

## THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ADVOCACY JOURNALISM IN PROJECT MULTATULI'S REPORTAGE SERIES #PERCUMALAPORPOLISI: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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### ABSTRACT

*This study aims to determine and explain the implementation of advocacy journalism in Project Multatuli's coverage of the #PercumaLaporPolisi reportage series using the critical discourse analysis method of the Teun A. Van Dijk model. The method used is descriptive qualitative using data sources of five news stories of the #PercumaLaporPolisi reportage series published online on the projectmultatuli.org. The data analysis technique used in this research is Van Dijk's discourse analysis model, with three dimensions of analysis, namely text, social cognition, and social context. The approach used in this research is a qualitative approach to see how the discourse is formed in the news stories under the study. The results of this study shows that six elements of advocacy journalism can be found in the #PercumaLaporPolisi series covered by Project Multatuli using Teun A. Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis. Journalists perform advocacy journalism by emphasizing serious problems, namely sexual violence and human rights violations, prioritizing marginalized issues, focusing on the statements of victims, victims' families, or eyewitnesses as the main source rather than the police, accentuating the abuse of power by the police, and creating polemics that give birth to demands for strengthening the rights of the little people.*

**Keywords:** *advocacy journalism, reportage series, critical discourse analysis.*

### INTRODUCTION

Currently, the development of technology and science is increasingly rapid and widespread, including in the field of journalism. This is based on the high human need for information so that various journalistic works are present, namely in the form of mass media. In the process of disseminating information, mass media plays an important role as a means or communication tool to disseminate facts and issues. (Muhtadi, 2016).

When viewed from its division, mass media can be classified into two groups, namely print media and *online* media. However, due to the rapid development of the times and technology, *online* media is more widely accessed and introduced to the wider community who want to get information easily, quickly, and save time. (Nurudin, 2014).

*Online* media or new media is a form of communication media that utilizes internet devices (Suryawati, 2011). (Suryawati, 2011). The emergence of *online* media as a new media then makes it easier for people to access information because they can get news via cellphones anywhere and anytime as long as they have an internet network. (Furqon, 2016).

This is the reason for press companies to form *online* media, which is currently mushrooming. Based on the records of the Press Council, it was recorded that until June 20, 2024, there were 1,865 press companies that had been verified by the Press Council, of which 1,026 companies were *online* media. This figure makes *online* media occupy the highest position of various types of media compared to other media, such as print media which numbered 443 companies, television media 378 companies, and radio which only numbered 18 companies. However, there are also many *online* media in Indonesia that have not been verified by the Press Council because they are still in the verification process. One of the media that has not been included in the Press Council data is Project Multatuli.

Quoted from *its website*, projectmultatuli.org, Project Multatuli is a mass media website formed on the initiative of the editorial crew to serve the public in raising marginalized voices, neglected communities, and fundamental issues that are set aside. (Multatuli, 2021). Project Multatuli has several sections of coverage on the projectmultatuli.org *website*, namely articles, galleries, and series. One of the series is #PercumaLaporPolisi. In the #PercumaLaporPolisi series, Project Multatuli presents various news from its report on various reports from the Indonesian people that have not been handled by the police.

The #PercumaLaporPolisi series was widely discussed by the public, especially in their first news story entitled "My Three Children Were Raped, I Reported the Police, the Police Stopped the Investigation". Published on October 6, 2021, Project Multatuli published the news on Twitter that they had covered a mother's protest to the authorities over the handling of a sexual abuse case faced by her children but was not followed up, or rather stopped by the East Luwu Police, South Sulawesi, with the hashtag #PercumaLaporPolisi. More than two years later, on October 26, 2023, the *tweet* has been *reposted* by 9,545 *reposts*, quoted by 1,615 *quotes*, liked by more than 16,700 *likes*, and saved by 1,232 accounts.

Based on initial observations, researchers saw various responses from Twitter users who also expressed their protests and anger at the termination of the sexual violence case. This is not without reason, but the Indonesian National Police (Polri) has long been a law enforcement agency whose existence is closest to the community. Primarily, the National Police is tasked with maintaining and maintaining security and protecting the community as a law enforcement measure. (Alfian, 2020).

In addition, the National Police are also authorized to receive and/or follow up on criminal complaints, detect evidence, conduct searches or arrests, and follow up on other legal attitudes. The police can also act as investigators and examine suspects. Based on these fundamentals, it appears that the reality on the ground does not always match expectations, which has led to the emergence of the #PercumaLaporPolisi phenomenon.

When there is criminality, abuse of power, and human rights violations such as what happened to victims of sexual violence covered by Project Multatuli, the press must be present to carry out its role as social and legal control. This is as quoted in Law Number 40 of 1999 Article 6 which reads "The national press carries out the following roles: (a) fulfilling the public's right to know, (b) upholding the basic values of democracy, encouraging the realization of the rule of law and human rights, and respecting diversity,

(c) developing public opinion based on precise, accurate and correct information, (d) conducting supervision, criticism, corrections and suggestions on matters relating to the public interest, (d) fighting for justice and truth." (Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 40 of 1999 Concerning the Press, 1999b).

For this reason, media efforts are needed to maximize their important role in social and legal control. One of the journalistic contexts that can be done is by adopting a new genre in journalism called advocacy journalism.

