

THE REPRESENTATION OF THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE REMPANG ISLAND CONFLICT IN INDONESIAN NEWS MEDIA

^{1,2*}Dede Fatinova, ¹Wawan Gunawan, ¹Aceng Ruhendi Saifullah, ^{1,2}Eris Risnawati, ²Ratna Juwitasari Emha, ^{1,2}Yasir Mubarok

¹Linguistics study Program, Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, Bandung, Indonesia

²Universitas Pamulang, Tangerang, Indonesia

*Corresponding Author Email: dedefatinova@upi.edu

Article Info	Abstract
Article History Received: February 2024 Revised: March 2024 Published: April 2024	<i>The Indonesian government has come under intense scrutiny for its actions in the agrarian conflict in Rempang Island, Batam City, Riau Islands Province. The conflict was triggered by the government's forced relocation of the Rempang Island community in the context of the Rempang Eco City development funded by a foreign investor, Xinyi Group. The incident captured the attention of the public and the media due to the large scale of the case. This research aims to see how the Indonesian government is represented in the Indonesian news media regarding the discourse of the Rempang Island case. This research uses the theory of Critical Discourse Analysis initiated by Fairclough (1995) and Transitivity by Halliday (2014). The method used in this research is content analysis method to elaborate the image constructed by the media against the Indonesian government. The data in the study amounted to six data taken from Tempo.co media, and Batamnow.com which were analyzed through three stages, namely textual, discourse practices, and socio-cultural practices. The results showed that the Indonesian government was represented negatively by labeling it as the party that violated human rights and the perpetrator of crimes against humanity.</i>
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INTRODUCTION

Language in the news media does not stand in a vacuum. Through the use of language in news texts, an object can be judged good or bad by society (Baker, Gabrielatos, & McNery, 2013, p. 3). A reality displayed in the news media has been constructed and colored by various ideologies and interests of news writers that aim to shape and lead readers' opinions. This construction reflects the bias and bias of the media in responding to an event that becomes the object of the news (Eriyanto, 2013, p. 222). This is in line with Paltridge's statement (2006: 45) that the text in a media will never be objective and will always be related to ideology.

The different ideologies of each media have implications for the different narratives of an event that appear in the news. Although based on the same reality, different media will construct the event differently according to the purpose of the news writer. Shoemaker & Reese (1996, p. 1) state that ideology is one of the factors that influence the construction of media coverage. The use of words such as "freedom fighter" or "terrorist" represents the writer's point of view and ideology (Davis & Walton, 1984, p. 130). Therefore, the news actually does not reflect what actually happened (Matheson, 2005: 15), but constructs the news as if what is narrated is the truth.

This research focuses on the construction of the Indonesian news media in representing the Indonesian government regarding the Rempang Island conflict, which began to be in the public and media spotlight in September 2023. The chaos was due to a fierce conflict on Rempang Island involving the Indonesian Government and island residents. The conflict was triggered by coercive actions carried out by the Indonesian Government on the people of Rempang Island to agree to "relocation." The Government carried out this relocation under the pretext of developing Rempang Island through the Rempang Eco City Development. Sanjaya (2023) mentioned a clash between the government and Rempang residents occurred on September 7, 2023. At that time, the Government even deployed 60 fleets and officers (TNI, Polri, Batam Business Agency Security Directorate (BP), and Satpol PP) to enter the Rempang area by force to set up land boundaries for Rempang Eco-City until finally, there was a clash between residents and the officers. As if that were not enough, the Government even carried out violence such as intimidation, arresting several Rempang residents, and firing tear gas, which resulted in victims (Jannah, 2023).

The outbreak of conflict between the Indonesian Government and the residents of Rempang Island is highly attracted by media attention. This incident was quite sensational and controversial because it involved two large parties: the Government and the Melayu residents of Rempang Island. According to Shoemaker & Reese (1996: 216), three things make news considered to have value: (1) deviant, (2) sensational and controversial, and (3) unusual. In addition, Bell (Bednarek, 2006:18) states that news value can be seen from three aspects: (1) value in the event and participants involved, (2) value in the reporting process, and (3) value in the news text.

