Representation of Government Concerning the Draft of Criminal Code in *The Jakarta Post*: A Critical Discourse Analysis

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A B S T R A C T

This study was purposely conducted to investigate the representation of the government in The Jakarta Post. Therefore, it was to reveal the representation of the government related to the draft of Criminal Code in The Jakarta Post by using Fairclough three-dimensional model. The three-dimensional model including textual analysis, discourse practice, and social practice were the stages for the researchers to analyse the news. The qualitative descriptive approach was employed by the researchers as the research method. The findings of this current study showed that The Jakarta Post was on the protesters' side and it negatively represented the government. In textual analysis, it showed that The Jakarta Post Emphasized President Jokowi as the one who has a pivotal role to pass, postpone, and refuse the bills. Meanwhile, in discourse practice, The Jakarta Post tended to defend its point of view through indirect sentences that were used the most as compared to the others to present the news in a way that did not represent the truth. Moreover, in socio-cultural practice, it was revealed that the chaos happened due to some demands from the society that were not responded to by the government.

A R T I C L E I N F O

1. Introduction

Representation is a means to investigate something that can be seen through language, voice, and action in which each person has various ways to represent something. It is supported by Beltran (2018) that a representation is a portrayal of something or someone through visual, written, or audio. Moreover, Hanna Pitkin in Arnesen and Peter's article stated that representation means having available what is not and acting for what is not (Arnesen & Peters, 2018). Representation leads society to see the same thing from different perspectives. It has been widely noticed by linguists who put their interest in newspapers that discourse aims to gain deeper information regarding the representation of something written down on the paper. Representation in discourse is an attempt to convey other meanings of natural language texts further than the text's pure reality (Eijck & Kamp, 2011). It refers to the actors' portrayal of social practice through a text (Evayani & Rido, 2019). The representation comes up because there is always a tendency of newspaper publishing companies towards certain issues, groups, or parties that are associated with them, and it has become something inevitable. Moreover, it is believed that although newspapers tend to claim that they are independent, they will represent the news based on their perspective since everything that is spoken and written in the world comes from an ideological perspective (Chen, 2016; Risdaneva, 2018). Therefore, they might have their way of referring to something and bringing up the news. In bringing up the news, sometimes it relates to the government as the one who has the power within the country.

Government is the political system that administers and governs a country or society (Brogan, 2019). When it comes to something related to the government, it is found out to be quite sensitive and hard to put aside the bias on how the journalist of the newspaper represents the government. The 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 as true (Vanderwicken, 2020).

In 2019, there was chaos caused by a new bill proposal called the draft of Criminal Code or *RKUHP* (*Revisi Kitab Undang-undang Hukum Pidana*) that regulates some aspects within the governmental system. The chaos attracted many newspaper companies including *The Jakarta Post* to publish articles related to this topic. *RKUHP* is the term used in *The Jakarta Post* containing social practice which has certain meaning or intention in it. *The Jakarta Post* is one of the Indonesian newspapers that uses English as its primary language. By having many readers, *The Jakarta Post* can influence the perspective of its readers through its writing (Morissan, 2019). The writing is in the form of news or discourse which aims to provide information or events which happen in society (Djaroto, 2004), while the discourse itself is regarded as the complete unit of language (Putra & Triyono, 2018). To comprehend deeper the discourse, discourse analysis is utilized as the means in this research. The discourse analysis is defined as the analysis of language that is beyond the text in which it also deals with grammar, phonetics, and phonology, morphology, semantics as well as syntax within the text (Tannen, 2018). It is needed to see what inside the text is and how the text is produced by considering grammatical and other elements (Kuswoyo & Rido, 2019; Suprayogi & Pranoto, 2019). Thus, we have to look at other aspects aside from the text itself. When discourse comes to its relation to social elements such as ideologies and power relations, it is called critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1989).

Although some studies have been conducted on certain representations, there are only few studies that represented the government conducted by some researchers such as Chen (2016), Iskandar (2017), and Putra and Triyono (2018). Chen (2016) analysed the representation of the Chinese and Japanese governments in news reports on the case of a boat collision between China and Japan in the East China Sea on September 9th, 2010. The result revealed that *China Daily* represented the Chinese government and its people by using positive connotations and the Japanese government and its people by using negative connotations. Meanwhile, *the New York Times* represented both the Chinese government and the Japanese government and their people in exclusively negative terms. Iskandar (2017) conducted a study about the representation of presidential elections in *Kompas Group*, *Media Indonesia*, and *Koran Sindo* in 2017. In conducting the study, Iskandar applied Fairclough's three-dimensional model. The study found out that *Kompas Group* and *Media Indonesia* were on Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla's side. Meanwhile, *Koran Sindo* was on Prabowo-Hatta Rajasa's side. Putra and Triyono (2018) explored the social and political effects of the emergence of the *#2019GantiPresiden* movement in *Kompas.com*. The result of the study revealed that *Kompas.com* portrayed the government in a positive connotation through the usage of indirect sentences, causal sentences, and direct quotations in its articles. From the background of the present study, the researchers intended to conduct a study about the representation of the Indonesian government in *The Jakarta Post* concerning the draft of criminal code to find out whether *The Jakarta Post* is neutral or not in writing the news by applying Fairclough's three-dimensional model.

2. Methods

This study used a qualitative approach to gain an in-depth analysis of the data. It is used to see how the researcher deciphers, constructs, and explains the data (Merriam, 2009). Moreover, this research is library research in which the researchers obtained the information by downloading relevant journals, books, and visiting reliable websites. The data were ten articles that were published starting from September 19th to October 3rd, 2019 in *https:/www.thejakartapost.com* concerning the draft of the criminal code. During that period, *The Jakarta Post* reported the articles which represented the government. The government was selected since the government had power to pass, postpone, and refuse the draft of the criminal code. Moreover, the researchers chose that period since at that time, the conflict between government and society occurred. Therefore, the data would be enough to be the material in this research and able to present how the government was represented in *The Jakarta Post* online newspaper.

Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model was used by the researchers as the main theory of this research. The researchers chose this theory for studying the role of language in an online newspaper since it can systematically identify the details and characteristics of information to see the usage of language for certain purposes. Moreover, the researchers also want to see how the government, as a part of social actors, is represented in particular events (Evayani & Rido, 2019).

2.1   Textual Analysis

Textual analysis is the first stage of a three-dimensional model that aims to explore the characteristics of the linguistic features of the web content (Pranoto & Yuwono, 2019). The researchers focus on nominalization, modality, active and passive voice, and classification schemes which include in the section of analysis the vocabulary.

2.1.1   Nominalization

Nominalization is used to see how the journalists make the issues become a phenomenon. It is a stage where verbs and adjectives are converted into nouns (Fairclough, 1989). It is aimed to make the doer be absent in the text. For instance, *they were dismissed* can be changed into *dismissal. Dismissal* is a reduced passive that changes the phrase into a single noun (Fairclough, 2004). This feature will help the researchers to explore the journalists' ways to write the news.

2.1.2   Modality

Modality is used in the study to reveal the meaning besides the authority of the sentence. It is shown by modal auxiliary verbs such as may, might, and must.

2.1.3   Active and Passive Voice

Active and passive voice is used to see the focus on the news, whether the main intention is on the doer or the action (Fairclough, 1989). Active voice emphasizes that the social actors are doing the action and giving the impact of the action. Meanwhile, the passive voice emphasizes that the activity that gives impact is done by the social actors. This feature will reveal how *The Jakarta Post* puts its focus on the news.

2.1.4   Classification Scheme

The classification scheme is used to explore the vocabulary that the journalists use to represent the issue. In this study, they were analysed through the usage of synonymy, hyponymy, and antonym as well as over wording.

2.2   Discourse Practice

Discourse practice concerns the relationship between text and interaction, to see the text as a result of the cycle of processing and as a tool in the process of understanding. It deals with three dimensions. They are production, distribution, and consumption of the text.

2.2.1   Production

The part involves various levels of production collecting documents, such as press agency reports, sometimes turning such articles into draft papers, determining where to put the article in a publication, and editing the article. It is analysed through direct reporting, indirect reporting, and free indirect reporting.

2.2.2   Distribution

Distribution helps to see how texts move within the orders of discourse, to be explored in terms of 'line' connections (as compared to paradigmatic or option relations) within the orders of discourse (Fairclough, 1995). The *Jakarta Post* provided the texts in *The Jakarta Post*'s online newspaper. It could be accessed through the website *www.thejakartapost.com* or an application of *The Jakarta Post* with the symbol *The JP*.

2.2.3   Consumption

Consumption reveals who will consume or read the text. Media consumption has emerged as an essential aspect of social practices, in which readers seek pleasure and entertainment, and they are

gradually formed as consumers rather than citizens (Fairclough, 1995). Consumption is used to reveal the target readers by looking at public enthusiasm in *The Jakarta Post*'s online newspaper.

2.3   Socio-Cultural Practice

It concerns the connection between interaction and the social context, and the social control of the development and perception systems and their social consequences. This stage consists of three aspects, societal, institutional, and situational aspects. In this current study, the researchers apply the situational level since it deals with the status quo at that time as it becomes the main focus of this present study. To apply this level, there are some questions from Fairclough (1989) that may help the researchers to explain the condition. The questions are *what's going on?, who's involved?, in what relations?, what is the role of language in what's going on?*.

3.   Results and Discussion

In discussing the findings, the researchers divided them into three main parts based on three levels of Fairclough's three-dimensional model. The levels are textual analysis (description), discourse practice (interpretation), and socio-cultural practice (explanation).

3.1   Textual Analysis

3.1.1   Nominalization

Nominalization is used to reveal how *The Jakarta Post* represented the pivotal role of the government when the chaos happened. The words of nominalization used by *The Jakarta Post* referring to the government are presented below.

Table 3.1 Nominalization used by *The Jakarta Post*

Words	Frequency
Condoning	1
Advocating	1
Deliberation	8
Decision	3
Ignorance	1

By looking at the table, the word condoning was used once in *The Jakarta Post*'s articles related to the chaos caused by the debate of the draft of the Criminal Code. The words condoning and advocating were used once, the word deliberation was used eight times, the word decision was used three times, and the word ignorance was used once. Therefore, it can be concluded that *The Jakarta Post* mostly used the nominalization word of deliberation from the verb deliberate. It is used by *The Jakarta Post* in the context of the chaos to show the reason why the chaos happened.

Table 3.2 Sample of Nominalization Data

Datum	Clause
1,2	Rather than supporting vulnerable people and protecting them from sexual violence, the state is now moving closer to not only **condoning** sexual violence but **advocating** it.
3	At one point, Jokowi succumbed to the students' demands and decided to delay the **deliberation** of the controversial KUHP bill.
4	Jokowi's **decision** is a good sign amid despair over his administrations' slow progress in human rights reform.
5	His **ignorance** is evident, not only in his support for controversial bills that undermine people's rights but also in the way he handled recent violence in the country's easternmost, Papua.