The concept of advocacy journalism and Project Multatuli's principles seem to be in line, defending and giving voice to those who are marginalized. However, Project Multatuli does not explicitly mention their products as advocacy journalism products, but as a public journalism movement. For this reason, based on the background that the researcher mentioned above, the researcher is interested in analyzing whether Project Multatuli carries out advocacy journalism mechanisms in the #PercumaLaporPolisi reporting series using the critical discourse analysis technique of the Teun A. Van Dijk model with the research title "Implementation of Advocacy Journalism in Project Multatuli's Reportage Series #PercumaLaporPolisi: A Critical Discourse Analysis".

The word *journalism* comes from the English language, namely "*journal*" which means a daily record or record of an event experienced in everyday life or can also be defined as a newspaper (Kusumaningrat & Kusumaningrat, 2007). (Kusumaningrat & Kusumaningrat, 2007).. According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary VI online, journalism literally means the work of collecting and writing news in print or electronic mass media; journalism. Meanwhile, linguistically, according to the Big Indonesian Dictionary VI Online, advocacy means defense. Advocacy is defined as a systematic effort to change the injustice of a policy or condition so that it becomes a fair situation. (Irmawati & Sofyan, 2016).

So advocacy journalism can be defined as a journalism practice in which journalists not only act as observers, but also subjectively support and defend the struggles of groups that are considered marginalized or persecuted, like an activist. (Rakhmawati, 2015). Appliedly, there is no theory of advocacy journalism, but only a description of the concept. However, the notion of advocacy journalism, which fights for justice, intersects with the function of the press attached to Press Law Number 40 of 1990 Article 3, which is social control. (Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 40 of 1999 concerning the Press, 1999).

According to Widodo in his book entitled "Journalist Techniques for Writing News in Newspapers and Magazines", the purpose of social control is when the press criticizes and provides constructive input and supportive feedback, so that the function of the press is not only reporting, but also supervising. (Surbakti, 2015). Thus, advocacy journalism will be realized if journalists carry out social control to encourage policy changes, uphold objectivity, and public services so that the community gets more justice.

Discourse has an important role in describing and placing individuals in specific positions. Certain discourses shape individual subjects in certain positions in relation to social forces in society. In Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), discourse is not only considered a traditional linguistic study, but also connected to its context. This means that the use of language has specific purposes and practices, including in the realm of power practices. (Lado, 2014).

In his critical perspective, Foucault states that discourse is not just a sequence of words or propositions in a text. Discourse is actually a construction that produces other entities. Discourse forms a series of specific constructions that shape reality itself. This means that the way we see a certain object is influenced and limited by the dominant

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view, which determines what is considered right and what is considered wrong. Discourse becomes a barrier in the way we view an object. Although the object itself may not change, it is the rules in the discourse that make the object change. In the context of mass communication through television, the audience is not physically controlled, but through the influence of the discourse implied in television shows (Eriyanto, 2001).

What is interesting about Foucault's concept is his thoughts on the relationship between knowledge and power. Unlike other thinkers who see power focusing on the state order, power is practiced in a scope that has many positions that are strategically related to each other. (Eriyanto, 2001). In other words, power according to Foucault is not focused on the state, but is exercised by individuals, small subjects, and can take place anywhere.

According to Foucault, power is always formed through knowledge and knowledge always has the effect of power. There is no knowledge without power. For this reason, Foucault underlines to examine how knowledge, which is the basis for the formation of power, is produced. This is because every power will be structured, established, and realized through special knowledge and discourse. Then, the special discourse that is formed will create certain truths and knowledge that result in the effect of power. The truth Foucault refers to is the truth that is determined and led by power that is spread through the discourse produced.

## METHODOLOGY

The researchers in this study used a qualitative approach with a descriptive research type. In simple terms, a qualitative approach is a research methodology that takes social phenomena and community problems as the basis of research. (Lingga & Syam, 2018). These details are not obtained from statistical data or other calculation methods. (Anggito & Setiawan, 2018) The details are not obtained from statistical data or other calculation methods (Anggito & Setiawan, 2018). (Sugiarto, 2015). In this study, researchers chose the documentation technique to collect data. The researcher collected all news in the Project Multatuli #PercumaLaporPolisi reportage series as primary data. Meanwhile, data relevant to the research topic was also collected by researchers as secondary data. In this study, the researcher used the critical discourse analysis technique (AWK) model of Teun A. Van Dijk which analyzes with several structures, namely text structure, social cognition, and social context.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Text Analysis

#### Text Analysis of 1<sup>st</sup> News Story "Tiga Anak Saya Diperkosa, Saya Lapor ke Polisi. Polisi Menghentikan Penyelidikan "

##### 1. Topic/Theme

This news story is about a rape case allegedly committed by a biological father to his three daughters. The allegation was later reported to East Luwu Police, but the investigation was halted without clear procedures.

##### 2. Scheme/flow

In this news, the scheme/flow in the super structure element is organized by starting with the title "Tiga Anak Saya diperkosa, Saya Lapor ke Polisi. Polisi Menghentikan Penyelidikan ". This discourse is followed by a warning statement that the

news will trigger emotional distress so the reporter recommends that the police read it rather than ordinary people. This warning is a satire on the police for abusing their power.

