The Human Rights Discourse in Indonesia Political Contestation

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Abstract
This study focuses on human rights discourse on the 2014 presidential and vice presidential campaign in Koran Sindo and Media Indonesia newspapers. Both media are building discourse because of alignment to certain presidential and vice presidential candidates. Sindo newspaper sided with Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa couples while Media Indonesia supports Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla. Using two research methods, the critical discourse analysis of Norman Fairclough and critical linguistic analysis Roger Fowler and his colleagues, this research finds first that human rights discourse is used as a political tool, either endorsing or hitting certain presidential and vice presidential pairs. The discourse that he built is not to uphold human rights in Indonesia that is essential but for the sake of momentary interest in winning certain candidates in political contestation. This can be seen from the words, sentences, paradigms, and discourse that carried the two newspapers. Second, the alignment of Koran Sindo and Media Indonesia to certain presidential and vice presidential pairs make journalism both problematic. The five pillars of journalism under study are justice, objectivity, independence, impartiality / neutrality, and cover of both sides to collapse and loss of vital elbow.

Keywords: Discourse; Journalism; Human rights violation; Political contestation.

1. Introduction
Human Rights (HAM) is one of the media discourse in the presidential and vice presidential election campaign 2014. This discourse surfaced because one of the presidential candidate, Prabowo Subianto, allegedly committed human rights violations in the past. Prabowo was allegedly involved in the abduction of pro-democracy activists in 1998. Prabowo who is paired with Hatta Rajasa was made an object by all the media in the human rights case. Media makes Prabowo a good shooting center to drop or support it. As a result, almost all media trapped and biased in the news in this case of human rights. Moreover, on the other hand, this alleged case of human rights violations Prabowo continues to be discourse because almost all media owners in Indonesia are politicians or at least have links with certain political activities / political parties.

The reporting of alleged human rights violations by Prabowo in Media Indonesia and Koran Sindo which became the object of this research is very diametral. Media Indonesia which declared itself support Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla put Prabowo as a presidential candidate who is not eligible for human rights stain. On the contrary, Koran Sindo defended him by placing Prabowo as a victim of the ambitions of former generals who became Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla's successful team. This is where discourse fights. Both media constructed the facts by writing their champion as the best in political contestation.

Media Indonesia is on the side of Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla, on the opposite side there is Sindo newspaper defending Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa. Media Indonesia's defense to Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla because Nasdem's party, which is actually owned by Surya Paloh, Media Indonesia's big boss, is a political party bearer other than the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) and the National Awakening Party (PKB), and the People's Conscience Party (Hanura ). On the other hand, Koran Sindo belongs to Hary Tanoesoedibja. After failing to advance as a vice presidential candidate from the Hanura Party in pairs with Wiranto, Hanura Chairman Hary Tanoesoedibja crossed into the stronghold of Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa coupled with the Gerindra Party, Golkar Party, National Mandate Party (PAN) and Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS).

Social media construction is produced from the process of expression and projection of social workers in the media in the form of writing. In any writing in the media contains the ideology and interests of the owner, shareholders, editors, producers, authors, or editors. This paper then builds on social relations between workers in the media and the surrounding community. Social relations, says Marx Schulman, for a journalist with others in his medium aimed at exposing the truth (Kovach and Tom, 2007).

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Language in writing is not value-free. It is constructed and constructs its specific meaning depending on the person who produces and consumes it. Writings are thrown and the conversation audiences called discourse (discourse). The greater the discourse generated through the media, the more opportunities to produce meaning for audiences. Many ways in the media to produce discourse. Among other things, the strategy of signing, framing, and priming. Signing is the use of language signs, both verbal and non-verbal. Framing is the selection of discourse based on parenting in various aspects of discourse. While priming means arranging space or time to publish discourse in front of audiences (Hamad, 2010).

