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Representation of 212 Rallies in the Jakarta Post Articles: A Hybridity of CDA and SFL Analysis

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Abstract

For decades, newspapers have become a daily need for people across the globe to update information. There is a tendency of the people to believe in the news published in newspapers, for media is considered neutral. In Indonesia, 212 rallies are the events that were widely reported as headlines for weeks by national and international newspapers. This study showcases the brief portrait of The Jakarta Post representations on the 212 rallies by its use of linguistic properties, to see whether The Jakarta Post is impartial in delivering the news. This study employs Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) strategies and applies the analytical tools drawn from Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG). The data were taken from sixteen 212 rallies related news, including seven headlines, collected from The Jakarta Post archives. The result of this study reveals that by using transitivity and conceptual metaphor, The Jakarta Post tends to stand on the side of the one being protested, and oppose the rallies. This

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finding suggests newspaper readers to read the information in newspapers more critically, to understand the use of lexicon as well as the structure of sentences to conclude the right interpretation of the news and to realize the representation. By doing so, newspaper readers will not simply accept the news they read.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, 212 rallies, The Jakarta Post, systemic functional linguistics, transitivity, metaphor.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the past, when the technology on digital mass media had yet to be invented, people struggled to find out the necessary information about specific events happening around the world. People were not able to know a particular issue immediately. Today, however, people can access the news from all over the world easily. Asian people, for example, can find out the issues in Europe soon after the event occurred. Similarly, Americans can access any current events related to Africa quickly through media, for example, newspapers. Accordingly, a news item in the newspaper has been regarded as a crucial genre in mass media in disseminating the latest information about the human race (He & Zhou, 2015).

One of the hot topics raised in the newspaper is about Islamic movements carried out by Muslims around the world as a defence or a protest against the humiliation of the Islamic religion. One of the Islamic movements in Indonesia is 212 mass rallies occurring firstly on December 2, 2016. The rallies are represented in different views by different newspapers; one of these is *The Jakarta Post*. To understand the representation of the 212 rallies in this newspaper, critical analysis is needed to understand the meaning communicated by this type of discourse regarding these rallies. Without giving a critical thought, we, the recipients of news discourse, are never able to realize the representation in the newspaper (He & Zhou, 2015). In sum, critical thinking should be conducted to understand the context of the 212 mass rallies reported in any newspaper. To enable us to do this, specific discursive categories or strategies need to be implemented.

Previous media researchers (Boulahnane, 2018; Li, 2010; Poorebrahim & Zarei, 2013; Weiwei & Liu, 2015) have applied Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyse news written in some newspapers using discursive categories/strategies. These previous studies mostly looked at how domestic issues are represented from different points of view by foreign newspapers. By using different discursive categories, they found the message that these newspapers tried to put in the minds of both domestic and international communities. Our study, however, looks at how a domestic issue, which is the 212 mass rallies, is represented by a national newspaper, which is *The Jakarta Post*, and investigate the message that this newspaper tries to communicate to both domestic and international communities. This investigation was conducted to extend empirical research on similar topics. Hence, our study posed this question: "How are 212 rallies represented in *The Jakarta Post* newspaper?"

It is ethically relevant for news media to provide impartial information to readers so that they receive objective information. Accordingly, it is expected that this study sheds more light on how *The Jakarta Post* represents 212 rallies. Moreover, this study

attempts to enhance knowledge related to the practical significance of CDA in revealing the representation of a text. Finally, this study is intended to raise people's awareness to rightly digest the information in the newspaper and encourage them to read such information more critically.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Contextual Information of 212 Rallies

The rally action conducted by the Indonesian Muslims was initiated due to the statement made by the Governor of Jakarta at the time, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (known as Ahok). On September 27, 2016, Ahok conducted a working visit to Pulau Seribu, Indonesia. This visit was a program to have a look at and discuss the aquaculture of groupers on this island. However, as a governor candidate of Jakarta for 2017-2022, Ahok did a campaign although the campaign schedule was not determined yet. In the middle of his speech, he gave a statement which was considered to have insulted a Qur'anic verse, *Surah Al-Maidah*, verse 51. Hearing Ahok's statement, Muslims as the majority group in Indonesia were upset. Ahok had insulted and underestimated Al-Quran as the holy book from Allah (the God), and consequently, this caused anger to Indonesian Muslims in general and Indonesian *Ulama* (Muslim scholars) in particular.

