

POTRAYAL OF GOVERNMENT IN THE JAKARTA POST: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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Abstract

The way a journalist brings up issues in news can influence readers to have certain opinions. This study was purposely done to investigate the representation of the government in *The Jakarta Post*. Therefore, the research question of this study is to reveal the representation of the government in *The Jakarta Post* by using Fairclough three-dimensional model as explained in the article by Janks (Janks, 1997). The three-dimensional model includes textual, discourse practice, and social practice that will be the stages for the researcher to analyze the news. This current study focuses on an article posted during the chaos of Criminal Code (RKUHP) in 2019 entitled ‘No, Indonesian students are not taking to the streets only to fight sex ban’ (Heriyanto, 2019). The qualitative descriptive approach is used by the researcher as the research method. The findings of this current study show that *The Jakarta Post* represents the government in a negative way by using indirect quotations in the whole news. This research can be a meaningful insight for future researchers who want to critical discourse analysis, for readers to become more aware of reading news, and for journalists to become more aware as well in writing news.

Key words: Criminal Code (RKUHP), government, representation, *The Jakarta Post*

INTRODUCTION

Representation is a means to investigate something that can be seen through language [1], [2], voice, and action in which each person has various ways to represent a thing [3], [4]. This definition is supported by [5] that a representation is a portrayal of something or someone through visual, written or audio. By understanding the definition, it can be implied that certain images and languages convey meanings to the readers [6], [7], [8]. Moreover, in 1967, Hanna Pitkin in [9], [10] stated that by practice, representation means ‘having available’ what is not, and ‘acting for’ what is not. Representation leads society to see the same thing in different perception that needs a point of in making it [11], [12], [13].

It has been widely noticed by many people especially those linguists who put their interest in newspaper discourse to gain much more information regarding the representation of something written down on the paper in the very first place [14], [15], [16]. Representation in discourse is an attempt to convey other elements of the meaning of natural language texts further than the text’s pure reality [17], [18]. The representation comes up because

there is always a tendency of newspaper publishing company towards certain issues [19], [20], [21], group or party that is associated with them, therefore; they represent something based on their interest in the most common found fact and it has become something inevitable [22], [23], [24].

Government is the political system that administers and governs a country or society [25], [26]. When it comes to something related to the government [27], [28], [29], it is found out to be quite sensitive and hard to put aside the bias on how the government is being represented by the journalist of the newspaper [30], [31], [32]. Government as the object of news is sometimes criticized or even reported in a way that does not represent the fact of what is going on instead of its news being made up to drive the opinion of the society to believe what is written [33], [34], [35].

In Indonesia, the online newspaper that is trusted and written in English is *The Jakarta Post* [36], [37]. *The Jakarta Post* publishes information by using English as its main language [38], [39], [40]. By having many readers, *The Jakarta Post* can influence the way readers think or even the perspective of the readers through its writing [41], [42]. The writing can be in form of news or discourse which aims to provide information or events which happen in society [43], [44], [45], while the discourse itself is regarded as the most complete unit of language [46], [47]. In order to know deeply about the discourse, a discourse analysis is utilized as the means [48], [49], [50]. The discourse analysis is defined as the analysis of language that is beyond the text in which it also analyzes the grammar, phonetics and phonology, morphology, semantics, and syntax within the text [51], [52], [53]. Thus, people say that discourse analysis is the analysis beyond the text since we have to look at other aspects aside from the text itself [54], [55], [56]. When discourse comes to its relation to social elements such as ideologies and power relations [57], [58], it is called as critical discourse analysis [59], [60].

There were several studies conducted studies about representation. Rahimi & Amirian in 2017 stated on their research entitled ‘A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representation of Iranians in a Western Movie *Not Without My Daughter*’ that the In-group vs. Out-group dichotomy [61], [62], based on the proposed paradigm (2004) of Van Dijk, has proven to be a very successful discursive technique open to the filmmakers [63], [64], [65]. Besides,

a study by Putra & Triyono, 2018 entitled ‘Critical Discourse Analysis on Kompas.Com News: *Gerakan #2019GANTIPRESIDEN*’ found that Kompas.com was a pro-government mass media which created a positive image of the government [66], [67], [68]. Moreover, a study entitled ‘The Representation of Power in the Text News on the Meiliana Case (a Norman Fairclough Critical Discourse Analysis)’ has been conducted by [69] sound that the optimistic ideology of the various sides and institutions like government and expert [70].