In the context of human rights enforcement discourse in Indonesia is peppered with many short-term political interests. Human rights enforcement is carried on by the interests of political actors by those who take shelter in political institutions. As a result, human rights enforcement is never complete. Media is one of the causes of human rights issues never completed in Indonesia due to short-term interests.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Critical Theory Perspective Discourse

Discourse comes from the Latin, Discursus. "Dis" from in different directions and currere equals run. While the dictionary defines discourse with the conversation. Initially discourse analysis is used for language or linguistic research field. It limits the analysis of words, sentences, and statements. Discourse theory describes an event such as the formation of a sentence or statement. Sentences in the media not only form with a certain subjective motivation, but can form the rules that formed a particular culture and society.

Discourse has two meanings. Discourse (with small letter d) sees language used in its place to portray linguistic activities. Discourse (with capital letter D) that assembles discourse elements (d small) together with non-linguistic elements plays certain activities, views, and identities. Some non-linguistic forms include economic, political, cultural, ideological, and social. In politics, critical discourse analysis is the practice of using language, especially political language (Hamad, 2010).

There are two forms of discourse. First, as a series of interrelated sentences. It connects one proposition with another so as to form a unity of structure so there is harmony in the natara sentences. Second, discourse as the highest and most complete language unity. It is above the clause with continuous high coherence and cohesion. It has a real beginning and an end delivered both orally and in writing (Eriyanto, 2001).

There are several backgrounds why do research discourse in communication. That is, first, communication consists of complex actions that make up messages that contain specific discourses. Second, human beings are bound by provisions when using certain language, discourses, or acts. Third, the transmitter of communication uses discourse to achieve the goal, and the way it is usually bound by the provisions. Third, although language, and other symbol systems are the real manifestation of communication activity, the discourse that becomes the material of communication.

In a critical approach the language is not understood as something neutral (does not contain any intentions like the usual linguistic approach). The critical group places language as a representation of the subject's role. Hence critical discourse analysis intends to dismantle the power in the process of language. Therefore, in a critical perspective, this style discourse analysis calls itself as a critical discourse analysis. The naming is to distinguish from discourse analysis in the first and second categories.

2.2. Human Rights and Political Brand Imaging

Conceptually, human rights are the basic rights or fundamental rights attached to human beings since human beings are born into the earth. The most fundamental human rights include the right to life, equal rights, and the right to freedom. The recognition of human rights is a respect for human beings with all their nature. Conceptually human rights recognized the world (UN) in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 in Paris, France.

In the contemporary context, the protection of human rights can only be done by the state. Hence often found a country that violates the human rights of citizens for failing to protect or deliberately eliminate their rights. This right often occurs when in contact with politics or law enforcement. As a result, human rights enforcement in Indonesia is not infrequently pestered by political and economic interests. Enforcement of human rights after the New Order collapsed with the interests of politicians do not understand the nature of human rights.

Human rights enforcement is still camouflage. Full of pretenses and used to protect his group, on the one hand, and hit other groups, on the opposite side. The populist political approaches of today are very strong and the human rights situation is retreating because of the politics of populism that today continues to strengthen. Another factor is the strengthening of identity politics. The religious identity, the identity of primordialism, the tribal identity of nationality are all wrapped up in pragmatic political goals.

Public image and opinion are two very relevant things. Image is the construction of affection, cognition, and psychomotor in society. In the modern world the image is formed through the mass media. Thus the construction of images formed by the mass media rolled into public opinion. Therefore it is natural that public image and opinion becomes the field of study of political communication. The building of a positive image of a person can not be separated from the ability to communicate and build relationships with the mass media. This good relationship is then imaged or reflected by the mass media into the minds of the public. Because it continues to be repeated, media messages about the image formed in audiences.

If linked to politics, the political image can be interpreted as a person's description of politics. The world of politics deals with power, authority, influence, and cooperation, conflict, and consensus. The image of politics has
meaning even though it does not describe the real thing. Thus, imaging is not a true picture of the image being imaged. Moreover, imaging produced by the mass media. Because news received and influenced audiences is not the real reality. It becomes an artificial reality or a second reality or artificial reality (Bungin, 2008). (Arifin, 2011).

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3. Methodology

This study uses two methods, namely the critical discourse analysis and critical language analysis (Fowler, 1979). These two methods are used to dismantle something that is hidden behind the text displayed by Koran Sindo and Media Indonesia when it accords human rights discourse.