Following this reaction, the Indonesian Ulama Council (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia* or MUI) on October 11, 2016, issued a *fatwa* (a ruling on a point of Islamic law given by a recognized authority) that Ahok had indeed committed blasphemy. Thus, thousands of Muslims led by the founder of Islamic Defender Front (FPI), Habib Muhammad Rizieq Shihab, conducted the first rally in front of the Jakarta Governor's office on October 14, 2016, to demand the Indonesian government to process Ahok's case lawfully. However, the government seemed to be very slow to respond to the demonstrators' demand, which led to a more significant rally on November 14, 2016 (famously known as 411 rallies). Approximately, as many as 3,2 million people participated in this rally (Pratiwi & Purwadi, 2016). This rally was held in front of the Presidential palace with the expectation that the demonstrators could meet the President directly. The demand remained the same, that is, to process Ahok lawfully. Again, the government was deemed to be less severe in finishing this issue, which finally led to the third rally on December 2, 2016 (hence called 212 rallies) which was attended by approximately 7.5 million Muslims (Pratiwi & Purwadi, 2016) and conducted in National Monument (MONAS).

The third action attracted in-home and overseas press to document and to report it, one of which was *The Jakarta Post*. It is interesting to see how *The Jakarta Post* as one of the leading news agencies in Indonesia represents the event of 212 rallies.

2.2 News Discourse

News discourse is a social action (Chouliaraki, 2008) that can be used to accomplish a defined social purpose such as ideological dissemination. When news is written implicitly, the purpose of the news is difficult to be identified by uncritical readers. Writers try to exert their representation of an event or a person into readers'

minds through the application of discursive categories. Thus, to comprehend a representation beyond a text, we need to identify such strategies, which comprise “semantic content, stylistic, rhetorical, or organizational form which may emphasize or de-emphasize meaning about Us and Them” (Van Dijk, 2000, p. 89). The use of discursive strategies indicates that some news writers tend to create a polarized image between in-group members (those who control the media) and out-group image (those opposite to influential people or minority groups). Quite often, the in-group is always positively represented, whereas the out-group is commonly given a negative portrayal or what Van Dijk (2006) calls as ‘ideological square’; it is positive self- and negative other- presentations. This representation is produced by defining the social identity of a group to be a shared belief (Van Dijk, 2006) for newspaper readers. Thus, without critical reading to read news discourse, readers can be influenced to be the supporters of the in-group and haters of the out-group.

2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA is said to originate from multiple theories, comprising critical linguistics (CL) (Flowerdew, 2008), general-social theories, middle-range theories, micro-sociological theories, sociopsychological theories, discourse theories, and linguistic theories (Meyer, 2001). It means that CDA is a complex combination of theories, which makes it inevitably significant in social science.

The primary purpose of CDA is to look at the dialectical relationship between language and society, which has been acknowledged by many social theorists before, for instance, Bernstein, Bourdieu, Derrida, Gramsci, Foucault, Giddens, and Habermas. However, CDA attempts to examine social issues by analysing linguistic resources (Flowerdew, 2008). The term ‘critical’ itself makes this approach different from other discourse studies. ‘Critical’ is defined as the orientation of social studies and research to contribute to critically examining and changing society, not just explaining and understanding reality. This term can be traced back to the influence of the Frankfurt School of Linguistics and Jurgen Habermas (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Thus, made up of various linguistic properties, languages are used as a social action to build up, for instance, a contradictive discourse on religion, immigrants, gender, and racism issues (Weiss & Wodak, 2003). CDA, therefore, can be employed to reveal socio-political domination subsuming power abuse, ideological imposition, and social justice (Bhatia et al., 2008) both in spoken and written discourse to bring about social change or challenge the social inequality (Van Dijk, 2001), which can, in turn, create social harmony for everyone.

Having been clear with the primary purpose of CDA, another problem is being argued by the scholars concerning the status of CDA as a theory, a method, or an approach. CDA exists as a result of the combination of various theories, and thus, CDA is regarded as a theory. However, it is also called a method as it consists of many analytical tools/instruments employed to analyse a text, such as those outlined by Van Dijk (2000) and Flowerdew (2008). Indeed, the edited collection of Wodak and Meyer (2009) is given the title *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. In contrast, Van Dijk (2001) seems to take a middle position arguing that CDA is neither a method nor a theory per se because it is conducted based on various theories and methods. From this standpoint, we can understand that CDA is an approach that draws on various theories and methods (Flowerdew, 2008).