The Rempang Island conflict incident was reported in almost all Indonesian mass media. It even became a topic of debate and discussion for experts in politics, language, religion, international relations, and law. This conflict is related to three aspects: government interests, human rights, and customary law. The author found a different framing of reporting carried out by the media. Some highlighted it from the aspect of land legalization, and others highlighted it from the human rights aspect. This framing did not happen accidentally but has undergone a selection process and strategy in reporting by journalists. Through the use of language, the media can be used as a means to voice opinions because the language in the media is not just language but is also an "action" and has power (Fairclough, 1989). The power of language in the media can shape people's opinions in viewing reality according to what journalists want; the media can also force beliefs and frame an event according to what they wish (Richardson, 2007: 13).

This research is a critical discourse study that focuses on media representation. The term representation in the media departs from the awareness that what is in the media has gone through a construction process. Representation results from a selection process that emphasizes certain things and ignores others. This process is closely related to the use of language, especially in realizing reality through writing, which will shape the reader's cognition (Eriyanto, 2001:116). Fairclough (1995:79) says that discourse relates to texts, discourse, and socio-cultural processes. The study of representation in the media is not something new. Several previous studies have conducted this study. For example, Priyanto (2014), Alghamdi (2015), Amiri, et al. (2015), Weiwei & Weihua (2015), Ali, et al. (2016), Limilia & Prasanti (2016), Tenriawali (2018), Mawaddah et al., (2021), Nuratsil (2021). This statement are a starting point for the background of the research. It aims to portray how the Government is represented in the news. It is related to the text elements, discourse structure, and social culture built into the news. Therefore, this representation research will be studied through a critical discourse analysis framework initiated by Fairclough (1995) with a three-dimensional analysis model: text, discourse practice, and socio-cultural practice combined with the Transitivity theory formed by

Halliday (2014) to support text dimensions. In line with this, Fowler (Hart, 2014: 23) states that transitivity is the primary tool used to explore representation.

However, as far as literature searches are concerned, studies regarding the representation of the Indonesian Government in the last ten years are still rarely conducted, one of which has been researched conducted by Novelly, et al. (2021). It seems to be because studies generally focus on government policy. It is the gap that this author uses in this research. The research aims to reveal how the Indonesian government is represented by the news media in Indonesia regarding the Rempang Island conflict.

RESEARCH METHOD

Research Design

This research uses the content analysis method to analyze the text underlying the news. Krippendorff (2004:16) states that content analysis is part of the qualitative method and discourse analysis is one of the studies that can use content analysis because the purpose of discourse analysis is to reveal the representation of certain phenomena contained in the text.

Data and Data Sources

This research consists of six data taken from the media Tempo.co and Batamnow.com. The choice of Tempo.co media was because this media is one of the media which is known to always side with the oppressed; in the context of Rempang Island, it is also depicted as having the ruling party and the oppressed party, while batamnow.com was chosen as the local media representative of Batam where the Rempang Island conflict occurred. The data was taken between 8–17 September 2023, coinciding with the demonstration on Rempang Island, and the media reporting began to be busy regarding this event. This news can be seen in Table 1 below.

Table 1
Selected News from Tempo.co and Batamnow.com Media

No	Media	News Title	Date
1	Tempo.co	Bentrok di Pulau Rempang, Dikepung hingga Disembur Gas Air Mata, Ini Penyebab dan Kronologinya (https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1769572/bentrok-di-pulau-rempang-dikepung-hingga-disembur-gas-air-mata-ini-penyebab-dan-kronologinya)	September 08, 2023
2	Tempo.co	Kunjungi Rempang, Ini Sejumlah Temuan dan Permintaan Komnas HAM (https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1773017/kunjungi-rempang-ini-sejumlah-temuan-dan-permintaan-komnas-ham?page_num=2)	September 17, 2023
3	Tempo.co	Konflik di Pulau Rempang, antara Investasi, Kepentingan Pengusaha dan Intrik Politik Lokal (https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1773026/tiga-menteri-jokowi-gelar-rapat-tertutup-soal-rempang-di-batam-ini-hasilnya?tracking_page_direct)	September 17, 2023
4	Batamnow.com	Warga Rempang Diresahkan Pihak Tertentu Gedor Pintu Tawarkan Relokasi, Komnas HAM: Itu Intimidatif (https://batamnow.com/warga-rempang-diresahkan-pihak-tertentu-gedor-pintu-tawarkan-relokasi-komnas-ham-itu-intimidatif/)	September 16, 2023
5	Batamnow.com	Walhi Sebut Relokasi Warga Rempang Termasuk Kejahatan Kemanusiaan (https://batamnow.com/walhi-sebut-relokasi-warga-rempang-termasuk-kejahatan-kemanusiaan/)	September 16, 2023
6	Batamnow.com	Jelang Kedatangan Bahlil ke Rempang, Polisi dan TNI Malah Tambah Personel (https://batamnow.com/jelang-kedatangan-bahlil-ke-rempang-polisi-dan-tni-malah-tambah-personel/)	September 14, 2023