The critical discourse analysis of the Fairclough’s model departs from a statement of how to relate between the micro text and the macro socio-cultural environment. Hence, the critical discourse analysis model of Fairclough’s Model consists not only of text, but also the media environment that produces text, and the macro social environment in which it operates. This theory by the name of social change model. Fairclough (1992). This model provides the steps in critical discourse analysis so that the results are comprehensive. There are four steps to make reference. First, focus on social irregularities in its semiotic aspects. Second, identify barriers to address the social irregularities. Third, consider whether social order requires social irregularity. Fourth, identify ways that might overcome these obstacles (Fairclough, 2005)

While the second method is the critical analysis of Fowler et al. It divides the language analysis into four categories. First, the classification relates to the analysis of words, sentences, and terms used by Indo and Media Indonesia newspapers in shaping the construction of human rights discourse. Second, perspective. This category is used to view the perspective of Indo and Media Indonesia newspapers in shaping human rights discourse. Third, the discourse battle. The third category would like to see the discourse battle in the news displayed by Indo and Media Indonesia newspapers. Fourth, dominance / marginalization. This section aims to see the dominant and marginalized in the news text made by Koran Sindo and Media Indonesia.

4. Result and Findings

Below is presented a table of discourse analysis of Fairclough’s Model against the two news that became headlines Koran Sindo (June 28, 2014) and Media Indonesia (June 12, 2014). The theme is the same about the alleged human rights violations by one of the presidential candidates, Prabowo Subianto (Fairclough and Fowler (1979)).

4.1. Media Indonesia

Table-1. Construction of Discourse on Alleged Human Rights Violations Prabowo in Media Indonesia (Critical Discourse Analysis of Norman Fairclough)

| No | Construction Discourse | Analysis |
|----|-------------------------|----------|
| 1  | Vocabulary Sentence Term| Kidnapping activists, human rights violations, legal certainty, DKP, Prabowo’s confession, |
| 2  | Metaphores              | Pro-democracy activists, leaked documents |
| 3  | Text Structure           | Jusuf Kalla’s statement, Recognition of Prabowo (background), Defense Minister Purnomo Yusgiantoro’s statement, Commissioner of Komnas HAM Nurcholis, Statement by YLBHI Chairman Alvon Kurnia Palma, Statement of Idus Marham |
| 4  | Grammar and Cohesion     | Title and news leads show partiality to the Jokowi-JK Contestant |

Table-2. Analysis of Critical Language of Alleged Human Rights Violations Prabowo in Media Indonesia Fowler et. al.)

| Classification | Perspective | Discourse Analysis | Domination / Marginalization |
|----------------|-------------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| - Jokowi (6x) vs Prabowo (2x) | - Human Rights Violations / Trials (5x) | - The validity of DKP documents | - The argument "Human Rights Court for the Settlement of the Abduction" |
| - Kubu Jokowi (6x) vs Resource Persons vs Kubu Prabowo (1x) | - Legal certainty (5) | - Involvement of Activist Abduction | - Success team statement Jokowi-JK |
| - Prabowo has no laws immunity | | - President-Free Noda HAM | - Prabowo has no laws immunity |
News Media Indonesia clearly cornered and hit Prabowo. In this pilples campaign time there are only two types of news Media Indonesia. That is, hit Prabowo-Hatta or lift the name Jokowi-JK. There is no gray area. Media Indonesia’s partisanship of Jokowi-JK not only splits journalism in two explicitly binary oppositions but also leaves a problem. That is, the blurring of good and right view and the unclear ethics, principles, and values of journalism.

Human rights enforcement should be a noble task of the mass media, but when a presidential election campaign is spun by the Media Group to beat Prabowo who is suspected of being involved in the abduction of activists ahead of the reforms. The issue of human rights violations has become a political bias. The objectivity of a news was then questioned because it was raised in tandem with the interests of the media. Hamad (2004). This is a journalistic statement. The fact of this style journalism is the true proof of the revelation of the sources. In fact Prabowo never fired. Prabowo was dismissed with honor through the session of the Officers’ Kohmtas Council (DKP). The mention of Prabowo’s dismissal is wrong. This justifies journalistic politics in favor of fakenews.