### 3. Background

The semantic microstructure in the background element is that journalists want to show the struggle of Lydia, a mother of three children who is a victim of rape by her own father. Journalists want to show their ideology as journalists who side with the victim's mother and the three victims.

### 4. Details

The element of detail can be seen from this news which contains more statements from the victim's mother, Lydia, about the injustice she received from the investigating team for the closure of the criminal rape case experienced by her three biological children. This makes this news reportage in favor of the victim, even though there is not a single interview statement from the victim's mouth. This is because the victim is still underage and still experiencing anxiety. This discourse also did not contain a single interview from the alleged perpetrator. In this case, the journalist seems not to give space to the alleged perpetrator because the possibility of the perpetrator only giving a statement that intends to defend himself, so the discourse is not in favor of the victim.

### 5. Intent

The element of intent is found in several explicit meanings, such as in the sentence "*Lydia melaporkan pemerkosaan yang dialami ketiga anaknya, semuanya masih di bawah 10 tahun*". The journalist explicitly wrote the ages of Lydia's three children who were victims of rape to show that they were still very young and did not understand the rape committed by their biological father.

### 6. Coherence

The element of cause and effect coherence is found in this news, such as "*Dalam surat rujukan itu tertulis diagnosis internal thrombosed hemorrhoid + child abuse. Kerusakan pada bagian anus akibat pemaksaan persenggamaan*". In this sentence, the journalist emphasizes the cause and effect of the rape committed by the alleged perpetrator and the victim.

### 7. Conditional Coherence

The element of conditional coherence can be seen from several sentences that are thickened and underlined, including "*Lydia melaporkan pemerkosaan yang dialami ketiga anaknya, semuanya masih di bawah 10 tahun*". The second sentence makes it clear that the age of the three children who were victims of rape is still very minor.

### 8. Distinguishing Coherence

The element of *differentiating* coherence is found in the paragraph that reads "*Berbeda dari penanganan di Luwu Timur, Lydia diberi rujukan agar melaporkan kasusnya ke LBH Makassar. Dari sinilah LBH Makassar, melalui Koalisi Bantuan Hukum Advokasi Kekerasan Seksual terhadap Anak, menjadi penasihat hukumnya ketika kasus sudah dihentikan oleh Kepolisian Luwu Timur*" there is differentiating coherence, namely the fact that the handling of complaints in East Luwu is different from LBH Makassar. The comparison resulted in a good image for LBH Makassar for accepting the rape complaint in favor of the victim, while the East Luwu Police received a bad image for not conducting the complaint acceptance procedure properly.

### 9. Sentence Form

The sentence forms in this news are active and passive sentences. This news dominantly writes about Lydia's condition with active sentences, so Lydia is placed as the subject. This makes Lydia more highlighted in the discourse.

### 10. Pronouns

The pronouns in this news story are "kami" which creates an impression of solidarity and togetherness, "si petugas itu" which uses the singular article "si" makes the officer have a less honorable connotation for readers, and "terduga pelaku" refers to the biological father of the three rape victims or Lydia's ex-husband. The journalist uses the word "terduga" because the investigation case was not continued so the status of Lydia's ex-husband is still "terduga pelaku", not "pelaku".

#### 11. Lexicon

Various lexicons in this news story include "pemeriksaan", "menyelidiki", "manipulasi", "dituding", "diserang", "drastis", "membujuk", "inisiatif", and "memihak".

#### 12. Graphic

The first photo illustration consists of a mother, two children, the silhouette of a suspected rapist, a blanket with bloodstains, a pillow, a mattress, underwear, and an LP letter rejected by the police. The color of the picture is dominant in purple and red. The second photo is the object of three signs or nameplates of institutions that are given a black and white color effect. The third photo is front office of East Luwu Police which is given a black and white color effect.

### **Text Analysis of the 2<sup>nd</sup> News Story " Pencurian Data dan KBGO: Suara Korban yang Dianggap Remeh Polisi"**

#### 1. Topic/Theme

News about stories of victims of Online Gender-Based Violence (OGBV) who did not receive legal protection from the police even though they had reported.

#### 2. Scheme/flow

The scheme element in this news shows that journalists want to emphasize the stories of OGBV victims whose reports were not followed up by the police. This can be seen from the arrangement or flow of news from the introduction to the end.

#### 3. Background

Journalists want to inform that there are many victims of OGBV in Indonesia through data and reportage of five victims of OGBV and coupled with weak handling of legal cases by the police.

#### 4. Details

Some of the information written in detail by journalists is the treatment received by the victim when she was harassed and her efforts to seek legal justice, the various attitudes of the police who belittled the OGBV victim, the continuation of the legal process of the OGBV victim's report.

#### 5. Intent

There are two purposes of this news story, namely the implicit purpose is that journalists do not display statements from the police by interviewing directly, but only based on the victim's story and the explicit purpose is that journalists display all the details of the chronology, efforts, and statements of partiality to the OGBV victims covered.

#### 6. Coherence

The coherence in this news is time conjunction, coordinative conjunction, cause-and-effect, addition, opposition, inter-sentence, and consecutive.

