The Human Rights Violation during Jokowi's Administration: a Critical Discourse Analysis of Mahfud Md's Utterances

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Abstract: This study aimed to analyze the controversial utterances from Mahfud MD regarding the absence of human rights violations during Jokowi's administration. This study included in the descriptive qualitative study and applied the Van Dijk's (2004) theory of Critical Discourse Analysis which focused on macro strategies (self-positive representation and other-negative representation) to appraise the stance of the power elite. The data were collected from CNN news on 14 December 2019 through documentation. The results revealed that the strategies used by Mahfud MD were self-positive representation, other-negative representation, and lexicalization

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Political Discourse, Human Rights, Mahfud MD

1. Introduction

Human all over the world deserve the human rights. There are many goals of being a state, one of them is to get secure in life. All human rights are protected by the law, yet it is oftentimes to be found the violations of human rights. According to the article 1 point 6 UU No. 39 year 1999, human rights violation is every action from a man or a group of men including state apparatus, whether intentional or unintentional or negligence which unlawfully reduces, hinders, limits, and or revokes the human rights of a man or a group of men guaranteed by law, and do not get, or fear that they will not get a fair and correct legal solution, based on the applicable legal mechanism. In Indonesia itself, it is undeniable that many human rights violations have occurred so far along with the change of state leaders. However, in 2019, a statement which was spoken by Mahfud MD became controversial inasmuch it argued that there were no human rights violations for President Joko Widodo led Indonesia. This had drawn different opinions from various parties, some claiming that the statement was misleading. To be able to understand Mahfud MD's statement regarding the absence of human rights violations during Jokowi's administration, a critical perspective is needed so that the language and linguistic practices used can be studied to the fullest. This critical discourse analysis helps the formation of knowledge through social interaction. Critical discourse analysis can be done with theory and methodology to find out the relationship between discourses that influence people's views in statements from a power elite. In this study, critical discourse analysis becomes important to explain the object of the problem in detail through description, understanding, and interpretation.

The object of this study was the utterances from Mahfud MD as the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs as his access to the media, journalist, and other media such as news report, social media, and newspaper. One of the media that could be utilized as the source is the issue that could be carried from news report. Mahfud MD was inaugurated as Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs by President Jokowi replacing Wiranto, where he previously served as a member of the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP). The name of Mahfud MD occupies in the fourth position as the most recognized minister by people under the position of Erick Thohir who also approved the death penalty for corruptors for destroying the nation. The first priority task of Mahfud MD after serving as a minister was to carry out the de-radicalization program. In December 2019, Mahfud MD was in the public spotlight when he stated that there were no human rights violations since Jokowi served as a president ever since 2014. He explained that not everyone who violates human rights can be categorized as human right violations. The statement received criticism from Komnas HAM and the Commission for Disappeared People and Victims of Violence (KontraS) and attracted the attention of Indonesian people. From the description above, it is necessary to conduct a study in order to capture the real meaning behind the controversial statement of Mahfud MD which was considered to be misleading the general public as the listeners by implementing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Many speculations arose as a result of his statement like whether there is a relation between the role of power and the statement's content. Hence we conduct the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in order to be more conscious and think critically to the issue in society, such as political, economy, cultural, education, and so forth. According to Fairclough (2012:1) idea, political discourse as primarily a form of argumentation, and as involving more specifically practical argumentation, argumentation for or against particular ways of acting, argumentation that can be ground decision. Fairclough's view is indirectly has correlation with what Van Dijk defined in his paper.

Van Dijk (2004:352) stated that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analysis research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced,

and resisted by text and talk in social and political contexts. CDA usually focuses on the strategy of manipulation, legitimation, and other discursive strategies in order to influence the thinking pattern or minds through the indirect action of people in the society that interest to the power. The elite politicians seem to use the strategy to show their self-positive representation and the other-negative representation to construct the people thinking pattern and influence their opinion about the political situation in the country. Nur (2018) stated that their utterances sometimes could change the people point of view about them, which make them reconsidered their previous opinion or even change their beliefs. The study of political discourse could help the listeners or readers of a speech or text critically. Generally, the listeners could consider the information they get with the reality in the society. Furthermore, through the skillful of language, people will critically think of the reality from what they hear or read (Ismail, 2008:3-4).