Data Analysis

The data in this study were analyzed through three stages, namely the decryption stage involving the text dimension, the interpretation stage involving discourse practices, and the explanation stage involving the socio-cultural dimension. The decryption stage relies on transitivity analysis initiated by Halliday (2014). Text data will be displayed through a matrix so that readers can more easily see the overall transitivity data in both media. In relation to this, Miles, et al. (2014: 108) explain that through the matrix, data can be seen more easily and in more detail, and can also see direct comparisons.

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This study will discuss sequentially the construction of the news, starting from the text aspect, discourse practices, and finally socio-cultural practices. This is in accordance with the three-dimensional analysis framework initiated by Fairclough (1995). Each of these elements will reveal in detail how the media strategy in representing the Indonesian government regarding the Rempang Island conflict.

Text (Descriptive)

The first stage of this analysis focuses on the textual aspects of the news. At this stage, the data is analyzed linguistically by paying attention to lexicogrammatical aspects through a transitivity analysis framework concentrating on process, participants, and circumstantial. Halliday and Fowler (in Matheson, 2005) state that Transitivity is a semantic configuration used to determine how language forms a clause with a particular meaning. Transitivity is a study in functional systemic linguistics that functions to see how experience is realized in the form of language. In this regard, Wodak & Meyer (2016:2) also stated that linguistics is one of the roots of critical discourse studies. It is similar to what Halliday (in Hart, 2014: 6) said: "*A critical discourse analysis is not based on [a] grammar, it is not an analysis at all, but simply turning commentary on a text.*" Functionally, through transitivity analysis, language shapes the representation of a particular object by obscuring and eliminating certain events in the reporting text (Simpson, 1994: 96).

Based on the description of transitivity; process, participant, and circumstantial, all three are dominated by elements that represent the government in a negative image. This is identified through the dominance of each transitivity element in the text. The frequency of occurrence of processes, participants, and circumstantial events is explained in more detail and can be seen in Tables 2 to 4 below.

Table 2
Frequency of Appearance of Process in Tempo.co and Batamnow.com Media

No	Process Type	Tempo.co	%	Batamnow.com	%
1	Material	68	48	40	40.4
2	Mental	8	5.6	10	10.1
3	Relational				
	Attributive	9	6.3	6	6.06
	Identifying	5	3.5	3	3.03
4	Behavioural	2	1.4	0	0
5	Verbal	44	31	36	36.4
6	Existential	7	4.9	4	4.04
Total		143	100	99	100

Table 2 shows that Tempo.co and Batamnow.com media processes are dominated by material processes, with percentages of 48% and 40.4%, respectively. It indicates that the Rempang Island conflict in both media is narrated as an event involving physical action. Some

of the physical actions that appear in the news include "*memaksa masuk*/forcing entry," "*memukul mundur*/repelling," and "*menemukan*/finding." The emergence of a process is closely related to the participants who accompany the process. The frequency of participant appearances can be seen in Table 3 below.

Table 3.
Frequency of Appearance of participants in Tempo.co and Batamnow.com Media

PARTICIPANT						
No	Process	Participant	Tempo.co	%	Batamnow.com	%
1	Material	Actor	47	19.3	23	15.2
		Goal	29	11.9	29	19.2
		Client	2	0.82	1	0.66
		Recipient	9	3.7	2	1.32
		Range	17	7	5	3.31
2	Mental	Senser	6	2.47	6	3.97
		Phenomenon	7	2.88	1	0.66
		Carrier	9	3.7	5	3.31
3	Relational Attributive	Attribute	9	3.7	6	3.97
4	Relational identifying	Token	5	2.06	3	1.99
		Value	5	2.06	3	1.99
5	Behavioural	Behaver	2	0.82	0	0
6	Verbal	Sayer	38	15.6	31	20.5
		Receiver	5	2.06	3	1.99
		Target	6	2.47	2	1.32
		Verbiage	34	14	23	15.2
7	Existential	Existent	13	5.35	8	5.3
Total			243	100	151	100