2.4 CDA and Systemic Functional Grammar

Systemic Functional Grammar is a well-known work of Michael Halliday (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004) precisely elaborated in his book called 'An Introduction to Functional Grammar'. It is an analytical approach to understand the meaning of a text (Ananda et al., 2019). Butt et al. (2003) and Flowerdew (2008) mention that the meaning of a text can be discerned through the analysis of three macro-functions: the ideational (experiential) function (language as an expression of the individual's experience of the world), the interpersonal function (how individuals relate to each other through language at the social level), and the textual function (how linguistic forms are used to relate to each other and the situational context). Such analysis can reveal such social actions as representations, power exercises, and others.

CDA cannot be separated from Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) for two reasons. First, like CDA, the focus of SFG is to identify the dialectical relationship between language and social context (Flowerdew, 2004) by analysing the grammatical properties of a text. Hence, both theories perceive the use of such properties as a method to express a social and ideological meaning of languages (Flowerdew, 2008; Li, 2010). Second, SFG provides valuable analytical tools for CDA (Fairclough, 2003; Wodak, 2009) which helps a media researcher such as Fairclough (2003) both to look at the meaning of a text comprehensively and to conduct a quantitative discourse study whenever relevant (Martin & Wodak, 2003). Therefore, there is no doubt concerning the interface between CDA and SFG as verily stated by Wodak (2009). The analytical tools of SFG are commonly called discursive strategies/categories. Van Dijk (2000) proposes fifteen strategies for critically analysing a discourse; these are semantic structures, topic, implicitness, semantic moves/disclaimers, specificity and completeness, propositional structures, other semantic structures (e.g., modalities, evidentiality, vagueness), lexicalization, pronouns, styles, formal structures, argumentations/topoi, sentence syntax, rhetoric/figurative language/metaphors, and interaction. In another publication, Van Dijk (2001) offers fourteen linguistic resources used to analyse a text critically, including stress and intonation, word order, lexical style, coherence, local semantic moves such as disclaimers, topic choice, speech acts, schematic organization, rhetorical figures, syntactic structures, turn takings, repairs, and hesitation.

Moreover, previous CDA studies have employed the analytical tools drawn from SFG. Those studies were conducted by Li (2010) by using transitivity and lexical cohesion, by Montes et al. (2014) by employing referring expressions including anaphoric, cataphoric and exophoric references, theme, and rheme, and lexical density, and by Khan and Govindasamy (2011) by analysing various grammatical resources including articles, proper nouns, pronouns, possessives, demonstratives, etc. Accordingly, CDA has an allegiance to SFG that provides costly analytical tools for the former. Thus, for this study, two analytical tools drawn from SFG were used; the first one is transitivity, which roughly aligns with ideational functions; the second one is a metaphor, which approximately dovetails with textual function. Additionally, transitivity is closely related to the syntactic variations and propositional structures proposed by Van Dijk (2000) in which these two tools are used to reveal the role of discourse participants; in this case, those in Ahok's side or Muslims, as the victims or agents responsible for the event. Meanwhile, the metaphor deals with the semantic levels of analysis as proposed by Van Dijk (2000) to look at how text writers

“manipulate meaning and expression (p. 100)” to frame discourse participants’ perspectives.

2.5 Transitivity

Transitivity analysis enables us to find out the semantic process used to express a positive or negative attribution of the participants toward an event of the discourse (Li, 2010). Furthermore, Bartley and Hidalgo-Tenorio (2015) acknowledge that transitivity enables us to detect how people expound their version of reality in discourse by using syntactic and lexical devices, focusing on finding “who does what to whom under what circumstances?” (Butt et al., 2003, p. 46). In addition, giving evaluation to the participants and the event, researchers commonly use transitivity by looking at three components: the process, the participants, and the circumstances. The process looks at how an event is represented, and this is realized by the verb phrase in the clause; the participants are the nominal groups involved in the event, and the circumstance is linked to the process, which is commonly conveyed through the adverbial and prepositional phrase. These three are the metalanguage to analyse the experiential function suggested by Butt et al. (2003) and Flowerdew (2008). This is to say that transitivity is a part of this function.