#### 7. Conditional Coherence

The element of conditional coherence is found in the first subheading of the 20<sup>th</sup> paragraph, second sentence. In this sentence, the journalist adds the information that the SAFENet organization is a non-governmental organization that fights for digital rights in Southeast Asia. The journalist wants to highlight the fact that SAFENet is an independent organization that is not affiliated with the government, police, and other state institutions.

This makes the reader aware of SAFENet's background and creates a partiality effect on SAFENet to fight for victims' digital security.

#### 8. Distinguishing Coherence

The differentiating coherence element in this news is characterized by the word "berbeda". In the first sentence which reads "*Berbeda dengan Jejet, Citra memang tidak melaporkan kasusnya ke lembaga pengada layanan mana pun karena keterbatasan informasi yang ia punya*", journalists compare Jejet and Citra who are victims of OGBV when reporting complaints of sexual violence they experienced. The journalists compared the way in which they reported their cases other than to the police. In this news story, Jejet is written as reporting to the National Commission on Violence against Women (Komnas Perempuan) to SAFENet. Meanwhile, Citra did not report to independent state institutions for the enforcement of human rights against women, such as Komnas Perempuan and others, but was only resolved in a family manner. The difference in the complaint steps taken by the victims was written by journalists because they wanted to emphasize the fact that not all people are aware of the existence of sexual violence complaint services such as Komnas Perempuan or SAFENet.

#### 9. Sentence Form

The sentence form elements in this news are active and passive sentences. This news dominantly writes about the victims of OGBV with active sentences, so that the victims of OGBV are placed as subjects. This makes the victims of the OGBV more emphasized in the discourse.

#### 10. Pronouns

The pronoun element found in this news story is "Senayan" which is a pronoun for the House of Representatives (DPR) because the location of the DPR Building is in Senayan, Central Jakarta. "Sang pemilik akun" is a pronoun for the perpetrator of data theft and OGBV experienced by a victim named Samara Sari. The use of the word "sang" places the perpetrator as a figure glorified by journalists. This is not in line with the alignment of journalists who should place victims and relatives who side with victims higher than perpetrators and parties who do not side with victims. Similarly, the use of the particle "sang" in "sang kerabat", which refers to one of the relatives of the OGBV victim named Citra. The particle "sang" should place the subject as a respected and respected party. In fact, the relative in question is not in favor of the victim. The use of the word "teman", which refers to Sari's friend, shows that Sari and her friend have a close relationship and always support what Sari wants to do to get justice. Rather than using other pseudonyms, journalists use the word "teman" to show that there is a high sense of trust between the two people. "Si polisi berkaus putih" is the pronoun for the police officer who received Sari's complaint at the police station. The journalist did not use a pseudonym or the policeman's real name because he wanted to show that the policeman was unprofessional for not wearing a uniform during working hours, especially when there were people who were giving complaints. The particle "si" in the pronoun also places the policeman in a less honorable light because he only wore a white undershirt while receiving Sari's complaint. Similarly, the pronoun "si mantan kekasih" places the victim's ex-lover as disrespectful. The journalist in this case does not take sides with the perpetrator because he is disrespected by using the particle "si".

#### 11. Lexicon

Lexicon elements include "mandek", "prostitusi", "pekerja seks", dan "menghakimi".

#### 12. Graphic

The first graphic element in this news story uses illustrations with various colors. The background of the illustration uses a purple color that symbolizes grief, sadness, and

frustration. The illustrator adds an element of sadness by adding an illustration of a couple of women who are shedding tears and men who turn their backs on each other. The second graphic element uses a photo capture layer of a tweet from Twitter (now X) that shared the phone number of a OGBV victim named Dina. Just like the previous news photo, this photo is also given a gray-black color effect.

### 13. Metaphors

Finally, the metaphorical element used by journalists is the “buah simalakama” in the sentence “Masalah akses terhadap data ini macam buah simalakama”. In this case, the journalist wants to tell that the police face two complicated things, namely privacy restrictions on personal data so that the police cannot investigate the perpetrators thoroughly, but the police also need the data to investigate thoroughly.

## **Text Analysis of the 3<sup>rd</sup> News Story " Setelah Viral, Polisi Menyelidiki Lagi Kasus Dugaan Pencabulan Tiga Anak. Tapi, Jalan Keadilan Masih Terjal "**

### 1. Topic/Theme

This news story is a *follow-up* or continuation of the news story titled "Tiga Anak Saya Diperkosa, Saya Lapor Polisi. Polisi Menghentikan Penyelidikan". This news story explains that the police continued the investigation after the story that Lydia's three children were allegedly raped by their own biological father went viral on social media. However, the continuation of the investigation still did not favor the victim and the vulnerability of the victim's mother.

### 2. Scheme/flow

The schematic element in this news story wants to prioritize the reaction of the rape victims, namely Lydia's three daughters and Lydia's sister, whose nickname is Lili, when visited by the Integrated Service Center for the Empowerment of Women and Children (P2TP2A) of East Luwu. The journalist at the beginning wrote the question that was on Lili's mind when the P2TP2A East Luwu came to the victim at Lili's house without informing her first. In this introduction, journalists want to give the impression that P2TP2A was rude and unethical when they came to Lili's house without contacting Lili or Lydia as the victim's mother first. This was reinforced by Lili's response, which seemed unacceptable and still shocked when responding to the questions of P2TP2A who seemed to care about Lydia's three daughters.