This paper was an analysis of Mahfud MD utterances of human rights violations during Jokowi's administration by applying the Van Dijk's (2004) framework. There are three elements in the analysis of texts by implementing the CDA of Van Dijk (2004): micro structure, superstructure, and macro structure (Judhita, 2018:138). Macro structure related to the topic or theme raised in a text which can involve self-image or the image of others in the text, while the micro structure refers more specifically to the choice of words, sentences, and styles applied in the text. The definition of superstructure, according to Van Dijk (2004) in Astuti (2019:25) is about how a text is structured starting from the introduction, content, and closing. One of the principles in CDA emphasized by Van Dijk (2004) in Kustiyono (2010:5) is a strategy, which is used by the language users in realizing communicative and social goals. Based on the previous description, the formulation of the problem in this study was how the macro strategy used by Mahfud MD related to his statement that there were no human rights violations during the administration of President Jokowi.

2. Review of Literature

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3. Methodology

This study was conducted within descriptive qualitative method. Nazir (2007:54) stated that descriptive research has several kinds, he divides descriptive method into survey method, continuity, case study, activity, analysis, action research, and library research. Therefore the result of descriptive research has valid data that also trusted because of no data manipulation.

The researcher used qualitative approach equipped with critical discourse analysis. Through this approach, it is not only investigate or analyze about what, where, when, but also why and how the problems occur. The data was taken using documentation. Creswell (2013:190) argued that documentation is a technique to gather data or information from written documents such as books, news articles, journal, and etcetera. The data in this study was gathered from the CNN news report www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20191214173657-20-457000/mahfud-bersikukuh-tak-ada-pelanggaran-ham-di-era-jokowi sourced from the interview between

Mahfud MD and the journalist in the complex of the presidential palace coincided with the World Human Rights Day which was uploaded on 14 December 2019. Then, the researcher analyzed the strategy used in the statement as the answer of the interview by applying the theory of Critical Discourse Analysis from Van Dijk (2004:354) focused on the macro strategy

4. Result and Discussion

This study will analyze the utterances from Mahfud MD based on an interview with the journalists related to human rights violations assumption of the demonstration on May, 21-22 2019 in Jakarta at the CNN news report. From the media, Mahfud MD stated that there was no human rights violations in the President Jokowi's administration. However, the linguistic strategy applied in that statement uncovered the fact in which Mahfud MD used the self-positive representation, other-negative representation, and lexicalization. Those could be seen from the result of analysis below.

Analysis the utterance from Mahfud MD in December 10, 2019 coincided with World Human Rights Day, in the Complex of Istana Kepresidenan Jakarta Indonesia. "(Pelanggaran HAM) masa lalu itu lah yang saya anggap pelanggaran HAM terstruktur dari atas. Yang ini mau diselesaikan melalui KKR. Yang sisa-sisa lalu. Yang sekarang dari pemerintah ke rakyat itu tidak ada. Yang mana coba? Kalau dulu banyak, sekarang enggak ada." (Source: www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20191214173657-20-457000/mahfud-bersikukuh-tak-ada-pelanggaran-ham-di-era-jokowi)

English: "(human rights violations) such in the past, are the human rights violations that were structured from the state. This one will be finished through KKR. The remains from the previous. In this era, (the human rights violations) were no occurrence. Which one? If in the past is excessive, now nothing."

CDA of utterance 1

In the first utterance, Mahfud stated that the human rights violations in the past, before reformation were planned by the state but still have not finished by the law until now. Then the government will finish the cases through the KKR. The cases were slaughter tragedy notion of PKI in 1965-1966, Talangsari 1989, Rumoh Geudong Aceh 1989-1998, mysterious bombardment in 1982-1986, and bombardment of Trisakti students in 1998. All of them were assumed as human rights violations before the reformation era of 1998. As was said by the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs that there were no human rights violations in the President Joko Widodo administration needed correction because it was not correlated with the fact and reality in the society. When he said that there were no human rights violations in Jokowi era, it still occurred as the fact, e.g. condemnation in Tamansari, Bandung, West Java recently was included in the human rights violation according to the Head of KontraS, Rivanlee Ananda. Then, Mahfud employed self-positive representation when he said that there were no human rights violations since the beginning of President Jokowi's administration from 2014. He also compared with the past when there were lots of human rights violations that were planned by the state.

The analysis of utterance from the talk as quoted from CNN Indonesia news December 14, 2019 when he had an interview with the journalist in Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs Office, Jakarta.