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), the verbs in experiential meaning are divided into three types; these include doing and happening verbs involving material process, sensing and saying verbs involving mental process, and being and having verbs involving relational process. Butt et al. (2003) classify the verbs into three types as well: doing, projecting, and being verbs. Each of these three verbs is subdivided into two processes: material and behavioural processes for doing verbs, mental and verbal processes for projecting verbs, and existential and relational processes for being verbs. The doing verb in Butt et al. (2003) is related to the doing and happening verbs in Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), while the projecting and being verbs in Butt et al. (2003) are referring respectively to the sensing and being/having verbs in Halliday and Matthiessen (2004). Meanwhile, Li (2010) suggests that the experiential meaning consists of a relational process (attributive and identifying) and an actional process. The actional process mentioned by Li (2010) is correlated to the doing and happening, sensing and saying verbs in Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), which are referring respectively to material, mental and verbal processes. To conclude, the system of transitivity of a text includes three main processes: material, verbal, and relational. The other three processes located between the three main processes are the behavioural, mental, and existential processes. Table 1 below concludes the types of processes with the examples taken from Li (2010, p. 3447). For the analysis of transitivity in 212 rally-related news posted in *The Jakarta Post*, we use the three main processes: material, verbal, and relational.

Table 1. Process types in Systemic Functional Grammar (source: Li, 2010, p. 3447).

Process type	Examples
Material	NATO forces struck the Chinese embassy
Behavioural	Nation mourns three martyrs
Mental	Officials predicted a heavy night of bombardment
Verbal	NATO said it had conducted its attack
Relational	China is a permanent member of the United Nation Security Council
Existential	There were 20 people in the embassy

By using language, we develop the description of the existence of a thing (people, place, and thing), an event, and a circumstance which are combined in clauses to portray human experience. The processes used to express an event is the crucial element in clauses. Besides, the types of participants depending on the types of processes. For example, identifying relational is to give an identity to an event or a person (Li, 2010). In the clause ‘Muslims are haters of LGBT’, for instance, it identifies Muslims as an anti-LGBT group. This identity can be seen clearly because ‘Muslims’ here is an ‘identified’ participant carrying an identifier ‘hater of LGBT’. In identifying relational, the identified/token and the identifier/value are reversible (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004); thus, the clause above can also be rewritten ‘Haters of LGBT are Muslims’ without any change of meaning, creating a negative framing toward Islam. Meanwhile, attributive relational focuses on attributing a quality or a judgment to a person or an event, which Halliday calls entity (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Unlike the identifying relational, the attributive relational can never be reversible (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). For instance, the clause ‘Sarah is kind’ can never be reverted to ‘Kind is Sarah’. For another example, according to Li (2010, p. 3450), the analysis of relational and actional processes allows us to understand how the events and participants are defined, classified, and judged. This procedure also shines some light on the ‘who does what to whom under what circumstances’ relationship.

2.6 Metaphor

Metaphor is a process of meaning transfer. Al-Ali et al. (2016) conceptualize metaphor as “a figure of speech in which a word or phrase is denoting one kind of object or idea that is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them” (p. 167). Similarly, Ezeifeka (2013) states that metaphor occurs when a speaker/writer uses certain words or phrases in a context where they are not semantically relevant, hence resulting in a semantic tension/incongruity which can, in turn, produce a meaning transfer including the transfer from abstract to concrete (reification), from inanimate to animate (personification), and from animate to inanimate (depersonification). Guo (2013) calls the shifting in the use of a word or phrase from its original context to another context as cross-domain mapping. Moreover, according to Crisp (2008), metaphors occur when the contextual meaning of a word contrasts with its underlying meaning. The most widely cited examples of metaphor are ARGUMENT IS WAR as in *Your claims are indefensible* and *He attacked every weak point in my argument*; TIME IS MONEY as in *Working on that car cost me hours*; LOVE IS A JOURNEY as in *We’ve come to the crossroads* (Ezeifeka, 2013; Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson, 2008). Thus, we could understand that the meaning of metaphor cannot be understood literally, requiring our pragmatic knowledge to comprehend it as it concerns what the speaker intends to mean (illocutionary force) not what the speaker says (locutionary force).

The understanding of metaphor also cannot be separated from the role of cognition, particularly cognitive linguistics (Steen, 2007). Thus, Pragglejazz Group (2007) offers a procedure called Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) to identify terms or words in a discourse metaphorically. The procedure provides trustworthy steps to identify if certain words, based on the context brought in a discourse, reveal the metaphorical interpretation. The procedure includes reading the whole text for

understanding, determining the boundaries of certain words, establishing the contextual meaning of the words, finding out the underlying meaning of the words, determining if the words' underlying meaning is different enough from the contextual meaning, and determining if the words' contextual meaning can be connected to their underlying meaning.