### 3. Background

Journalists wanted to inform the public that the victim's family was visited by the police and received pressure to provide new evidence after the news that Lydia's three daughters were allegedly raped by their own father.

### 4. Details

More details were written about the reactions of the victims and their families when the police came to them.

### 5. Intent

Written explicitly and implicitly.

### 6. Coherence

The coherence in this news is the opposition and subordinative conjunction of time.

### 7. Lexicon

The lexicon elements in this news story include “pencabulan”, “bujuk rayu”, “dibebani”, “dihantui”, “desakan”, dan “riang”.

### 8. Graphic

The prominent graphic element of this news illustration is the dark blue color as the base color and the white light in the middle. The dark blue color depicts mystery that exudes secrets. In addition, dark blue also symbolizes trauma and sadness. This is in line with the message that the journalist wants to convey, namely that the perpetrators of the molestation of Lydia's three daughters are still a mystery because the investigation into the alleged case was closed by the police. The dark blue color also symbolizes the trauma and sadness of Lydia's three daughters, Lydia, and Lili who are dominantly told in this news. There is also a white light that symbolizes a bright spot or answer from the perpetrator behind the molestation.

### **Text Analysis of the 4<sup>th</sup> News Story " Dua Putri Saya Dicabuli, Saya Lapor ke Polres Baubau, Polisi Malah Tangkap Anak Sulung Saya "**

#### 1. Topic/Theme

Two daughters of a single mother in Baubau City, Southeast Sulawesi who were under the age of 10 were sexually assaulted and allegedly molested by seven men who often gathered around the victim's house. However, the police allegedly fabricated the allegations and forced the eldest brother to confess to being the perpetrator. As of press time, the police had yet to arrest the real perpetrators.

#### 2. Scheme/flow

This news flow is composed of the title, lead, news content which has 13 subtitles. The title of this news has described the outline of the chronology that the journalist wants to convey, namely that there are two daughters of Ratih who experienced sexual abuse, but when she reported to the Baubau Police, it was her eldest son who was caught and named as the perpetrator. The *lead* has one sentence quoting the victim's statement that the alleged perpetrators were seven adult men. The title and *lead* support each other, although the *lead* does not explain the whole story, but adds the alleged perpetrators who have not been mentioned in the title. Even so, readers still get an overview of the overall news content from the title and lead. The *story* category or overall news content of this news is the story of Ratih who has not received legal justice because her two daughters were raped by the alleged perpetrators of seven adult men. In the situation subcategory, this news describes in detail the initial incident when Ratih realized that there were irregularities in her children's bodies, such as her genitals feeling sore until there were injection marks on her children's arms and necks. The setting of the news content is at Ratih's house on December 24, 2022.

The journalist wanted to show that the Baubau police were arbitrary and did not side with the victim, even though the victim was still a minor. The journalist also wanted to emphasize the fact that there was evidence and court decisions that were fabricated by the police because the relationship between the eldest brother, who is male, and his two younger sisters are step-siblings.

#### 3. Details

Some of the details detailed by journalists include the treatment of the perpetrators of the rape of two underage girls, the irregularities in the police investigation, the testimony of the eldest son when he was arrested by the police.

#### 4. Intent

Written explicitly and implicitly.

#### 5. Coherence

The coherence in this news is the conjunction of addition, subordinative time, resistance, and cause-and-effect.

## 6. Sentence Form

The sentence form elements in this news are active and passive sentences. This news dominantly writes the victim, Ratih, and Ratih's eldest son with active sentences, so they are placed as subjects. This makes them more emphasized in the discourse.

## 7. Pronouns

The pronoun element found in this news is "seorang ibu tunggal" in the 1<sup>st</sup> paragraph which refers to Ratih, the journalist uses the pronoun to inform Lydia's status so that readers immediately understand her condition who does not have a husband anymore and must be the backbone of the family with four children as dependents. The second pronoun is "si ibu" which uses the particle "si" to refer to Ratih. Usually, the use of "si" shows the subject as less respectful. The third pronoun is "sang ibu" which uses the particle "sang" to indicate that Ratih is a more respected figure. The fourth pronoun is "para tertuduh pelaku" which refers to several people who committed sexual abuse against Ratih's two daughters. Journalists use the word "tertuduh" because the status of the person is still accused or not yet legal as a suspect. The fifth pronoun is "ia" which refers to Ratih's youngest daughter.

## 8. Lexicon

Lexicon elements are "pencabulan", "membunuh", "samar-samar", "trauma", "pendampingan", "menguatkan", "mendesak", dan "manipulasi".

## 9. Graphic

There are three graphic elements, namely the main picture in this news story is an illustration of the irregularities in the police investigation in the alleged molestation case in Baubau. The second image shown is a photo of the office of the Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Office in Baubau City, Buton Island, Southeast Sulawesi, taken by Project Multatuli photographer Yuli. The photo shows the outside of the front of the PPPA office in Baubau City. From the outside, the building looks deserted and there is only one motorcycle parked in front of the office. The third picture is a photo of the Baubau Police Office, showing the front of the building. The roof of the police station is painted white with the words "POLRES BAUBAU". In front of the police station, there is a sign that reads "KEPOLISIAN NEGARA REPUBLIK INDONESIA DAERAH SULAWESI TENGGARA RESORTS BAUBAU". The fourth picture is a photo of the monument of Baubau City, Buton Island, Southeast Sulawesi. The monument is located in the middle of a quiet street and there is only one car at the back of the monument.