In data 1 and 2, there were two words of nominalization. The words condoning and advocating were used by *The Jakarta Post* as nouns. These words were converted from the verbs condone and

advocate into nouns. The function of this conversion was to emphasize the action done by the government related to the sexual violence that triggered society to defend their rights. *The Jakarta Post* used the nominalization words of condoning and advocating when it discussed the reversal of the government's action. It said that the government moved closer to both condoning and advocating sexual violence rather than supporting and protecting society from sexual violence. If we reminisced about the case of a young girl in Bengkulu named Yuyun in 2016, it looked so sad when a young girl was raped by 14 preparators and they were sentenced to 10 years in prison (Ningsih, 2016). However, this sentence has not been able to stop the mass rape cases in Indonesia. In 2017, a year after the case of Yuyun, another young girl was raped by 21 preparators in South Sulawesi (Sitepu, 2017). These incidents proved that such a penalty was taken lightly by some people. Therefore, society wanted the government to pay more attention to these cases and look forward to protecting society from sexual violence. In this context, *The Jakarta Post* wanted the readers to know the action done by the government that gave worse impacts to Indonesia.

In datum 3, the word deliberation was used as the noun by *The Jakarta Post*. This word came from the verb deliberate, then it was changed into a noun. The function of this conversion was to show that the government would finally decide to stop the debate and postpone passing the bill. This statement came from President Jokowi as the representative of the government. *The Jakarta Post* wanted to show that society's struggle, especially university students, got the result. Even though the government did not refuse the bill, they decided to postpone it since the condition would be much worse if they kept passing the bill. In datum 4, *The Jakarta Post* used the word decision as to the noun. This word came from the verb decide, then it was converted into the noun. The function of doing this conversion was to highlight that Jokowi's role was pivotal in passing or refusing the bill. In this context, *The Jakarta Post* agreed with Jokowi's decision by saying it was a good decision amidst the chaos.

In datum 5, *The Jakarta Post* used the word ignorance as to the noun. This word came from the verb ignore, then it was converted into the noun. The function of this conversion was to highlight the reaction of President Jokowi regarding the situation. In this context, *The Jakarta Post* used the word ignorance to show that President Jokowi did not care nor protect human rights as he had promised when he was re-elected in the presidential election. However, if we look at the reaction of President Jokowi to postpone the bill, it proved that he cared about the condition of society. President Jokowi listened to society's demands and asked the House of Representatives to delay passing the controversial bills (Getty, 2019). This statement showed that *The Jakarta Post* put its point of view toward the governmental system under President Jokowi's leadership.

Based on the analysis above, it can be concluded that the aim of *The Jakarta Post* using nominalizations in the articles concerning the draft of the Criminal Code was to show that the government, especially President Jokowi as the head of this country, had a pivotal role dealing with the controversial bills that led Indonesia to a hectic situation. They have roles in both passing and refusing the bills. Thus, the chaos that happened was related to the governmental system. The most frequent nominalization used by *The Jakarta Post* was deliberation. It was revealed that *The Jakarta Post* wanted to emphasize that the government was the one who controlled and made the decision regarding the controversial bills. These findings showed that the deliberation was triggered by the government, and it also ended up with the government's decision. Through the news, it proved that *The Jakarta Post* wanted to blame the government for what happened in 2019. This result was contradictory to the previous study which took Kompas.com as the media. The previous study found out that Kompas.com was loyal to the current government or pro-government (Putra & Triyono, 2018). Moreover, another previous study found out that Kompas.com and Media Indonesia were on Joko Widodo's -Jusuf Kala's side, while Koran Sindo was on Prabowo-Hatta Rajasa's side (Iskandar, 2017). The distinctions of these results showed that media could bring different ideologies toward certain news. This statement was supported by the result of Chen's study which said that news reports did not literally portray social truth in an absolute objective and neutral manner (Chen, 2016).

3.1.2 Modality

Modality deals with the authority of a speaker or writer (Fairclough, 1989). It is expressed by modal auxiliary verbs such as may and should. It depends on what expressive of the text is.

Table 3.3 Modal Auxiliary in The Jakarta Post

Auxiliary	Could	Will	Would	Should	May	Can	Might
Frequency	2	10	9	2	4	1	1

Based on the table, it can be seen that the auxiliary *will* was most frequently used by *The Jakarta Post* as it was used 10 times in the news. After the auxiliary *will*, the journalists used the auxiliary *would* nine times where the meaning was almost the same as the auxiliary *will*. The third auxiliary that was used more often was *may* that appeared four times. Then, the auxiliaries *could* and *should* appear twice. Meanwhile, the auxiliaries *can* and *might* only appear once in the news. The use of auxiliary *will* indicate that *The Jakarta Post* was focused on marking the futurity (Fairclough, 1995).

Table 3.4 Sample of Modality Data

Datum	Clause
6	Besides the KUHP bill which contains contentious articles that critics say **could** lead to excessive criminalization and undermine freedom of speech, the protesters also demanded Jokowi issue a regulation in lieu of law (Perppu)…
7	During the protests, the students rejected draconian passages… which many fear **will** criminalize minorities, women and undermine basic human rights.
8	Jokowi also said on Thursday that he **would** consider issuing a government regulation in lieu of law (Perppu).
9	The younger generation in 1998 and 2019 sent a strong message to politicians that they **should** never underestimate young people.
10	If the president does not step up and address these issues, Indonesia **may** no longer stand among its liberal.
11	If passed, the new Criminal Code **can** make crimes out of freedom of speech, lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) rights, sexual reproducing rights, and even homelessness.
12	Nailendra estimated that thousands of protesters **would** take to the streets on Monday and that there **might** be "even more people than there were during previous protests."