Metaphor is commonly used as an analytical tool in CDA because it is aligned with CDA purpose, which is to understand the social world around us (Guo, 2013). To put it another way, metaphor is employed by media to create a social discourse regarding a particular event. Steen (2007) maintains that the identification of metaphor helps in making use of empirical research; for example, discourse analysis; hence, this is closely related to CDA. Moreover, when it is used implicitly, the metaphor has a great potential to influence people to believe in asymmetrical and repressive discourses. Since CDA's main objective is to reveal these kinds of negative discourse, metaphor is quite pertinent to be included as an analytical tool in CDA studies.

3. METHODS

Critical Discourse Analysis is one of the categories of discourse analytical research that tries to show any representation behind a talk or a text which is related to a political and social context. For this study, the data was gathered by employing the documentation technique of data collection, where we collected 212 rallies related news from *The Jakarta Post* archives which were published from November 15 to December 31, 2016. This range of period was chosen because the intensity of news publishing of an event (in this case, the rallies) was high in number. Over those periods, we could collect sixteen relevant articles, five of which appeared as the headlines written on the front page of the newspaper. For this study, we analysed all the 16 articles, including the five headlines.

3.1 Technique of Data Analysis

Since the purpose of CDA is to look at the dialectical relationship between language and society, in the analysis of the data corpus, we followed Fairclough's (2003) three-dimensional model, namely description, interpretation, and explanation. As for the description, we dealt with the text analysis, which is an examination of the linguistic features (i.e., transitivity and metaphor) used by *The Jakarta Post* in representing 212 actions. Meanwhile, the interpretation is the stage where we tried to reveal the implicit meaning of the identified linguistic features so that it can shed more light on the language as a discursive practice. Finally, we conducted an explanation of social analysis in which we connected the interpretation of the actual social context of 212 actions. The framework we used to identify the transitivity is based on the discussions of experiential meaning by Butt et al. (2003), Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), and Li (2010) involving the doing, sensing, and being processes which are respectively correlated to material, verbal and relational clauses. Meanwhile, we followed Pragglejaz's (2007) procedure to determine the metaphor involved in the news articles and headlines. Transitivity and metaphor are also two of the CDA strategies suggested by Van Dijk (2000).

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

For this section, first, we present the transitivity in the headlines to find the participants, processes, and circumstances. Then we show the analysis result of transitivity and metaphor in the news text.

4.1 Transitivity in the Headlines

The headline is an integral part of a newspaper as it is written on the front page, making text writers easy to exert their representation into readers' minds (Pragglejaz Group, 2007; Steen, 2007). Therefore, to begin the analysis, it is pertinent to consider the transitivity in the 212 rally related headlines to disclose the representation toward such rallies (see Table 2 below).

Table 2. Transitivity in the headlines.

H#	Date	Participant	Process	Circumstance
1	23/11/2016	Ahok (goal)	grilled (material)	as clerics call on Muslims not to rally
2	02/12/2016	Rally (actor)	ends (material)	on a cautious note for another significant rally with treason business in the capital
3	02/12/2016	City (actor)	braces (material)	for another major rally
4	03/12/2016	Anti-Jokowi figures (actor)	charged (material)	
5	03/12/2016	Rally (actor)	disrupts (material)	

*H refers to Headlines

Table 2 demonstrates that two out of five headlines (H2 and H5) place the 212 rallies in an actor/subject position of active sentences with the material processes. It suggests that the 212 rallies play an active role and is thus responsible for the action and the consequences resulting from such action. In H5, the word 'disrupt' means an event that causes disturbance or problem. The use of this word by the newspaper has shown readers that the action/rally harms the surroundings where the event occurred including the business sector, and the rally should be responsible for it. Similarly, in H2, the rally is represented as being active in delivering a "cautious note", potentially generating a heightened fear and threat to society. Another active sentence is H3 in which the words following the word 'city' such as 'braces', 'major', and 'rally' have unfavourable connotations, illuminating its disagreement towards 212 rallies. In contrast, H1 is a passive sentence with the material process in which Ahok acts as a target/goal. In a passive sentence, the action instead of the subject is emphasized, meaning that *The Jakarta Post* newspaper attempts to show that the government has taken a stern action to handle Ahok's case as demanded by the demonstrators. Likewise, H4 emphasizes the action of the sentence, showing those involved in the rally are prone to punishment. To recapitulate, analysing the transitivity revealed that *The Jakarta Post* creates two polarized representations in which the rally related world is portrayed as being disruptive and dangerous, whereas the government related world is shown as being active in tackling Ahok's blasphemous case.