## 10. Metaphors

The metaphorical element is found in the second subheading of the third paragraph in the sentence "His pubic condition is swollen and red like boiled shrimp. In addition, it smells. Ratih often compresses warm water", namely in the expression "red like boiled shrimp". Journalists use this expression so that readers understand the color of the genitals of victims of sexual harassment with a simile of a color from objects that people often see, namely red dominant orange. In addition, in the fourth paragraph in the sentence "Meanwhile, in her first daughter, a week after the incident, her pubic flesh appeared to come out. Like someone who has given birth". The journalist used the words "like someone after giving birth" because he wanted to clarify the condition of the victim of sexual abuse whose vaginal flesh came out like after giving birth.

## **Text Analysis of the 5th News Story "Gas Air Mata Polisi di Dago Elos: 'Kita Gak Diperlakukan Selayaknya Manusia'"**

### 1. Topic/Theme

The brutal reaction of the police in response to the protest of the residents of Dago Elos, Bandung City, who criticized the alleged land ownership fraud. Another theme is the protest of the Dago Elos community against the brutal actions of the police against the people.

## 2. Scheme/flow

This discourse theme is supported by a certain schematic or storytelling flow. First, the use of the title "Gas Air Mata Polisi di Dago Elos: 'Kita Gak Diperlakukan Selayaknya Manusia'" which places the tear gas used by the police to disperse the protest of Dago Elos residents as the main object. Furthermore, the journalists used the statements of the sources, namely the residents of Dago Elos who were affected and said that they felt they were not treated as humans. In this case, it means that the police did not protect the human rights of Dago Elos residents because it threatened their lives and livelihoods. The news story text is then continued with the use of a lead that reads "*Pengaduan warga Dago Elos ke polisi atas dugaan penipuan kepemilikan lahan ditolak polisi. Warga protes. Polisi menanggapi protes dengan cara-cara di luar nalar*". The assumption that was raised was that the residents protested because the report of land ownership fraud was rejected by the police, so the police used various methods that led to violence to stop the residents' protests. This lead has illustrated the major interrelated themes in the news covered. In the body of the news, the first event that journalists put at the beginning of the news is the tense atmosphere in the Dago Elos settlement one day after the clash with the police.

## 3. Background

The journalists wanted to emphasize the fact that the police behaved anarchistically when they saw the residents of Dago Elos protesting by blocking the road. In addition, journalists also want to give the impression that the police do not care about the trauma and adverse effects after the clash with residents of the Dago Elos settlement.

## 4. Details

Some of the things conveyed in detail are the atmosphere one day after the clash between Dago Elos residents and the police, the sense of distrust between residents and the police, forms of solidarity from various alliances to affected residents.

## 5. Intent

Written explicitly and implicitly.

## 6. Coherence

The coherence used is the reinforcement of the situation with the word "bahkan".

## 7. Sentence Form

The sentence form in this news dominantly uses active sentences that explain someone is the subject of the statement. For example, in the 4<sup>th</sup> paragraph, the sentence "*Polisi merespons dengan menambah pasukan, dan menembakkan gas air mata ke arah kerumunan*". The sentence makes the police as the subject and the placement of the subject at the beginning of the sentence glorifies the police for their anarchist actions. As for the passive voice used by journalists, as in the 2<sup>nd</sup> paragraph in the sentence "*Para perempuan, ibu, dan anak-anak masih dihantui ketakutan*". The fear written about by the journalist does not seem to take precedence over which party is afraid of the anarchist attack. In this sentence, the journalist is more concerned with the information that women, mothers and children are afraid.

## 8. Pronouns

The pronoun element in this news, namely "aparatus", refers to the police, which is a state institution that wears a uniform as its identity. Although the journalist does not explicitly give details of the color of the uniform, the uniformed party in this news is only the police. In the 12<sup>th</sup> paragraph, the word "kami" is found, referring

to the residents of Dago Elos who bring solidarity and togetherness in acknowledging that they are fighting for justice.

#### 9. Lexicon

The lexicon element in this news story consists of the words “barikade”, “dihantui”, “bentrok”, “protes”, “perlawanan”, “dalih”, “brutal”, dan “mengayomi”.