Table 3 shows a different participant dominance between Tempo.co and Batamnow.com. Participants in Tempo media are dominated by participants from the material process: *actors* at 19.3%, and based on the analysis results, these *actors* are dominated by Komnas HAM (*Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia*/The Indonesian National Human Rights Commission). It indicates that in its reporting, Tempo.co emphasizes describing events on the activities carried out by Komnas HAM. On the other hand, the participants who dominate the Batamnow.com media are participants in the verbal process, *Sayer* at 20.5%; the *Sayer* in Batamnow.com are dominated by "Walhi (*Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia*/Indonesian Forum for the Environment) managers and residents." It indicates that Batamnow.com tends to explore news from the source's perspective.

To further clarify the process and participants, circumstantial elements are needed as complementary information about the process and participants. The appearance of circumstantial can be seen in Table 4 below.

Table 4
Frequency of appearance of Circumstan in Tempo.co and Batamnow.com Media

CIRCUMSTANCES						
No	Circumstantial Type		Media			
			Tempo.co	%	Batamnow.com	%
1	Extent	Distance	0	0	0	-
		Duration	0	0	3	4.62
		Frequency	6	5.66	1	1.54
2	Location	Place	18	17	13	20
		Time	26	24.5	11	16.9

CIRCUMSTANCES						
No	Circumstantial Type		Media			
			Tempo.co	%	Batamnow.com	%
3	Manner	Means	15	14.2	2	3.08
		Quality	2	1.89	3	4.62
		Comparison	0	0	0	0
		Degree	0	0	3	4.62
4	Cause	Reason	5	4.72	3	4.62
		Purpose	7	6.6	6	9.23
		Behalf	0	0	0	0
		Condition	8	7.55	7	10.8
5	Contingency	Concession	0	0	0	0
		Default	1	0.94	5	7.69
6	Accompaniment	Comitative	0	0	1	1.54
		Addition	0	0	0	0
7	Role	Guise	3	2.83	1	1.54
		Product	0	0	0	0
8	Matter		9	8.49	5	7.69
9	Angle		6	5.66	1	1.54
Total			106	100	65	100

Table 4 shows the appearance of circumstances in Tempo.co is dominated by *location* in the *time* category at 24.5%, while Batamnow.com is dominated by *location* in the *place* category at 20%. The dominance of *circumstance of location* in the *place* category in the news text indicates that the media makes more explicit explanations related to the time and place where a process takes place. Based on search results, the circumstantial place that dominates Tempo.co is the "*wilayah rempang/rempang area*," while the circumstantial *time* that dominates batamnow.com is "*hari ini/today*," and the day description is "*Jumat/Friday (15/09/2023)*."

Discourse Practice (Interpretation)

The interpretation process in this research refers to textual aspects: the emergence of processes, participants, and circumstantial processes in a clause are realized by verbs, nouns realize participants, and circumstantials are realized by adverbs or prepositional phrases (Eggins & Slade, 2004; Halliday & Mathiessen, 2014).

Based on the emergence of the process, Tempo.co represents the Government in a negative light. It is identified, one way, through the dominance of material and verbal processes that underlie the text. Through material processes, the Government was portrayed as the cause of the tear gas spray during the clashes that occurred in Rempang. It is based on the findings of *Komnas HAM*, which visited the area. Meanwhile, through a verbal process, the Government was placed as the *receiver* of the verbal process carried out by the *Sayer*, *Komnas HAM* (in this data, the participant is not visible/implicit), who asked the Government to stop the Rempang project. The emergence of *Komnas HAM* as a *sayer* indicates that what the Government is doing is related to human rights issues. It is reflected in Data 1 below.

(1)	dan	Im.Partisipan	Meminta	pemerintah	untuk menghentikan sementara proyek Rempang Eco-city
		Part. Sayer	Process. Verbal	Part. Receiver	Verbiage

Lexicogrammatically, the data shows that the Government is positioned as the *receiver* of the process carried out by implicit participants (invisible participants) *Sayer*, who refer to *Komnas HAM*. It indicates that in its reporting the news, the Tempo media represents the Government's actions as something that should be stopped, but "only temporarily" because, in reality, these actions are still causing pros and cons and are in the spotlight of the national community.