In 2019, there was chaos caused by a new bill proposal regulating some aspects within the governmental system. This situation made many newspapers published articles regarding the debate in Criminal Code Law draft or RKUHP, especially *The Jakarta Post* who wrote articles related to this topic. The language used in *The Jakarta Post* contains social practice which has certain meaning or intention in it. As recognition of these issues, the researcher intends to conduct a study that is related to the representation of government in *The Jakarta Post* by using the critical discourse analysis theory proposed by Norman Fairclough. The researcher will focus on the representation of the government in *The Jakarta Post*.

Consequently, the objective of this research is to reveal the representation of the government in *The Jakarta Post*. The findings of this study can increase the awareness and the critical thinking of readers when reading news. Besides, it can be used by journalists for helping them writing news in which they can be more aware when doing it since they consider critical readers. Moreover, this study can be guidance for helping future researchers doing a critical discourse analysis.

METHOD

To analyze the data, the researcher used Fairclough three-dimensional model by Norman Fairclough that consists of three stages which are Textual, Discourse Practice, and Social Practice as cited in the article by Janks (Janks, 1997). The explanation of the stages can be seen below.

1. Textual

The textual stage can be explained by analyzing lexicalization, pattern of transitivity, active and passive voice, nominalization, mood choices, modality, structure of the text, information focus, and cohesion devices. However, in this study the researcher only found that active and passive voice, nominalization, modality, and classification scheme which include in the section of analysis the vocabulary. Active and passive voice are used to see the focus on the news. Nominalization is used to see how the journalists make the issues become the phenomenon. Modality is used to reveal the meaning besides the authority of the sentence. Meanwhile, classification scheme is used to explore the vocabulary that the journalists use to represent the issue.

2. Discourse Practice

In this stage, the researcher focuses on the interpretation of the data that the researcher got. This stage will focus on the context of a case and the intertextual meaning as central to the perception process.

3. Social Practice

Social practice or commonly called an explanation is the interaction between process of discursion and social process. Therefore, in this stage, the researcher will explain the process of discursion and the social process itself.

This study is only limited to analyze an article posted during the chaos of the Criminal Code (RKUHP) in 2019. The researcher took the article published by *The Jakarta Post* entitled 'No, Indonesian students are not taking to the streets only to fight sex ban' on September 27, 2019, when the chaos happened, which was written by Devina Heriyanto (Heriyanto, 2019). The data from the website were in the form of words, phrases, and sentences. In conducting this study, the researcher applied a qualitative descriptive approach to reveal the representation of the government in *The Jakarta Post*.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Textual

Scheme of government

In addressing the government, *The Jakarta Post* used various words that covered the governmental system. They were president, vice president, corruption eradication commission (KPK), the house, lawmakers, and government.

Words	Frequency
Vice President	1
Lawmakers	1
The House	2
President	4
Government	4
Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), includes KPK leader	6

Table 1. Government name in *The Jakarta Post*

The table above showed the words that were often referred to as the government as well as their occurrence frequency. From the table, we can notice that the words vice president and lawmaker were used once in the article. The word the house was used twice, the words president and government were used four times, while; the word corruption eradication commission was used the most as six times mentioned in the article. As the data suggests, *The Jakarta Post* seems likely to have a tendency to use the word corruption eradication commission to represent the government best instead of any other listed words shown in the table above.