In datum 6, *The Jakarta Post* showed the ability that the critics said regarding the *KUHP* bill. It is said that this issue could lead Indonesia to excessive criminalization and undermine freedom of speech. Besides, it also said that the protesters demanded another aspect outside of the draft of the Criminal Code's issue. They wanted President Jokowi to annul the newly passed revision of the Corruption Eradication Commission (*KPK*) law. In this statement, *The Jakarta Post* used the auxiliary *could* to represent the ability of the *KUHP* bill that can give impact to criminalization and freedom of speech. As the coordinator of Southeast Asia Freedom of Expression Network (SAFE Net), Damar Juniarto, said that the draft of the Criminal Code could threaten freedom of speech (Agus, 2018). Therefore, in the news, *The Jakarta Post* used this auxiliary to show the possibility that happened if the government passed the draft of the Criminal Code.

In datum 7, *The Jakarta Post* used the auxiliary *will* to show the future that made an impact on Indonesia. It was stated that the students rejected draconian passages since they were afraid that the legalization of these passages would criminalize minorities, women, and undermine basic human rights and freedom of expression. Besides, in datum 8, *The Jakarta Post* also showed the thing that President Jokowi did in the future. The function of the auxiliary *would* be the same as *will*. It was aimed to show something that would happen in the future. In this statement, it can be seen that President Jokowi would consider the issue of government regulation instead of law (Perppu) as what the protesters demanded. A dean of the Faculty of Law in Atma Jaya Jaya Jakarta, who was a criminal law's lecturer, Asmin

Fransiska said that the passing of the draft of the Criminal Code would create new problems since there were some articles in the draft of the Criminal Code that were not in line with the existing laws (Wijaya, 2019). Thus, *The Jakarta Post* used this auxiliary to show that bad impacts would happen if the government passed the bills.

In datum 9, *The Jakarta Post* used the auxiliary *should* to give a suggestion in which it was an explicit obligation (Fairclough, 2004). In this statement, *The Jakarta Post* suggested politicians not underestimate young generations since they were the masters of getting attention in this country. As we experienced, the protest was done by young generations, who were students in universities. Delia, a researcher at the UI Center for Political Studies, said that the draft of the Criminal Code would be passed if the students did not protest against the government. This situation proved that young generations have important roles within the country. Meanwhile, in datum 10, the auxiliary *may* be used by *The Jakarta Post* to show the possibility of Indonesia if the president did not resolve the issue. It was used by *The Jakarta Post* since it is not sure yet whether it would happen or not. The function of the auxiliary *may* be almost the same as *could* in which they were aimed to show the possibility that happened due to the chaos.

In datum 11, *The Jakarta Post* used the auxiliary can. The function of the auxiliary *can* is the same as *could* that showed the ability of something. In this statement, *The Jakarta Post* uttered its opinion that the passing of the draft of the Criminal Code could commit crimes. On the other hand, in datum 12, *The Jakarta Post* used the auxiliary *would* and *might*. The use of *would* show that the protesters would demo and take to the streets again on Monday. Meanwhile, the function of the auxiliary *might* was the same as *may* show the possibility of something. In this context, *The Jakarta Post* estimated there might be more people that would take to the streets.

Based on the analysis above, the existence of an auxiliary *must* could not be recognized here. The auxiliary *must* is usually used for showing the obligation of something. In the news, *The Jakarta Post* did not use this auxiliary since it did not represent what the government asked society to do. Furthermore, it can be concluded that *The Jakarta Post* most used the auxiliary *will* in bringing up the news regarding the chaos caused by the debate of the draft of the Criminal Code. The function of the auxiliary *will* was to show the futurity. *The Jakarta Post* used this auxiliary more often than others since *The Jakarta Post* wanted to give information about something that would happen in the future if the issue was still debated and the chaos continued. In this context, *The Jakarta Post* used the auxiliary *will* when it was about the impact or the thing that would happen in the future if the cause still happened.

Moreover, an Executive Director of Amnesty International Indonesia, Usman Hamid said that the passing of the draft of the Criminal Code would get bad impacts such as the level of discrimination and persecution would be increasing (Akuntono, 2014). This source was taken from *Kompas.com*. In this article, *Kompas.com* was not on the government's side. However, in the previous study, it was found out that *Kompas.com* was on the government's side (Putra & Triyono, 2018). It showed that different issues might bring different ideologies towards something as well. Besides, in this issue, *The Jakarta Post* and other media thought that passing the bill would lead Indonesia to worse conditions.

3.1.3 Active and Passive Voice 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. An active sentence has a function to highlight the subject or something positively, while; a passive sentence tends to represent something that has a hidden meaning (Fairclough, 1989).

Table 3.5 Active and Passive Sentence in *The Jakarta Post*

Sentences	Frequency
Passive	5
Active	18

The findings showed the frequency of passive and active sentences that appeared within this article. From the table, it can be noticed that the passive sentence only occurred five times; while the active sentence occurred eighteen times. Therefore, the distribution in the table shows that *The Jakarta*

Post is more focused on the doer rather than the incident. In this issue, the doer was the government. Thus, it can be concluded that *The Jakarta Post* put its focus on the government and its standpoint towards the debate of the Criminal Code rather than the chaos.

Table 3.6 Sample of Data of Active and Passive Sentences in *The Jakarta Post*

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

In datum 13, the sentence was written down in the active voice. The function of using the active voice here is to give information about the activists and experts that have criticized the bill and urged the president to take action for solving this matter. Moreover, the words *had criticized* and *urged* aimed to emphasize that activists and experts have been involved in urging President Jokowi to intervene and save the anti-graft body.

The Jakarta Post used the active sentence more frequently than the passive sentence. The sample of data of the passive sentence can be seen in datum 14. It can be seen 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 datum, we could see that *The Jakarta Post* emphasized the sexual violence bill that has not been passed yet and has been deliberated over by the government since 2016. The result of this datum showed that *The Jakarta Post* focused on the action that has not been done by the government that made the protesters demand it.