On the other hand, Tempo.co's media strategy in creating a negative image of the Government is visible through the material process, which explains the actions carried out by the National Human Rights Commission, such as *mengunjungi*/visiting, *menemukan*/finding, *bertemu*/meeting, *menyelidiki*/investigating, and *memberikan*/giving, which these actions indirectly show there are allegations of human rights violations committed by the Government. It indirectly places *Komnas HAM* in a positive image as a party that cares about the people of Rempang, but this has an impact on the emergence of a negative image of the Government because most of the news narrates that the actions that Komnas HAM labels as violations of humanitarian rights. It can be seen in Data 2 below.

(2)	tim Komnas HAM	menemukan	sejumlah temuan	seperti selongsong peluru gas air mata	di atap sekolah
	Part. Actor	Proses Material	Range	Part. Goal	Circ. Location Place

Meanwhile, in contrast to Tempo.co, the media Batamnow.co labelled the Government's actions "crimes against humanity." It can be seen in Data (3) below.

(3)	Relokasi Warga Rempang	termasuk	kejahatan kemanusiaan
	Part. Token	Process Relational Identifying	Part. Value

Lexicogrammatically, data 3 shows that the Government is placed as a *token* of the *relational identification* process "*termasuk*/kind of" and the *value* "*kejahatan kemanusiaan*/crimes against humanity." It indicates that in this context, the Government's relocation actions are labelled crimes against humanity. Indirectly, the Government is portrayed negatively as a party that has committed crimes against humanity against its people because it insists on relocation even though the Rempang community has so far refused to be relocated. Crimes against humanity are categorized as cruel crimes. They are a form of international crime that is classified as a *jure gentium* offense (Nrangwesti, et al., 2023: 100). In the normative legal framework in Indonesia, crimes against humanity are referred to as severe violations of human rights (Wiratraman, n.d.). In this regard, Ashri (2023:202) explains that crimes against humanity are among the most brutal crimes, along with genocide, war crimes, and aggression. The four crimes are among the four most serious crimes of international concern. It is ironic when the Government should be the party that protects its people, but instead, it becomes the party that attacks its people.

As a strategy to create the Government in a negative image, batamnow.com uses *verbal* processes as the dominant process in the text. This verbal process is realized through vocabulary, such as *menyebut*/mentioning, *mengatakan*/saying, *menjelaskan*/ explaining, *menguraikan*/elaborating, *menegaskan*/emphasizing, *menuturkan*/telling, and *mengucapkan*/uttering. Using these verbal processes is a media strategy to provide information to readers regarding the Rempang Island conflict from the perspective of certain participants. The emergence of the verbal process in the batamnow.com media cannot be separated from the critical role of the *Sayer* who accompanies the process. *Sayer* is an essential element that will show the validity of the information conveyed in the media. It can be seen from the following data 4.

(4)	Menurut Komisioner Mediasi Komnas HAM Prabianto Mukti Wibowo	yang turun bersama timnya	ke Pulau Rempang,	mengatakan	cara seperti itu bisa dikategorikan upaya intimidasi
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Sayer	Conj	Process Material	Circ. Accompaniment	Circ. Location Place	Process Verbal	Part. Verbiage
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Through this data, batamnow.com provides information that the Government has carried out acts of intimidation against the Rempang Community. This information is valid because it is conveyed through a sayer as a resource, Prabianto Mukti Wibowo, the Mediation Commissioner for *Komnas HAM*. Using sources in news texts can influence readers in assessing news because it is conveyed through participants who are considered to have authority in responding to the issue (Eriyanto, 2012: 317).

Apart from the batamnow.com media, the verbal process is the second most dominant process in Tempo.co news texts. The verbal vocabularies that appear in Tempo.co is *mengatakan/saying*, *meminta/asking*, *mengujarkan/uttering*, dan *melaporkan/reporting*. One of the uses of verbal processes in this media is to describe the actions carried out by one participant with another participant. It can be seen in data 5 below.