Datum	Clause
1	Several articles regulate against "attacking the dignity" of the president or vice

	president and publishing or broadcasting materials that contain "insults against the legitimate government".
2	Many lawmakers are against the bill, calling it "liberal" and arguing that the bill would legalize Zina (extramarital sex).
3	The protesters also demand that the House pass the sexual violence bill, which has been deliberated over since 2016.
4	Before it was passed, activists and experts had criticized the bill and urged President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo to intervene and save the antigraft body.
5	The overstaffing of the TNI has led to a demand that the government allows military personnel to hold civilian jobs.
6	The repeal of the newly passed Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) Law also tops the priority list.

Table 1.2. The sample of data government's name scheme

In the first datum, the word vice president was chosen by *The Jakarta Post* as the representation of government. Literally, the word vice-president means the person who is below president in terms of rank within the country, he or she also has the right to represent the president if he or she is not able (Oxford Dictionary). While contextually, the word vice-president here means as a part of the governmental system since *The Jakarta post* was talking about the new bill related to the regulation of broadcasting, publishing materials that might insult the president and its vice-president. Therefore, both literally and contextually the meaning of the word vice-president here has the similarity. *The Jakarta Post* used the word vice-president in this article to refer to the government because vice-president also has a big role in the government and as in line with the new regulation discussed in the sentence above.

In the second datum, *The Jakarta Post* used the word lawmaker as the representation of government as well to actually reject the new bill and criticize that. The literal meaning of lawmakers is a person who is in charge of making the laws in a country (Oxford Dictionary). While in the contextual one, the word lawmaker was used to show a part of

the governmental body that rejects the approval of the new bill that can result the legalization of Zina in the very first place. It can be seen clearly that what *The Jakarta Post* wanted to emphasize is that not all the parts of governmental will agree with the new bill, even the ones who are responsible to make it also can disagree.

In the third datum, *The Jakarta Post* chose the word the house to address the government in this sentence. Literally, the word house means in the context of parliament as a group of people who meet to discuss and make the laws of a country (Oxford Dictionary). Contextually, the house in this sentence means the group of people who have the authority to accept or reject a new bill before being implemented in society as a set of rules. Hence, the word “The House’ both in the literal and contextual matter is the same that is referring to the group of people as a part of government that has the authority to make or delete bills or laws. As the context showed, the word of the house also collocated to the word pass which exactly refers to the bill.

In the fourth datum, *The Jakarta Post* used the word president to mention the government. Why *The Jakarta Post* used this word was because the president also has the authority in handling all the things happen in his country. Literally, the word president means a leader of a country or republic (Oxford Dictionary). Meanwhile, contextually the word president as referred to the government is in line with the meaning of the literal explanation in which the president has the right to intervene in the passing of the new bill. *The Jakarta Post* in this sentence wanted to highlight that actually the president has power upon the disputed bill especially the law related to the antigraft body.

In the fifth datum, the word government itself was used to talk about the new bill that is concerned with the TNI. Literally the word government means a group of people who has the power in controlling a country (Oxford Dictionary). Contextually, the word government also addresses people with power in a country that controls anything inside it. It can be said that both literal and contextual meaning has a strong similarity, to begin with. Moreover, *The Jakarta Post* used the word government in this circumstance to actually talk about how overstaffing occurred in the body of the military and the government should be responsible for that without bringing back the dwifungsi regulation.

In the last datum, the word corruption eradication commission (KPK) was chosen the most by *The Jakarta Post* to talk about the government in this particular matter. It was discussed

much further since one of the main concerns regarding the bill is the act of weakening corruption eradication commission. In a literal way, corruption eradication commission is a governmental organization that is focused on investigating the case of corruption. In accordance with the literal meaning, contextually the corruption eradication commission in this sentence has the same meaning; however, the topic of interest discussed here was on how the KPK's new law was repealed.

From the data of the analysis above, it can be concluded that *The Jakarta Post* used several different words to address the government in this article. Those six words actually have a different meaning, but indeed those words had the same purpose that was intended to refer to the government. In addressing the government, *The Jakarta Post* used the word corruption eradication commission the most as compared to the other words. This occurred because the new bill related to the weakening of corruption eradication commission has become one of the main concerns. However, in addressing government as related to certain bill the government in so-called lawmakers argued the bill to be not in line with the ideology of the country.