To reinforce the spread of meaning about Prabowo’s ‘dismissal’, Media Indonesia cites sources who are political opponents of Prabowo. All dictions and sentences are directed to declare Prabowo guilty. It is therefore not worthy to be elected president. This news is more of a propaganda than a journalistic work. Political support that Prabowo is guilty as Media Indonesia discloses that human rights reporting in political contestation becomes a commodity; tool hit the political opponent.

In the context of Prabowo termination the term becomes important. Is dismissed with respect or dismissed with disrespect. Dismissal with disrespect means being fired. He broke the rules in force in the military world. While dismissal with respect nothing is violated. Dictionary choices and sentences that tend to corner Prabowo are always put forward by Media Indonesia in cases of alleged human rights abuses. Media Indonesia tends to find a gap to continue to vilify Prabowo on behalf of human rights violations in various news.

4.2. Koran Sindo

Table-3.

| No | Construction Discourse | Analysis |
|----|------------------------|----------|
| 1  | Vocabulary Term        | Thousands of santri, NKRI, Fact Finding Team (TPF), Military Court, DKP, no wrong soldiers, presidential decree |
| 2  | Metaphores             | The turbulence phase, the mastermind of the riots |
| 3  | Text Structure         | Statement of the Chairman of PBNU Said Agil Siradj |
|    |                        | The statement of former TNI Danuspom Maj. Gen. (ret) Syamsu Djalal |
|    |                        | Chairman of Prabowo-Hatta Mahfud MD Victory Team |
| 4  | Grammar and Cohesion   | Titles have problems, minimal verification of facts, political alignments become a problem for journalism ethics. There is no Jokowi-JK or neutral fundraising of human rights. The vocabulary and meaning tends to benefit Prabowo |

Construction of Discourse on Alleged Human Rights Abuse Prabowo in Sindo’s Newspaper (Critical Discourse Analysis of Fairclough)

Table-4. Analysis of Critical Language of Alleged Human Rights Abuses Prabowo in Koran Sindo(Fowler, 1979)

| Classification | Perspective | Discourse Analysis | Domination / Marginalization |
|----------------|-------------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| - Prabowo (Prabowo-Hatta) (18x) vs Jokowi (Jokowi JK (0)) | - Prabowo as victim 3x | - Prabowo not pleased guilty. His superior was sentenced guilty. |
|                | - Prabowo not guilty 4x | - Prabowo was close related to the former President (KH Abdurahman Wahid) -Prabowo dismissed with respect from his military career |
|                | - Prabowo dismissed with honor through the session of the Officers’ Kohmtas Council (DKP) | - Presidential Decree Prabowo’s decision is the highest decision |
|                | - The TPF’s findings decided Prabowo was innocent | - Prabowo is close to the scholars and kyai |
|                | - Statement of the Chairman of PBNU KH Agil Siradj | - Breaking the argument of the need for Human Rights Court for Prabowo |

The headline "Prabowo Sacrificed the Generals" in the discourse of alleged human rights violations Prabowo is the opposite of the title Media Indonesia (President Elected Free Human Right). Thus, the actual human rights discourse in the presidential campaign is used by every media for their own interests. Different interests make different perspectives. The difference also resulted in the construction of news (word selection, sentence, paragraph, resource and photograph) also contradict each other between the two camps of each candidate-vice presidential candidate (McNair, 2000).