4.2 Transitivity in the News Texts

The transitivity in the analysis is further divided into the material, verbal and relational processes. The summary of each transitivity found in *The Jakarta Post* is shown and elaborated below. First, we shall begin by showing some examples of relational process focusing on identifying relational clauses (Table 3), followed by attributive relational clauses (Table 4); and afterward, we move to the elaboration of material and verbal processes used to describe 212 rallies in Table 5 and the government and its ally in Table 6. The reason why we choose to show the examples of material and verbal processes for 212 rallies and the government and its ally in separate tables is to avoid confusion due to the massive number of these processes for each group in the newspaper.

Table 3. Identifying relational.

Clause	Date	Identified/Token	Process	Identifier/Value
1	30/11/2016	It [the 212 rallies]	is	the blending of the hungry elements and the regional election elites
2	30/11/2016	It	is	the racial and religious issues referred to locally as SARA that perhaps send shivers down his spine
3	30/11/2016	The upcoming rally [212 rallies]	may well be	just another hiccup in the country's democracy

As explained before, identifying relational is a linguistic resource used by the author to give either favourable and unfavourable identity toward a particular event. Table 3 above illustrates that 212 rallies are represented as an action to overthrow the ruling government by a group of people who want to have power (Clause 1) and hence those involved in the rally are considered as treason groups. Moreover, 212 rallies are also portrayed as an attempt to defy the existence of multiculturalism (Clause 2), and accordingly, the rally is considered to have breached the democratic system in Indonesia (Clause 3). Due to this, the people staging the 212 rallies are represented as an anti-democracy group. In summary, identifying relational shows us that *The Jakarta Post* represents the 212 rallies negatively and describes those staging the rally as treason and an anti-democracy group.

Apart from identifying relational, the representation positing of *The Jakarta Post* toward 212 rallies can be detected through the analysis of attributive relational. Attributive relational in a text is the use of linguistic sources by an author to impute a special quality or to pass a judgment on an event (Hodge & Kress, 1993; Li, 2010). The attributive relation toward 212 rallies is demonstrated in Table 4. As can be seen, *The Jakarta Post* generates a polarized ideological construction between 212 rallies and the government. For example, in Clause 1, the 212-rally group is deliberately called 'hard-line Islamic groups', and this group is said to be still 'unsatisfied' with the police effort even though they have worked hard to complete Ahok's case.

Furthermore, in Table 4, the rally is further represented as being 'political' and 'violent' as shown in Clauses 4 and 5. On the contrary, Ahok is portrayed as being 'calm' and 'relaxed' (Clause 2) although the situation in Indonesia at that time was not stable, suggesting that *The Jakarta Post* attempts to show that Ahok is not at fault because if he is guilty, he could not have been that calm and relaxed. Additionally, the

police as a government's ally is represented as being 'on high alert' on the possibility of terrorist presence in the rally (Clause 6), showing us that they are proactive in handling Ahok's case. To put it simply, *The Jakarta Post* associates the 212 rallies to be too demanding, politically motivated, and violent and those on the government side to be possibly innocent, proactive, and highly sensitive, resulting in the creation of two polarized representations between US (government) and THEM (212 rally people) (Van Dijk, 2000).

Table 4. Attributive relational.

Clause	Date	Carrier/Participant	Process	Attribute
1	23/11/2016	But several hard-line Islamic groups	are still not	satisfied with the police's laying of the blasphemy charges
2	23/11/2016	Ahok	was	calm and relaxed
3	30/11/2016	. . . a sinister motive	is	at play
4	30/11/2016	. . . the upcoming rally	is	Politically motivated
5	21/1/2016	. . . the possibility of Friday's protest	turning	violent or the risk of extremists staging an attack
6	2/12/2016	The Police	are	on high alert amid possible attempts by the terrorist group to infiltrate the rally

While both analyses of relational processes denote how the event and the participants are identified and defined, the meaning of the event can be more powerfully elaborated through the material and verbal processes or called as an actional process in Li (2010), as found in *The Jakarta Post*. Since we could identify many of these processes, we just selected to include only some examples here as illustrated in Tables 5 and 6.

Table 5. Material and verbal processes for 212 Rally.

Clause	Date	Participants	Process	Participants	Circumstance	Projected clause
1	23/11/2016	The rally	ended		in violence	
2	23/11/2016	Protesters	defied	a police order to disperse		
3	23/11/2016	a small riot	occurred		later in Penjaringan district in North Jakarta	
4	23/11/2016	The violence	left	one protester dead and dozens injured, including a policeman who lost an eye trying to control the hostile situation		
5	23/11/2016	The move [212 rallies]	would disrupt	the ongoing legal process		

Table 5 continued...