From the data above, it can be summarized that in terms of representing the government in the case of the draft of the Criminal Code, *The Jakarta Post* mainly used active sentences rather than passive sentences to show the focus of the news was on the government instead of the chaos. The use of active sentences was intended to make readers put their focus on the government when the chaos happened since it was related to the governmental system. On the other hand, there were five sentences of passive voice in the news. The use of passive sentences in this news was to emphasize that several things were done by the government that triggered the chaos. The passive sentences emphasized that some of the government's actions became problems in this incident. The result of the analysis above showed that *The Jakarta Post* was able to make readers focus on the government and its actions instead of the chaos. The finding was supported by the previous study which said that media were able to highlight or omit social actors from the news (Putra & Triyono, 2018). Therefore, the media could portray the social actors in the news based on their preference.

3.1.4 Scheme of Government

In addressing the government, *The Jakarta Post* used various words that covered the governmental system. The list of the words and their frequency are presented below.

Table 3.7 Government's names in *The Jakarta Post*

Words	Frequency
Lawmakers	6
President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo	10
The House of Representatives	8
Bambang Soesatyo	3
Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK)	4

Based on the table, the word *lawmakers* were used six times, *President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo* was used ten times, *the House of Representatives* was used eight times, *Bambang Soesatyo* as the representative of the lawmakers was used three times, and *Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK)*

law was used four times. As the data suggests, *The Jakarta Post* seemed likely to use the phrase *President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo* to represent the government best instead of any other listed words shown in the table above.

Table 3.8 Sample of Data Government's names in *The Jakarta Post*

Datum	Clause
15	For what reason could **lawmakers** in Indonesia oppose a bill protecting their own daughters, mothers, sisters, and cousins from rape and murder?
16	…**Jokowi** promised to resolve the country's human rights abuses during his first campaign in 2014. Yet, his promises have not materialized.
17	The **House of Representatives** agreed on Tuesday to delay the deliberation of four problematic bills.
18	"We understand President Jokowi's demand for us to postpone the four bills," House Speaker **Bambang Soesatyo** said on Tuesday.
19	The repeal of the newly passed **Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) Law** also tops the priority list.

In datum 15, *The Jakarta Post* used the word *lawmakers* in referring to the government. According to Merriam Webster Dictionary, *lawmakers* are people who make laws, or they can be called legislators (Merriam Webster, n.d.). In this context, the word *lawmakers* referred to members of the government that opposed the bill to protect women. It could be lawmakers or other members of the government that opposed the bill. From the definition above, it can be seen that the meaning of lawmakers was quite the same both literally and contextually. However, in the news, *The Jakarta Post* specified the people. It only referred to the legislators since it believed that the ones who were in charge of passing and opposing the bill were the legislators. Therefore, the readers might focus on the legislators as members of the government who were responsible for the bill. In this statement, *The Jakarta Post* questioned the government's reasons opposing the bill related to sexual violence that could protect women from rape and murder. This bill was one of society's demands in the protest.

In datum 16, *The Jakarta Post* specified the government by only stating *Jokowi*. Jokowi is the President of Indonesia who has served since October 2014 until now. In 2014, he promised to resolve the country's human rights abuses with his team in his speech, yet; it has not materialized yet. In this context, *The Jakarta Post* specified Jokowi as the one who was responsible for this matter since he has not kept his promise. In *The Jakarta Post*'s articles concerning the draft of the Criminal Code, President Jokowi or Joko Widodo was the most frequent word used by *The Jakarta Post* in referring to the governmental system. Based on the explanation, it can be concluded that *The Jakarta Post* wanted to emphasize to the readers that the member of the government who had a huge responsibility concerning the controversial bills was President Jokowi. Moreover, the use of the word *promised* indicated that Jokowi did not keep his promise.

In datum 17, *The Jakarta Post* used the phrase *House of Representatives* in referring to the government. According to Merriam Webster, *House of Representatives* refers to the lower house of a legislative body (Merriam Webster, n.d.). In Indonesia, *the House of Representatives* was one of the top state institutions that have high positions in this country. In this context, *The Jakarta Post* used this term in referring to members of the government who were responsible for making and passing the draft of the Criminal Code. Both literal and contextual definitions have the same meaning. The *House of Representatives* was the second phrase that appeared most frequently in *The Jakarta Post*'s articles concerning the draft of the Criminal Code in referring to the government. It seemed that *The Jakarta Post* wanted to put its focus on President Jokowi and the House of Representatives as they had roles in passing, delaying, and refusing the controversial bills. In this statement, *The Jakarta Post* highlighted that the House of Representatives eventually concurred to delay passing the bills.

In datum 18, *The Jakarta Post* specified the government by naming it with the leader of House of Representatives, Bambang Soesatyo. *The Jakarta Post* used his name since he was the leader of the lawmakers. *The Jakarta Post* used his name three times in the articles concerning the draft of the Criminal Code when the news was about statements from lawmakers. His name was used since he was

the representative of the lawmakers. In this statement, he conveyed that lawmakers would do what society demanded by using the word *understand*.

In datum 19, *The Jakarta Post* used the phrase *Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) law* when talking about the new law that triggered the chaos. The word *Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK)* was chosen 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 was the act of weakening the Corruption Eradication Commission. In a literal sense, *Corruption Eradication Commission* is a governmental organization that is focused on investigating the case of corruption. Following 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. *The Jakarta Post* wanted to show that the *Corruption Eradication Commission* was involved in triggering the chaos by using the word *tops*.