A different perspective taken by Koran Sindo is by linking Prabowo with Gus Dur (Nahdatul Ulama) through his General Chairman Said Agil Siradj. This means there are political and religious links. Politics through pilples campaign, while religion is connected by Nahdatul Ulama. The selection of dictions and sentences of religious
nuance is very strong in this Sindo newspaper news. Thousands of santri, Halaqah Nahdliyin Ulama, Religious Leaders, Jama'iyah Ahluluriah Al Mu'tabarah Annahdyiah are some dictionaries who construct sentences to defend Prabowo from alleged human rights abuses. Not forgetting this news reinforces Prabowo's denial in alleged human rights violations with the results of the fact-finding team (TFP) of the May 1998 Riots. That Prabowo is not involved. It also includes the statement of former Danpuspom Maj. Gen. (Ret) Syamsu Djalal who firmly Prabowo dismissed with respect through Presidential Decree signed by President BJ Habibie. While in the case of Team Mawar, Koran Sindo twisted the statement in Kompas and Media Indonesia that Prabowo is a hero.

Political alignments of Media Indonesia and Koran Sindo are very visible from news of allegations of violations. All the diction and the sentences and pictures shown are very profitable Prabowo-Hatta. There is no sound from neutral parties. Observer, for example, The mention of various regions reinforces the indication that Prabowo is supported by all Indonesians. Political alignments are also strongly felt in the discourse of alleged human rights abuses by Prabowo. The Sindo newspaper wanted to affirm the kidnapping was an issue that prompted Prabowo to make bad reputation.

In macro terms, there are several factors about the failure of human rights enforcement in Indonesia. First, the factor of the perpetrator and of the perpetrator's situation. They create whatever the way and the situation so that there is no human rights accountability. Usually it comes from a group of soldiers or police and military security apparatus. They are ideologically tied from the history of his senior whose names are irresponsible. They always say prosecuting individuals of human rights violators means prosecuting their institutions. Whereas the name of human rights responsibility is the responsibility of criminal and individual. Criminal liability is personal, but army institutions are a scourge if they are held accountable for human rights.

The former military allegedly violating human rights works in the country for having money, access, and playing politics. All energy is used to create a hidden situation. Crimes committed as far as possible do not touch the law. This condition is made because they use access to power / state. They want to use the money and so that the effort that no one demands accountability from the state.

Second, creating a community situation in the environment as mentioned in the first number; dragging an individual means dragging the institution. By taking care of human rights the state will not be able to advance; tiring. The situation of this society makes it neutral to human rights. Actually concentration on human rights was not unpopular, but the problem here, whose name uphold justice for the people, equality, fulfillment of human rights for the community when faced against state officials and the apparatus is very tiring; requires tremendous energy.

Third, the credibility of the ruling, which also tersandra by the politics of the old people or institutions who become perpetrators of human rights violations. Unless President Abdurrahman Wahid, President Megawati, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and President Jokowi rely on the army to maintain the country's stability and power. Even the situation in the era of President Jokowi more severe than the time of President SBY. President Jokowi is not a political actor. He is not a political agent. President Jokowi who gets the durian collapsed.

Nevertheless, the ruling regime uses human rights issues to both take advantage (Susetyo, 2004). Moreover, human rights enforcement factors can not be one. So every regime is identical with one or a group of human rights violations. Every candidate. Wiranto, SBY, Prabowo, and Jokowi all have human rights abusers behind it. For example, President Jokowi can not be seen from the personal. The President is an institution. Anyone has his regime; what and who is behind the agency. We can not see his personality. If he is chief to make the cake is personal, but if the president he can not be personal. Many Jokowi supporters seem to fight for human rights, but they do not know what to fight for. You know not criticism and protest two different things. So have a job to criticize but the goal becomes the ruler.

The Commission for the Disappeared and Victims of Violence (KontraS) finds that populist politics is a major factor in the decline of human rights enforcement in this country. First, the populist political approaches are very strong and the human rights situation is retreating because of the politics of populism. Second, identity politics. The religious identity, the identity of primordialism, the tribal identity of the national is a scourge if they are held accountable for human rights.

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violating human rights in the case of kidnapping activists during the reform era. In short, accusing or prosecuting Suharto and Prabowo in the case of alleged human rights violations means prosecuting Muslims.