#### 10. Graphic

The main picture shows a photo of four yellow and red bullet casings with black surfaces. The black color indicates that the bullets have been fired from the original weapon. It shows that the bullets were found by Dago Elos residents around their neighborhood and collected for documentation. The second picture in this news story shows several used items, such as sofas, tires, sacks, gallons, large paint cans, and long bamboo stacked to be used as artificial portals. The third picture in this news story shows writing with the hashtags #DagoMelawan and #TanahUntukRakyat, which means that the residents of Dago Elos will continue to fight the lawsuit of the Muller family who wants to seize the land where they live. The hashtag #TanahUntukRakyat explains that the residents of Dago Elos are the people, not a businessman, so they are more deserving of the land because the Elos people have lived there for years. The fourth picture in this news shows broken glass scattered on the streets around residential areas. The fifth picture inserted in this news story is of residents checking themselves at an emergency health post the day after the police entered the Dago Elos settlement. The sixth picture shown by the journalist is a mural with the words "SABUBUKNA" on the wall, which means to endure until the end. The seventh picture is of a child holding colored pencils and crayons to color the drawing paper in front of him. The eighth picture taken by the reporter is of Dago Elos residents watching the Kampung Kota 3 Festival. The residents who watched came from various ages, ranging from small children, teenagers, to the elderly. The ninth picture is a photo of Dago Elos residents gathering in the middle of the field during the Festival Kampung Kota 3. The tenth picture shows a photo of five artists opening a stall of used clothes under the Kopo Flyover Bridge, Bandung. The eleventh picture shows Bandung residents shaving their heads at a free barbershop located under the Pasupati Bridge. The twelfth picture shows circular candles lit at night. There is one candle in the center of the photo. The thirteenth picture shows a cardboard box and a donation barcode placed at the entrance of the Festival Kampung Kota 3. The fourteenth picture shows a photo of a man with long hair who has his back to the camera. He is seen writing the name of the tenth resident who was arrested by the police when the residents protested against the lawsuit to evict their land. The name is written on a large white cloth with a black marker. This is the last and most memorable photo. This is because this photo raises the reader's sympathy because the reader will know that many people were arrested even from various circles.

#### Social Cognition Analysis

Overall, the #PercumaLaporPolisi series can be seen through the entire social cognition scheme. First, in the person scheme, journalists see the victim as a very disadvantaged party who needs to be given space to speak out regarding the incident that happened to him and the impact he felt. Second, in the self scheme, Project Multatuli places itself as a media that sides with victims of harassment and eviction. This is in accordance with Project Multatuli's vision to serve the marginalized. Third, in the role scheme, Project Multatuli places the role of the police as a party that does not play a good role because from the news written, the police are not responsible for the complainant's complaint. Fourth, in the event scheme, the news #PercumaLaporPolisi shows that the complaint of the complainant who was a victim of sexual harassment and eviction was in

vain because the police underestimated the victim's complaint. In fact, the main task of the police is to protect and investigate cases to completion, not to underestimate the victim's complaint and side with the perpetrator.

### **Social Context Analysis**

Social context according to Teun A. Van Dijk can be seen from the practices of power and access that influence discourse. In the practice of power, Van Dijk defines power as the discretion by the owner of a particular group to control the group or its members. According to Van Dijk, this control is not only in the form of direct or physical orders, but can be in the form of indirect or persuasive control. Later, the indirect control of a group, in this case Project Multatuli media, will affect the mental state, beliefs, opinions, attitudes, and knowledge of news readers. (Eriyanto, 2001). In this case, Project Multatuli does not fulfill this requirement because Project Multatuli is an independent media and there is no powerful group to control its news behind the formation of Project Multatuli.

From the five news story selected by researchers in the #PercumaLaporPolisi series covered by Project Multatuli, researchers found a correlation between the #PercumaLaporPolisi news and Foucault's theory that discourse is not just a sequence of words and tells reality, but also creates reality. This can be seen from the results of analyzing the scheme with the critical discourse analysis model of Teun A. Van Dijk. Based on the results of the critical discourse analysis using the Teun A. Van Dijk model, Project Multatuli as a journalism initiative movement tries to create the reality that reporting crimes to the police is useless or futile. This can be seen from the five news articles in the #PercumaLaporPolisi series, which contains four news articles about reports of sexual harassment and one news article about evictions that were not followed up by the Police. When viewed from the superstructure discourse structure with the scheme/flow element, Project Multatuli journalists always prioritize the victim's statement and the Polri's actions that harm the community. This unconsciously makes Project Multatuli news readers side with the victims because they are presented with detailed information about the treatment that victims get when they are harassed by the perpetrators, belittled by the Police, or receive acts of violence from members of the Police. Thus, Project Multatuli's #PercumaLaporPolisi discourse will shape the reality that currently there are still many cases of public complaints that are not followed up by the Police, thus suggesting readers to no longer trust the performance of the Police.

In addition, the researcher found that the power effect that Foucault underlines on a discourse is not found in the negative connotations in this series. This is because the power Foucault refers to is the power to create certain truths that normalize an action that deviates from the norms of society. Meanwhile, when viewed from the aspect of Project Multatuli's social context, this media does not have power relations, such as political parties or investors to support coverage funds and give direction to have a certain ideology.

