.47233/jkomdis.v3i2.923

Pradana, A. P. T., & Fensi, F. (2023). Construction of Media Messages on News of The Cancellation of The 2023 U-20 World Cup Indonesia. *Asian Journal of Social and Humanities*, *1*(12), 1089–1111. https://doi.org/10.59888/ajosh.v1i12.118

Pratyaksa, I. G. T., & Putri, N. L. W. E. (2023). Analisis Framing Kebijakan Gubernur Bali dalam Pembatalan Drawing Piala Dunia U-20. *Samvada: Jurnal Riset Komunikasi, Media, Dan Public Relation*, *2*(1), 62–73. https://doi.org/10.53977/jsv.v2i1.986

Saptohutomo, A. P. (2023). Akrobat PDI-P Usai Ajang Piala Dunia U-20 Batal: Dari Kepala Daerah Tolak Israel hingga Berujung Salahkan PSSI. *KOMPAS.Com*. https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2023/03/31/04000081/akrobat-pdi-p-usai-ajang-piala-dunia-u-20-batal-dari-kepala-daerah-tolak

Saptoyo, R. D. A., & Galih, B. (2022). Survei Reuters: 68 Persen Masyarakat Indonesia Mengakses Berita dari Medsos. *KOMPAS.Com*. https://www.kompas.com/cekfakta/read/2022/06/17/153126682/survei-reuters-68-persen-masyarakat-indonesia-mengakses-berita-dari

Setiawan, H., & Zufria, I. (2023). Analisis Sentimen Pembatalan Indonesia Sebagai Tuan Rumah Piala Dunia FIFA U-20 Menggunakan Naïve Bayes. *Jurnal Media Informatika Budidarma*, *7*(3). https://doi.org/10.30865/mib.v7i3.6144

Sutari, T. (2023). Daftar Tokoh yang Tolak dan Terima Timnas Israel Main di Indonesia. *CNNIndonesia.Com*. https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20230326080154-20-929386/daftar-tokoh-yang-tolak-dan-terima-timnas-israel-main-di-indonesia

Tempo.co. (2023). Kronologi Indonesia Gagal Jadi Tuan Rumah Piala Dunia U-20 2023 dan Daftar Tokoh yang Menentang. *Tempo.Co*. https://www.tempo.co/sepakbola/kronologi-indonesia-gagal-jadi-tuan-rumah-piala-dunia-u-20-2023-dan-daftar-tokoh-yang-menentang-203189

Yuwono, M., & Utomo, A. P. (2023). Timnas Israel ikut Piala Dunia U-20, Begini Tanggapan Ketua Umum Muhammadiyah. *KOMPAS.Com*. https://yogyakarta.kompas.com/read/2023/03/14/211816978/timnas-israel-ikut-piala-dunia-u-20-begini-tanggapan-ketua-umum