6	23/11/2016	They [the GNPf-MUI]	are trying to take	the law	into their own hands	
7	29/11/2016	Rizieq	boasted			that no one could stop him
8	30/11/2016	A number of people who were at the forefront in demanding that Ahok be prosecuted “free riders”	are now also facing	legal charges	for SARA-related incitement	
9	30/11/2016		would partake		in the event	
10	30/11/2016	The GNPf-MUI	has been rallying		for Muslim support to press law enforcers to detain Jakarta Governor Basuki “Ahok” Tjahaja Purnama	
11	1/12/2016	A planned rally	could take over	the legislative compound		
12	1/12/2016	A planned rally	could overthrow	the government		
13	1/12/2016	Jakarta	is bracing		for another large scale rally by members of the conservative	
14	2/12/2016	The group	ignored	requests by the police to postpone the rally.		

Now we see the way *The Jakarta Post* represents the government and its ally through the material and verbal processes as summarized in Table 6 below.

Table 6. Material and verbal processes for the government and its ally.

Clause	Date	Participants	Process	Participants	Circumstance	Projected clause
1	23/11/2016	He [Ahok]	answered	the questions	clearly	
2	23/11/2016	The national police	have kept	their word	to swiftly conclude their investigation into blasphemy allegations against Jakarta	

Table 6 continued...

2	23/11/2016	The national police	have kept	their word	Governor Basuki "Ahok" Tjahaja Purnama	
3	23/11/2016	The police	officially handed over	Ahok's case dossier	to prosecutors	
4	23/11/2016	The police	have worked		optimally to handle this case	
5	23/11/2016	Jokowi	has been scrambling to keep	the situation	under control by meeting Muslim leaders	
6	23/11/2016	He [Jokowi]	has also promised			that he would not protect Ahok and would let law enforcers do their jobs
7	23/11/2016	Ahok	expressed	hope		that his case would be brought to court soon
8	29/11/2016	Tito	added			that he had coordinated with Indonesian Military (TNI) chief Gatot Nurmantyo in ensuring the safety and security of the event
9	29/11/2016	We [National Police]	prepare	the site		
10	29/11/2016	President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo	launched	meetings	with prominent Muslim leaders and major political parties	

A careful look at Table 6 shows that most often, the government and its allies are placed in the actor/subject's positions of active sentences in material and verbal processes. It means that they play an active role in the actions which they committed. It can be seen that all actions undertaken by the government and its allies are deemed

favourable. For example, *The Jakarta Post* attempts to implicitly create a discourse of commitment, determination, hard work, and proactiveness of government and its circle in handling and completing Ahok's case. It will potentially frame the public's mind to view that the government and its ally have upheld the justice as stipulated by the constitution to maintain the unity of the nation, which can, in turn, create public order.

In summary, by analysing the three main processes used for 212 rallies and the government and its ally in *The Jakarta Post*, it can be discerned that this newspaper constructs a polarized discourse in which the former is attributed to an unfavourable representation, whereas the latter is given a favourable representation. Therefore, the world between US and THEM as mentioned by Van Dijk (2000) has been created by *The Jakarta Post*.

4.3 Metaphors

In the use of transitivity, *The Jakarta Post* represents 212 rallies as a political and violent event, which is organized by treasons and anti-democracy groups. This representation is further reinforced in the newspaper by using a variety of related conceptual metaphors in which 212 rallies are associated with 'war', 'disaster', and 'wild animal' metaphors as demonstrated in Table 7 below.

Table 7. Metaphors related to 212 rallies.

Disaster Metaphor

... the move would disrupt the ongoing legal process.

He [vice president] called on the participants to refrain from disrupting the city's daily activities.

We [government] hope the solemnity of the religious activity will not be disrupted or damaged by chants of protests.

Indonesia is demographically prone to SARA conflicts.

The national movement to safeguard the Indonesian ulama council's fatwa (GNPF-MUI) as the organizer of the rally will once again storm the city.

However, the peaceful rally was marred by dozens of people in white attire bursting onto the stage.

War Metaphor

The military (TNI), national police, and local officials held a nationwide diversity. Parade, in an apparent attempt to weaken the sectarian rhetoric unleashed by the main proponents of the rally.

The event was apparently held to counter the rally.

Speculation is rife that certain groups will attempt to occupy the house.

A number of countries have issued advisories highlighting the possibility of Friday's protest turning violence or the risk of extremists staging an attack spearheaded by Islamic defenders.