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 five words or phrases have different meanings, but indeed those words had the same purpose that was intended to refer to the government. To address the government, *The Jakarta Post* used the phrase President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo the most as compared to the other words. This occurred because the controversial bills were under President Jokowi's leadership and he had a pivotal role in passing, postponing, and refusing the bills. However, in addressing the government as related to the contents of the bills, *The Jakarta Post* used the House of Representatives as the government's members who made the bills. The findings of the current study used their subjectivity to lead readers to think that President Jokowi had a huge responsibility to end the chaos. Therefore, the journalists of *The Jakarta Post* used the phrase President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo in referring to the government.

3.1.5 Scheme of Protest

Besides having several names in addressing the government, *The Jakarta Post* also used various words or phrases that have the same purpose to name the incident or the chaos. The list of the incident's names and their frequency are presented below.

Table 3.9 Incident's names in *The Jakarta Post*

Words	Frequency
Taking to the streets	2
Protesting	1
Gathered	1
Largest student movement	1
Thronged around	1
Rallies	1

From the table, we can notice that the phrase *taking to the streets* was used twice. Other than this phrase, they were used once. The names were *protesting*, *gathered*, *the largest student movement*, *thronged around*, and *rallies*. As the data suggests, *The Jakarta Post* seemed likely to use various words or phrases in addressing the incident that delivered the same meaning.

Table 3.10 Sample of Data Incident's names in *The Jakarta Post*

Datum	Clause
20	The last two days saw tens of thousands of university students in Jakarta and other cities across the country **taking to the streets** to demand lawmakers hold off the passage of the controversial bills.
21	On Tuesday, thousands of students along with various community groups, including representatives of farmers, journalists, and workers continued **protesting** in front of the House's compound in Central Jakarta.
22	…on Tuesday thousands of university students from across Indonesia **gathered** in front of the House of Representatives compound in Central Jakarta at 1 p.m.
23	In the past few days, Indonesia has been witnessing its **largest student movement** since that of 1998.
24	As tens of thousands of students **thronged around** the House of Representatives complex this week…
25	She however, refused to answer whether her administration would punish students that participated in **rallies**.

In datum 20, the word *taking to the streets* was used to talk about the chaos driven by university students to ask lawmakers to refuse the controversial bills by using the word *demand*. In a literal way, *taking to the streets* means going outside on the streets (Merriam Webster, n.d.). This phrase is an idiom that means to gather people in the public streets of a town or city to show communal solidarity in either celebration or opposition (Your Dictionary, n.d.). Instead of describing the incident as chaos, *The Jakarta Post* used the term *taking to the streets* to build a positive image and to make readers not think that the action was wrong.

In datum 21, the term *protesting* was used to describe the action in front of The House's compound in Central Jakarta. The word *protesting* means a complaint, objection, or display of unwillingness usually to an idea or a course of action (Merriam Webster, n.d.). However, contextually, *protesting* means disapproval of something. Therefore, both literally and contextually, the meaning of the word *protesting* here has the similarity in referring to the chaos. In this statement, *The Jakarta Post* wanted to show the continuity of the protest by using the verb *continued*.

In datum 22, *The Jakarta Post* used the word *gathered* in addressing the incident. If we look at the literal meaning, *gathered* means an act or instance of bringing together (Merriam Webster, n.d.). While in the contextual meaning, the word *gathered* refers to a group of people gathering up to convey their demands regarding controversial bills. *The Jakarta Post* tried to address this incident as a positive incident by naming it as *gathered* instead of chaos. It seemed that *The Jakarta Post* supported this action.

In datum 23, the phrase *largest student movement* was chosen in addressing the incident. The literal meaning of *movement* is the act or process of moving (Merriam Webster, n.d). The largest student movement means the largest process of moving done by students. Contextually, this phrase refers to the largest chaos done by students that led Indonesia to a hectic situation by referring to what happened in 1998. Hence, the word *movement* both in the literal and contextual matter was the same. In this statement, *The Jakarta Post* wanted to highlight that the movement done by students was a serious action after it was done in 1998.

In datum 24, the phrase *thronged around* was used by *The Jakarta Post* in addressing the incident. The word *thronged* means a crowding together of many persons (Merriam Webster, n.d.). In the contextual meaning, the word *thronged around* means an action by being together with thousands of students to convey their demands related to the controversial bills. It can be said that both literal and contextual meanings have a strong similarity, to begin with. Moreover, *The Jakarta Post* used the word *thronged around* in this circumstance to talk about the students' actions to fight for their rights such as freedom of speech.

In datum 25, the word *rallies* were used in addressing the chaos. According to Merriam Webster Dictionary, *rally* means to join in a common cause (Merriam Webster, n.d.). Following the literal meaning, contextually the *rallies* in this sentence have the same meaning. However, the topic of interest discussed here was on how the minister's reaction towards students who joined the rally, whether they would be punished or not.

From the data of the analysis above, it can be concluded that *The Jakarta Post* used various words and phrases to describe the incident in this article. Those nine words have different meanings, yet; they indeed had the same purpose that was intended to refer to the chaos. In addressing the chaos, *The Jakarta Post* used different words in almost all articles. Only one phrase that appeared twice in the articles, it was *taking to the streets*. Moreover, those nine words delivered the same meaning. In addressing the incident, *The Jakarta Post* seemed to support the incident by building a positive image towards the incident. *The Jakarta Post* emphasized that the action was a serious movement from the students that fought for their rights by using positive terms. Instead of using the word chaos, it used common words such as gathered and movement. There was violence within the chaos. The national commissions for human rights stated that at least 52 people died in the protest (Wijaya, 2019). While the injured people were more than 700 people (Pablo, 2019). This showed that this protest was not a positive action. However, *The Jakarta Post* used various positive terms in referring to this incident. In Chen's study, it said that lexical classification was an indicator of the writer's position in expressing the news (Chen, 2016). It proved that *The Jakarta Post* was on students' side by supporting this incident.