Nominalization

Words	Frequency
Establishment	1

Table 2. Nominalization in *The Jakarta Post*

The table above showed the occurrence of nominalization in *The Jakarta Post* and its frequency. What the researcher found out from this article about nominalization is only the usage of the word establishment as a form of nominalization itself. Although It only occurred one time, it was used by *The Jakarta Post* to criticize the new policy that might weaken the part of the government, in this case, corruption eradication commission.

Datum	Clause
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7	The new KPK Law strips the KPK off of its independence through the establishment of a supervisory body and the conversion of the KPK into a government agency.
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In the datum, as shown in the table above, *The Jakarta Post* used the word establishment as a noun. the purpose of using the word establishment in this sentence is to highlight the emergency if the new bill is passed by the government that can possibly weaken the position of corruption eradication commission to have its special authority in investigating the corruption case that deals with those people with power. Moreover, in this context the corruption eradication commission can't be free and independent in doing its duty.

From the data above, it can be concluded that the usage of nominalization by *The Jakarta Post* with the word establishment is to highlight the emergency of the new bill if it is really passed by and implemented and to inform the community that it is very important to be concerned.

Active and passive used to portray the government

In representing the government in this article, the activation and passivation were taken into consideration as a parameter to find out the hidden motive behind their usage. Active sentence has a function to highlight the subject or something in a positive way, while; the passive sentence has a tendency to represent something in a negative sense.

Sentences	Frequency
Passive	2
Active	10

Table 3. Active and Passive Sentence in *The Jakarta Post*

The findings showed the frequency of passive and active sentences appeared within this article. From the table, it can be clearly noticed that the passive sentence only occurred twice; while the active sentence occurred ten times. Therefore, it can be concluded that *The Jakarta Post* represented the government in a positive way in regard to this case.

Datum	Clause
8	The protesters also demand that the House pass the sexual violence bill, which has been deliberated over since 2016.
9	Before it was passed, activists and experts had criticized the bill and urged President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo to intervene and save the antigraft body.

Table 3.1. Sample of Data of Passive and Active Sentences in *The Jakarta Post*

In the eighth datum, we notice that the sentence was in the passive voice. The function of the passive sentence was to show the protester and also the house as a part of the government. By looking at this data, we can see if *The Jakarta Post* wanted to put the position of government in a quite negative side as what they have done to pass the bill regarding sexual violence that was backlashing with the ideology of Indonesia.

In the ninth datum, the sentence was written down in the active voice. The function of using the active voice here is to give information about the activist and experts that have criticized the bill and urged the president to take action for solving this matter. In this way, the sense of positivity can be noticed that the president as a part of the government was not portrayed in a negative way

From the data above, it can be summarized that in terms of representing the government in the case of RUKHP *The Jakarta Post* mainly used the active sentences rather than a passive sentence to show how the government was portrayed in a positive way. *The Jakarta Post* did this because they wanted to inform the community that the government would not pass the new bill without concerning the voice of the community as well.

Modality

Aux	Can	Would	Could
Freq	1	2	2

Table 4. Modal Auxiliaries in *The Jakarta Post*

The table above provides the frequency of modal auxiliaries used in the article of *The Jakarta Post*. From the data, we know that there were three types of modal auxiliaries used, consisting of can, would and could. The modal auxiliary can appear one time, would twice and could twice. Hence, it is so obvious that *The Jakarta Post* used the modal auxiliaries would and could the most in this article which means that *The Jakarta Post* put more focus on the ability and probability or opinion of something.

Datum	Clause
10	If passed, the new Criminal Code can make crimes out of freedom of speech, lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) rights, sexual reproduction rights and even homelessness.
11	Many Indonesian readers of foreign media outlets, however, expressed their exasperation over the titles of the articles in various news outlets, which often focused only on the fact that the contentious Criminal Code (RKUHP) bill could criminalize premarital sex.
12	Many lawmakers are against the bill, calling it “liberal” and arguing that the bill would legalize Zina (extramarital sex).