Indonesia: "Coba lihat di era Pak Jokowi sejak 2014 sampai sekarang tidak ada satu pun isu pelanggaran HAM. Tapi kejahatan banyak, pelanggaran oleh oknum juga banyak, dan itu sedang diproses," (Source: www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20191214173657-20-457000/mahfud-bersikukuh-tak-ada-pelanggaran-ham-di-era-jokowi)

English: "Let us take a look on Mr. Jokowi era, there was no human rights violation issue at all since 2014 until now. But there are a lot of crime, also the violation by some people, and all of them are being processed,"

CDA of utterance 2

From the talk above, he tried to figure out that the administration of President Jokowi was free from the human rights violations. Then he explained that even it was like that, but crimes and violations by the people still occurred and being processed. In this talk, he also wanted to show that in this era, the government worked seriously to finish all of that by the law. Mahfud MD used the self-positive representation because even though there were lots of crimes, the government also made sure to make them clear. From that statement, it could be seen that Mahfud MD tended to take side of the Jokowi's administration by repeating the sentence "there were no human rights violations". It can be concluded that Mahfud viewed the images of others were negative because of repulsing his statement that there were no human rights violation in the Jokowi's era.

Indonesia: "Ada juga polisi diamuk oleh rakyat itu bukan pelanggaran HAM. Ada rakyat ngamuk ke rakyat itu bukan pelanggaran HAM. Itu yang sifatnya horizontal itu kejahatan namanya kerusuhan." (Source:

www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20191214173657-20-457000/mahfud-bersikukuh-tak-ada-pelanggaran-ham-di-era-jokowi)
English: "The police that raged by citizen is not a human rights violation. The characteristic is horizontal, it is called as a crime not riot."

CDA of utterance 3

In this talk, Mahfud stated that the police that was raged by citizen was not a human rights violation. The characteristic was horizontal, it was called as a crime not riot. He tried to make new perspective of human rights violation by using the lexicalization strategy in this statement to influence the public. He argued that the context of human rights violation here was based on law, as a violation which was done by the state apparatus in a planned manner and structured to dispossess the human rights of people. From his statement, it could be seen that the meaning of criminal was as the violence between apparatus with citizen, or vice versa. In addition, Mahfud MD used the self-positive representation with the implementation of an easier language yet it implicitly had the intention to sway the Indonesian people like in the statement below.

Indonesia: "Ah, sudah lah enggak usah diributkan, kalian enggak ngerti arti pelanggaran HAM." (Source: www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20191214173657-20-457000/mahfud-bersikukuh-tak-ada-pelanggaran-ham-di-era-jokowi)
English: "It's not need to be noisily discussed, you don't know the mean of human rights violation."

CDA of utterance 4

In this talk, he used other-negative representation. He said that the other did not understand with the term of human rights violation in the society. The public view human right violation is not only the violation that is planned by the state, but include the condemnation, slaughter of people, and any other crime that threaten the public security. Mahfud defined the human rights violation based on the law, as he is a law professor, but it sounded like a negotiation of the issue that recently happened. Based on the news, he also refused to answer the question of his opinion in repressive notion of the police in the condemnation in Tamansari, Bandung on December 12, 2019. Instead, he entered his official car. It also showed that he ignored about the violation that happened in the society right now. As the minister, Mahfud MD must understand clearly of all the human rights cases, but his denial to the reality in the society was dangerous for the country. As one of the elite politics, he was not expected to cover up the cases that actually matter in this state.

5. Conclucion

After analyzing the statements from Mahfud MD of human rights violations in Jokowi's administration era, it can be concluded that the strategies that were used are: self-positive representation, other negative-representation, and lexicalization. From that strategies, it can be seen that as an elite politician that has position as a Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs, this elite wanted to determine that the Jokowi's administration were free from human rights violation and change the public perspective about it. The utterances which were produced by the speaker was actually not only for giving the explanation from the speaker's mind or ideology to the listeners but also for delivering something to them. The result of analysis displayed that the choice of words used by Mahfud MD in his controversial statements could trap the readers or the listeners and tended to coerce that in the administration of President Jokowi, there were no occurrence of human rights violations. That was what made the audience regulate of what they heard.

This study can be a reference for further research and the result can give contribution in the study of the same topic or with different focuses or objects. Then this research is expected to be useful for the future study of critical discourse analysis.

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