3.2   Discourse Practice

The Jakarta Post is an independent newspaper owned by Bina Media Tenggara Inc., with the head office located in the nations' capital, Jakarta. In the 31 years since its establishment, *The Jakarta Post* has never provided official support for political parties or candidates as it is in line with its slogan *Always Bold. Always Independent*. However, in 2014, it openly expressed its support for President Jokowi by saying that another candidate was too risky to consider (Akuntono, 2014). Therefore, it supported President Jokowi in the election. In contrast, in 2019 where the chaos was caused by the debate of the draft of the Criminal Code, it was against the government under President Jokowi's leadership by focusing on the government's actions and using certain terms and ways in representing the news. Thus, it can be summarized that *The Jakarta Post* might produce different perspectives on various issues.

Furthermore, in the production of the texts related to the chaos in 2019, *The Jakarta Post* had different journalists for each news. However, they all had the same role and goal. In the news, the journalists focused on the governmental system, chaos, and controversial bills in 2019. They tended to defend their point of view by simply citing certain people's words. In certain cases, journalists used quotation marks and reporting verbs to mark the voice of the person whose discourse was represented or quoted from the rest of the text. *The Jakarta Post*'s journalists took quotations from social actors such as President Jokowi and the House of Representatives' members. The journalists' ways in producing the texts were not taken randomly, yet; it was rooted politically.

To produce the text, Fairclough classified it into three types, direct reporting, indirect reporting, and free indirect reporting. Direct reporting happens when quotations and the actual words are used with a reporting clause. Indirect reporting happens when the quotations and words are written or said not in the actual words from the speaker without quotation marks. Meanwhile, free indirect reporting happens when the sentence is between direct and indirect, it seems like indirect speech, but it does not have a reporting clause. In this study, the researcher analyses those three types that are presented below along with their frequency.

Table 3.11 Text Production

Direct Reporting	Indirect Reporting	Free-Indirect Reporting	Total
4	14	2	20
(20%)	(70%)	(10%)	(100%)

The total reported speech was 18. Direct reporting found four sentences in the articles and it got 20% out of 100%. Meanwhile, indirect reporting was found fourteen sentences or 70%, and free indirect reporting was found two sentences or 10%. It can be concluded that the journalists of The Jakarta Post mostly used indirect speech in presenting the news.

Table 3.12 Sample of Data Direct Reporting

Datum	Clause
26	**Jokowi** said **"I hope the House is on the same page about this matter so that the deliberation of the Criminal Code bill will be continued [by lawmakers] in the next period."**
27	**"We understand President Jokowi's demand for us to postpone the four bills,"** House Speaker **Bambang Soesatyo** said on Tuesday.

Direct reporting was a kind of reported speech in which the journalists presented the quotation the same as what the speaker told. In datum 26, the journalist presented President Jokowi's statement about postponing the deliberation of the bill. While in datum 27, the journalist presented the quotation from Bambang Soesatyo as the representative of the lawmakers to support the previous statement from Jokowi. Even though the articles were not the same, the journalists had the same goal to support Jokowi's statement.

The finding showed that the use of indirect reporting was the most frequent speech used by *The Jakarta Post*. Indirect speech is ambivalence, it cannot be guaranteed whether the words and the message of the original text are reproduced or not (Fairclough, 1992). It is considered incredibly far from representing the facts because indirect reporting or indirect speech is distorted and manipulated. From the finding, it can be concluded that the journalists of *The Jakarta Post* did subjectivity in representing the government since it mostly used indirect speech in presenting the news. The journalists used indirect speech in referring to the speech by President Jokowi, the House of Representatives, and Bambang Soesatyo. In direct reporting, the journalists quoted the statements from social actors, President Jokowi and Bambang Soesatyo. The list of social actors and their frequency of direct speech are listed below.

Table 3.13 Indirect Reporting

Social Actors	Frequency	Percentage
President Jokowi	7	50%
The Legislative Body	6	43%
Bambang Soesatyo	1	7%

Table 3.13 showed that the journalists mostly did subjectivity to President Jokowi by using indirect speech in his statements. Besides, the journalists presented the legislative body by using indirect quotations six times, and the voice from Bambang Soesatyo appeared once. This occurred since the controversial bills were under their control. Even though in certain issues the journalists used direct speech, they still represented members of the government in a way that did not represent the fact.

Table 3.14 Sample of Data Indirect Reporting

Datum	Clause
28	Jokowi said he had continuously looked into and listened to the concerns of members of the public who have expressed their objections…
29	The legislative body said it decided to postpone the deliberation of the revised KUHP bill and three other bills.
30	Bambang has assured that there would be no deliberation or decision made on any bill on Monday.

In datum 28, the journalist presented Jokowi's statement regarding his concern for society. However, *The Jakarta Post* did not quote Jokowi's statement. In this statement, the journalist used the word said as the reporting verb. Besides in datum 29, the journalists presented the decision from the legislative body or the lawmakers that they decided to postpone the deliberation of the controversial bills. In this statement, the journalist used the word said as the reporting verb that indicated that this statement was not the same as what the lawmakers said. Meanwhile, in the last datum, the journalist presented Bambang's statement which said that there would be no deliberation and decision made on any bill on Monday. In this statement, the journalist used the word assured as the reporting verb that

showed the statement came from Bambang and it was not the same as the original one. These three statements used the word said and assured as the reporting verbs. Thus, it can be implied that *The Jakarta Post* did subjectivity in producing the texts, especially in Jokowi's statements as they mostly appeared in *The Jakarta Post*'s articles.