There are at least five misguided human rights in Indonesia. Firstly, human rights violate nationalism and local culture. Human rights are regarded as a western culture that worships individualism and disrupts Indonesian unity. In fact, everyone’s critical sense comes from the absence of a state servant. Or loss of a factor supporting every human being. This critical power can arise from everyone who is in the community and can expand to become a critical power together. Human rights must be understood as a critical reason of every human being, can appear independently or together, and addressed to the authorities.

Secondly, reforms in Indonesia have gone too far. Freedom in Indonesia is considered infinite, so people can and can do anything - including insulting or criticizing a group. But the freedom that fought with human rights is actually not without limits. Such freedom shall not be used to violate or interfere with the fundamental freedoms of other persons or groups. Human rights also imply that the conflict of rights must be regulated through firm policies and tested in the legal course. The problem is in Indonesia, no court has ever tested this fundamental clash of freedoms.

Thirdly, crimes against humanity may be necessary if necessary. This false assumption arises because many circles do not know the size of fundamental rights. In human rights, the concept of "uneducated rights under any circumstances" is known as torture and crimes against humanity. This concept is related to the concept of hostis humanist generis, ie the crime against the rights above is the enemy of all mankind.

Fourthly, human rights are the result of consensus and political commitment. This way of thinking needs to be dissected even further. That implementation is also a consensus and requires commitment. But so far, government instruments and legal instruments still show poor performance and are vulnerable to politicization. See how the police promise to pin on the police service clothing about "Anti-Violence and Anti-Corruption". But in reality, many police officers are still violent.

Fifthly, human right is just a discourse not the substance of law enforcement let alone the formulation of policy. The result of the lack of understanding and the lack of commitment in handling human rights issues, ultimately only leads to mutual discourse and responsibility. The human rights debate only gave rise to populist and antagonist names without an advance on the cases, issues and future to be built.

Table 5. Comprehensive Analysis of Alleged Human Rights Violations Prabowo

| No | Element CDA Norman Fairclough Analysis |
|----|--------------------------------------|
| 1  | Focusing on social irregularities in aspects of semiotics | The Kompas Group’s report on alleged human rights violations Prabowo tends to corner Prabowo-Hatta’s side, on the one hand, and favor Jokowi-JK on the other side. The choice of words, sentences, titles and paragraphs shows the compassion of the Compass to the Jokowi-JK couple. The choice of titles, words, sentences, and all series of Media Group news is directed to punish and annihilate and skin Prabowo from various aspects of alleged human rights violations of Prabowo. On the other hand, the news was directed to benefit Jokowi-JK who is considered free of stains of human rights violations. In contrast to Media Group, MNC Group makes word, diction, sentence, paragraph and news about alleged human rights violations Prabowo becomes the clarification and defense arena of Prabowo. Also, cornering Jokowi-JK successful team is also allegedly involved alleged human rights abuses. |
| 2  | Identify barriers to addressing such social irregularities | There is no Human Rights Court yet the Human Rights Court Law already exists. Strategy to win the support of the retired officers Many retired officers are involved so it is impossible to disgrace each other Prabowo symbols and representations of groups "Islam" The vast majority of Muslims are not yet "Ngeh" about human rights / human rights is still seen as a Western agenda to undermine the teachings of Islam. |
| 3  | Does the social order require such social irregularities | Logic Structure: (Islam vs PKI) (PKI vs. Soeharto) (Prabowo-former-son-in-law of Suharto) Judge Soeharto / Prabowo: Judge Muslims who eradicate the PKI. |
| 4  | Identify possible ways to overcome these obstacles | Educate the Islamic community on human rights Establishment of the Human Rights Court. |
5. Conclusion

Based on the above exposure, then we can take some conclusions. First, human rights is a sexy issue in every political contestation and media construction. The link between political and media interests enforces human rights enforcement only as a political agenda not on the value of authenticity. Second, the involvement of the media in every level of political contestation led to the pillars of journalism collapsing. No more independence, justice, objectivity, cover all sides, and impartiality. Media makes news according to interests not noble values of journalism. Thirdly, in the context of a predominantly Muslim Indonesia, raising the issue of human rights is against the New Order / Soeharto regime, which succeeds in crushing the enemy of the Muslims, the Indonesian Communist Party.

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