The following is a discussion of the relationship between the results of the researcher's analysis using Teun A. Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis method to see the implementation of Project Multatuli's advocacy journalism:

1. The first element is the focus of the news. Rather than emphasizing the sensational element, Project Multatuli prefers to cover and expose serious problems and threats to indigenous people in the #PercumaLaporPolisi series. This can be seen from the themes raised in the first to fifth news which raised the theme of serious problems, namely sexual

harassment. Whereas in the fifth news, Project Multatuli revealed the threat to the indigenous population, namely the threat of eviction and arrest of Dago Elos residents in Bandung City. However, Project Multatuli only emphasizes elements of truth through text, such as the description of the chronology, the date of the incident, and the victim's confession. In fact, Project Multatuli as an *online-based* journalism initiative movement can attach evidence through photos freely in the long news. For example, attaching a graphic element in the form of a photo of the letter sheet of the Investigation Termination Order in the first news story can be requested by the journalist to the victim's mother while maintaining the confidentiality of the victim's identity. This is because even though Project Multatuli journalists have conducted an investigative report, the addition of a tangible graphic element to the news can increase public trust and support for the victim.

2. The second element, related to the issues raised by Project Multatuli in the #PercumaLaporPolisi news series, has met the category of advocacy journalism because it raises two marginalized issues, namely the issue of sexual harassment and human rights violations or evictions. Compared to national issues such as politics, celebrities, and entertainment, Project Multatuli prioritizes marginalized issues.
3. The third element is the main source. Project Multatuli implements advocacy journalism because of all the news in the #PercumaLaporPolisi series, the main sources interviewed by Project Multatuli journalists are victims of sexual harassment, close relatives of victims of sexual harassment, eyewitnesses of victims, and residents affected by evictions. Compared to general journalism that uses figures with big names or in the context of this news, the National Police, Project Multatuli focuses more on statements and complete chronologies from the victim's side.
4. The fourth element, namely work priorities, can be found in the five news articles of #PercumaLaporPolisi Project Multatuli in accordance with the critical discourse analysis of the Teun A. Van Dijk model in the details section. In the first news, the problem of state violations raised by journalists is that the East Luwu Police stopped the investigation process on the report of the abuse of Lydia's three daughters by her own biological father. This is a violation of police performance because it does not provide a sense of security to the community and does not enforce the law. In the second news, the problem raised by journalists is data theft and *online-based* sexual violence experienced by five women. This raises a violation of police performance because it cannot create a safe space on social media so that people can avoid theft and sexual harassment. In the third news, the problem raised was that the East Luwu Police reopened the process of investigating the sexual abuse of Lydia's three daughters after the case went viral, but Lydia was burdened with requests for evidence that she had to provide to the police. This shows that the police cannot exercise their authority in finding and collecting evidence. In the fourth news story, the problem raised was that Bau Bau Police deliberately made the wrong arrest of the perpetrator of the abuse of Ratih's two daughters. This shows that there is a misuse of power by Baubau Police because it does not perform its duties in the field of repression, namely finding suspected perpetrators of criminal acts appropriately. In the fifth news, the problem raised was that the police committed anarchist acts such as throwing tear gas into the Dago Elos residential area. This is certainly a violation of human rights, as the news content explains that Dago Elos residents feel dehumanized by the police.
5. The fifth element, the principle of legality, was found in five news articles in the #PercumaLaporPolisi series. All identities of victims and sources on the victim's side, except observers, are written anonymously. Thus, the sources will be protected from the risk of harm that might befall the victim or those closest to them, such as intimidation from parties who feel aggrieved by the news of Project Multatuli or even forced

disappearance. The anonymous identity used by journalists to hide the victim's name is a pseudonym in the form of a person's name, not the name of a flower or animal that can be interpreted with certain characteristics or traits.

6. The sixth element, which is the expectation after the news is published, is that there will be polemics or debates in the community that lead to the strengthening of people's rights and demands for the government to improve policies. These demands can be seen from the responses of social media users who commented on Project Multatuli's #PercumaLaporPolisi coverage. This element of advocacy journalism is based on the social cognition of Project Multatuli, which is not bound by capital ownership by political parties or investors, but is an independent media so that it can criticize police performance sharply and in favor of victims. This led to feelings of anger, horror, pity, and demands from social media users who read the #PercumaLaporPolisi news that the police immediately follow up on these cases. In fact, in the first news, there was a very good response regarding the public's alignment with the victims and a big push for the East Luwu Police to open the investigation process of the molestation case experienced by Lydia's three daughters. This insistence not only led to polemics on social media, but also to the real action of the East Luwu Police who opened the investigation process of the case after the news went viral and was covered again by Project Multatuli.

## CONCLUSIONS

In principle, the media must be independent in conveying information. The media in Indonesia adheres to a socially responsible reporting system, so that the media is not only responsible for reporting news, but also defending the rights of citizens in the life of the nation. The media functions as a representative of the people's interests and does not serve the interests of capital or the authorities.

In today's creative industry, the style and delivery of information is very diverse. In addition to mainstream media, there are also alternative media that offer various ways of delivering information, such as Project Multatuli, which is present as an alternative media. In its journey, Project Multatuli often acts as an advocacy journalist, although Project Multatuli has never explicitly mentioned that it runs an advocacy journalism movement. The #PercumaLaporPolisi series became a journalistic product that defended the rights of victims and placed the police as an irresponsible institution. The slant of opinion is not unfounded, but in accordance with the fact that the police in Project Multatuli's reporting have abused their power.

Then, when viewed from the six elements of advocacy journalism that researchers use as a reference to analyze the implementation of advocacy journalism on the news of the #PercumaLaporPolisi series, Project Multatuli has fulfilled the six elements of advocacy journalism according to Eni Setiati.

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