Besides, *The Jakarta Post* produces the text by using free indirect reporting or speech. It could be noticed by the existence of double-voice in representing the statements (Fairclough, 1992).

Table 3.15 Free Indirect Reporting

Social Actors	Frequency	Percentage
Bambang	1	50%
Cok Ace	1	50%

Table 3.15 showed that free indirect speech occurred once in Bambang's and Cok Ace's statements. Free Indirect happened when two intermediaries delivered the speech.

Table 3.16 Data for Free Indirect Reporting

Datum	Clause
31	Bambang said the lawmakers agreed that they should first provide the public with better understanding regarding the controversial articles in the bills.
32	He added that the President and the House of Representatives have agreed to delay the passage of the revised bill.

In datum 31, the journalist presented Bambang's statement regarding lawmakers' solution to provide the public with a better understanding before passing the bill. In this statement, Bambang became the representative of the lawmakers. Meanwhile, in datum 32, the journalist presented Cok Ace's statement which said that the President and the House of Representatives decided to delay passing the bill. In this statement, Cok Ace, as a deputy governor of Bali, delivered the statement by Presiden Jokowi and the House of Representatives. In these two data, the journalists of *The Jakarta Post* used a doubled voice in presenting the statement. It offered the essence of the lawmakers, President Jokowi, and the House of Representative statements but through Bambang and Cok Ace viewpoints.

In distributing the texts, *The Jakarta Post* provided the texts in *The Jakarta Post*'s online newspaper. It could be accessed through the website *www.thejakartapost.com* or an application of *The Jakarta Post* with the symbol *The JP*. According to GlobalWebIndex, the online form of media is now favoured compared with the conventional one (Bayindir & Winther Paisley, 2019). Moreover, since people who were involved in the chaos were young generations, *The Jakarta Post* published the news online because according to Kit and Teng, online media were more preferable among the young generations (Kit & Teng, 2016). Beside those considerations, the online form of the news could make texts long-lasting since they could be accessed at any time as long as the platform was still provided.

Moreover, in the consumption of the texts, the target readers of *The Jakarta Post*'s articles concerning the draft of the Criminal Code were Indonesian citizens as the controversial bills were related to the Indonesian government system, especially young generations who took part in preserving human rights. On *The Jakarta Post*'s website, it could be seen that there were more than 200 people shared and 20 people commented on the news regarding the chaos. It showed the public enthusiasm regarding the issue. By reading the news, Indonesian citizens could have detailed information regarding the controversial bills and the chaos. Thus, all Indonesian citizens could update regarding the development of the issue.

3.3   *Socio-Cultural Practice (Explanation)*

In this stage, the discourse being analysed is positioned in a larger socio-political sense to illustrate or reveal the underlying power and politics and their impact on both the practice of text and

discourse. Explanation deals with understanding discourse as part of a process of social change, inside a framework of power relations (Fairclough, 1989). It aims to represent discourse as a social activity, to demonstrate how it is decided by social processes, and what systemic reproductive effects discourses may have on such systems, to maintain them or to modify them (Fairclough, 1989). The explanation will help the researcher to better understand why different articles have the same goals even though they have different journalists from dramatically different perspectives.

The explanation can be investigated through the societal level, institutional level, and situational level. In this study, the researcher focuses on the situational level since it discussed the chaos that happened in 2019 concerning the debate of the draft of the Criminal Code. To explain the analysis from the situational level, Fairclough said that there are some questions needed to be answered (Fairclough, 1989). The questions are *what's going on?*, *who is involved?*, *in what relations?*, and *what is the role of language in what is going on?*.

The chaos in 2019 by university students was an expression of their exasperation towards controversial bills that would be passed before the protest from society happened. The protest was intended for the government, especially the lawmakers and President Jokowi as people who controlled the bills. Other social actors were also involved in this issue such as Bambang Soesatyo and Cok Ace. The impact of social actors' voices in the news cannot be distinguished from the background of the news before the news has been released. The voice from social actors was the key to the news since they could either trigger or ease the riot.

"Among the controversial bills is the Criminal Code (KUHP) bill, in which several articles aims to regulated morality by criminalizing, among other things, consensual sex between an unmarried couple, cohabitation, abortion and the promotion of contraception"-Datum 33

There are several demands from society, one of them was the draft of the Criminal Code. In the news, *The Jakarta Post* said that the Criminal Code revision was the threat of freedom of speech, personal affairs, and basic civil rights, as it was the continued approach in Papua and the criminalization activists. Moreover, in the news, *The Jakarta Post* highlighted that in 2019, the period of the House of Representatives came to an end. It can be concluded that *The Jakarta Post* wanted society to know the government's reason to pass the bill soon. Through this statement, it can be seen that *The Jakarta Post* was on society's side since it thought that the bill would be a threat to Indonesia. Therefore, it mostly represented the government's voice and action in a way that could drive society to have a negative image of the government.

4. Conclusion

To sum up the discussion, *The Jakarta Post* represented the government regarding the debate of the draft of the Criminal Code in a way that did not represent the truth. It used some words that indicated negative meanings, thus; it negatively represented the government. In this issue, *The Jakarta Post* was on society's side that can be seen through how a positive image of the chaos was portrayed even though the chaos led Indonesia to a hectic situation. Moreover, *The Jakarta Post* blamed the government for the chaos since the government was the one that had a pivotal role in passing, postponing, and refusing the bills. *The Jakarta Post* said that the government wanted to pass the controversial bills soon due to the end of the government's period. There might be different findings if the research has more data or more articles to be analysed. Thus, future researchers can give more contributions by analysing 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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