In the tenth datum, the journalist of *The Jakarta Post* used the modal auxiliary of can to show the ability of what will happen if the bill was passed by the government. Moreover, in the eleventh datum, *The Jakarta Post* journalist used the word could that is referred to as a model auxiliary. It also showed the ability of something, especially in this case, the Criminal Code (RUKHP) if it were passed. Hence, *The Jakarta Post* used the modal auxiliaries of can and could here to represent the ability of the new bill if it were passed and applied within our society.

In the twelfth datum, the journalist also put the opinion of many lawmakers if the bill was passed it would legalize the Zina (extramarital ex). From the data above, it seems likely that *The Jakarta Post* used the words could and would in the same proportion as compared to can because *The Jakarta Post* wanted to inform the readers regarding the ability and opinion of the new bill if it were passed.

2. Discourse Practice (Interpretation)

In the text production of this article, *The Jakarta Post* has one journalist that focused on the issue of RUKHP or new bill. In reporting the news, commonly the journalist used some ways such as quoting the words from other people. This covers three classifications direct, indirect and free indirect. The distribution of these can be seen as follow.

Direct	Indirect	Free-Indirect	Total
0 (0%)	2 (100%)	0(0%)	2 (100%)

Table Reported Speech Distribution

The table above provided the report of speech distribution done by *The Jakarta Post*. From all the data, it can be noticed clearly that the journalist of *The Jakarta Post* only used the indirect quotation in this article which appeared two times. Both direct and free-indirect quotations were not found in this article. It showed that the journalist might have done subjectivity in reporting this issue as stated by Fairclough in 1992 “Indirect quotation is considered extremely far from reflecting the truth, since indirect reporting of speech in the news is filtered and subjected to manipulation”.

News Source	Frequencies	Percentage
Amalinda Savirani	1	50%
Students	1	50%

Table of Indirect Quotation

From the table above, the journalist of *The Jakarta Post* represented the voice of two people equally with the one-time occurrence in the article.

Datum	Clause	News Source
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13	Political scientist Amalinda Savirani from Gadjah Mada University said despite some criticisms of the movement's many demands, the varied nature of those demands could help the movement gain followers and momentum.	Amalinda Saviraini (A Political Scientist)
14	The students in Yogyakarta, in their press release and standpoint document, said they were aware of prosecutions of corruption and democracy activists.	Students (In Yogyakarta)

Table of Indirect Quotation Data

The data in the table above showed that the usage of the indirect quotation by the journalist of *The Jakarta Post* in the case of RUKHP or the new bill. Why these data were called as the indirect quotation is that because the data were not exactly the same as what might have been conveyed by the speakers. These data were formulated by the journalist herself by paraphrasing the speech. Although there were words “said” here but they did not essentially represent the thought of the speaker since there were no quotation marks.

3. Socio cultural practice (Explanation)

The student movement to go to the street has been linked to the student’s movement in 1998 that can be seen as follow.

Datum	Clause
15	In the past few days, Indonesia has been witnessing its largest student movement since that of 1998, which brought down then-president Soeharto. The student protests made headlines not only in the national media, but also in international news outlets.

From the datum 15, it can be seen that *The Jakarta Post* relates the things that happen in 1998 with the things that happen in this day. By bringing up this relation, The Jakarta Post wants to show the chaos in this day is the same with the chaos in the past that could bring down president Soeharto. Therefore, the effect in the past cannot be separated with the chaos happened because of the Criminal Code (RKUHP).

CONCLUSION

Through analyzing the news, the findings of this study reveal that *The Jakarta Post* negatively represents the government by only using indirect quotations. It can be implied that *The Jakarta Post* does not show the real quotations or the direct quotations from the government since they might want to include their subjectivity in reporting the government's quotation. There might be different findings if the research has more data or more articles to be analyzed. Thus, future researchers can give more contributions by analyzing more articles and discussing more data. By reading this study, readers can be more aware of reading news, besides; journalists also become more aware of writing the news since they consider critical readers.

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