Wild Animal Metaphor

Habib Rizieq Shihab shouted fiercely in front of Jokowi.

With disaster metaphors, the words such as 'damaging', 'disrupting', 'prone', 'storming', and 'bursting' are employed by *The Jakarta Post* to depict 212 rallies. All of these words are usually used to describe the destructive effect caused by disasters, such as earthquakes and tsunamis. Such disasters can result in instability of the economic, social, and political situation in a country. Furthermore, 212 rallies are described with the words usually found in war discourse, such as 'unleashed', 'counter', 'occupy', 'attack', and 'spearheaded' to show an aggressive nature of the rally. Similar to the disaster, war can result in the chaotic situation of economic, social, and political in a country so that in no way is the war considered as being legal, and it

should be condemned by anyone. Eventually, *The Jakarta Post* also uses the word ‘fiercely’ to describe the leader of the rally, Habib Rizieq Shihab. It means that the newspaper associates Habib Rizieq with a wild animal metaphor, suggesting that he is not cooperative and aggressive, making him attack everyone without any reason. In conclusion, these three metaphors construe an unfavourable reality of 212 rallies, as well as augment the destructive and aggressive nature of the rallies. Accordingly, readers may view the rallies as something bad and negative, and those involved in the rallies as the detrimental and unfavourable class of citizens that should be avoided.

A news item or news report is the tool by which the information of the newest event is given (Van Dijk, 1988, 1989). Thus, we can discern that as a type of discourse, the news helps us keep up to date with the current information of various political, social, and cultural events that exist throughout the world. Ideally, news should present an objective and impartial fact about an event. Nevertheless, news can concurrently provide a biased representation of a particular event as it is implicitly used as a vehicle by powerful people to spread their representations and interests. This means that the news can be controlled by elite and powerful people. Hence, their political agenda can be fulfilled by controlling people’s minds (Van Dijk, 2015) in viewing reality. Therefore, there has been a wide consensus among media researchers (Dastgeer & Gade, 2016; He & Zhou, 2015; Teo, 2000; Van Dijk, 2015) that news discourse is never value-free, even though newsmakers are always proclaiming that they prioritize the objectivity and impartiality rather than the political and ideological agenda of influential people in reporting news about an event (He & Zhou, 2015). From this evidence, it can be understood that news does not only provide factual information about an event but it is also employed as a vehicle to accomplish a particular social action to exert a representation of the powerful people to society to accomplish their hidden and sometimes illicit agenda. Pan and Kosicki (1993) have elaborated how media commonly reports commonsensical news to the public to avert its representation.

The domain in which the news discourse operates consists of shared beliefs about society. These beliefs, despite the elusive nature of their content, are known to and accepted by a majority of the society as common sense or conventional wisdom (e.g., “Equal opportunities are desirable”, “Opposing political candidates compete to win”, “Truth means something real”, etc.); they are pervasive and are often taken for granted (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 57).

In addition, this study has also shown that SFG is an effective tool to reveal socio-political domination such as power abuse and ideological imposition. It enables researchers to examine the linguistic strategies used by the media in constructing a representation. Thus, it enhances our understanding that the linguistic resources are expressive and constructive of the social and physical world (Li, 2010). Moreover, by reading the result of this study, people realize that media is not always neutral and trustworthy; thus, they are required to be critical and careful in believing what is reported by the media.

5. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study is to reveal the representation of 212 rallies in *The Jakarta Post* as well as the discursive strategies in forming the representation. We

found that *The Jakarta Post* has created an unfavourable representation of 212 rallies and the people related to the rallies by using transitivity. The rallies are not purely considered as the moves to uphold justice but are instead said to have a political motive behind them, which is controlled by political, treason, and anti-democratic groups to overthrow the present government. Consequently, the rallies have a destructive effect that threatens the unity of the nation. The unfavourable representation of the 212 rallies is further reinforced through the use of conceptual metaphor. However, the newspaper at the same time generates a positive representation toward the government which is portrayed as innocent, proactive, and sensitive. Therefore, *The Jakarta Post* has created two polarized representation that might be believed by readers.

Finally, this study is limited to analysing the representation of 212 rallies in *The Jakarta Post* by looking at the transitivity (realized in experiential function) and metaphor. For future studies, it is suggested that other researchers could analyse the other CDA strategies combined with the other functions in SFG to get comparative results related to the representation of 212 rallies in *The Jakarta Post* or other domestic and international English newspapers.

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