(5)	Ihwal penerjunan aparat ke Rempang	ia	juga meminta	kepada aparat	untuk menghindari tindakan represif
	Circ. Matter	Part. Sayer	Process Verbal	Part. target	Part. Verbiage

Data 5 explains the actions carried out by "ia/he" as the *Sayer*. The pronoun "ia/he" in the context of this sentence refers to the *Komnas HAM* Mediation Commissioner, Prabianto Mukti Wibowo. In the context of this sentence, the *aparat* (the officers) is positioned as the *target* of the *verbal* process of "*meminta/asking*" carried out by the *Sayer*. The use of *verbal*, *Sayer*, *target*, and *verbiage* processes in the text indicates that Tempo.co media informs readers that *Komnas HAM*, as a government institution, has carried out its duties in monitoring the human rights condition in Indonesia. It refers to the vision and mission of *Komnas HAM*: to become an institution that can be trusted nationally and internationally and help resolve human rights violations in Indonesia (Puspitasari, 2002: 105). It also informs readers about the officers' repressive actions against the Rempang Community.

Apart from material and verbal processes, mental processes are one process that appears quite a lot, 5.6% in Tempo.co media and 10.1% in batamnow.com media. In Tempo.co media, mental processes are realized through verbs such as *mengalami traumatic/experiencing trauma*, *mengira/thinking*, and *mengharap/hoping*. One of the mental processes in Tempo.co media is used to narrate the emotional reasons underlying the community's rejection of the Rempang Eco City project. It can be seen in data 6 below.

(6)	Warga	menilai	kampung mereka	memiliki	nilai historis dan budaya yang kuat,	bahkan sebelum Indonesia merdeka.
	Part. Sener	Process Mental	Part. Phenomenon	Process Relational Attributive	Part. Attribute	Circ. Location Time

Data 6 explains the reasons behind the resistance of Rempang residents to the Government's ongoing relocation plans. The Rempang conflict is a rural conflict involving the Government and Malay residents native to the island of Rempang. The root of the conflict is land ownership issues because the Government and the Rempang Melayu residents each claim that the land belongs to them. Rempang residents consider that land ownership is their right because the occupation of Rempang residents on the island has been going on for a very long time, even longer than the age of independence of the Indonesian. Meanwhile, the Government

assesses that ownership of the land on Rempang Island has changed hands by *Hak Guna Usaha*/granting Cultivation Rights (HGU) authority to BP Batam in 2001-2002 (Hanum & Hardi, 2023).

Meanwhile, the use of mental processes in the *batamnow.com* media is used as a media strategy to place the Government in a negative image by representing the actions taken as actions that cause not only physical but also mental harm. It can be seen through data 7 and 8 below.

(7)	Jadi kami ini	tertekan,”	ucap	seorang emak-emak warga	di sana
	Part. Senser	Process Mental	Process Verbal	Part. Sayer	Circ. Location Place
	Part. Verbiage				

(8)	warga	tak lagi merasa aman dan terlindungi	dengan kehadiran aparat gabungan di posko-posko terpadu	yang didirikan	di sekitar kampung mereka
	Part. Senser	Process Mental	Circ. Cause reason	conj Part. Process Material	Circ. Location Place

Data 7 and 8 show that Rempang residents are considered *sensors* of "*tertekan*/stressed" mental processes. It is reinforced by the emergence of data 8, which states that residents feel insecurity and protection due to the presence of joint forces (TNI and Polri) at the integrated post. The relocation action carried out by the Government caused the Rempang people to suffer physically and mentally. It also indicates that the function of the *aparat* (the officers) in society is not fulfilled. As is known, one of the duties of the TNI is to uphold law and human rights while the Polri protects and protects the community (Siregar, 2011). In this context, they are the parties violating human rights and spreading insecurity among citizens.

Even though in the context of this sentence, the media does not explicitly mention "*Pemerintah*/Government" in its sentence, the existence of this sentence is represented by the appearance of the word "*aparat*/the officers." In the law of Republic Indonesia No. 34 of 2004 concerning the Indonesian National Army, it is stated that the TNI is located under the President (Novavah, 2020), while the National Police is the Indonesian National Police, which has direct responsibility under the President (Kobesi, et al., 2019). The word *aparat* (the officers) in this sentence can indirectly refer to the President, who is represented as the party that directed the authorities to carry out intimidating actions against Rempang residents.

The previous statements were reinforced by *batamnow.com* by explaining the legalization of crimes against humanity, which the state often carries out. It can be seen in data 9 below.

(9)	Banyak	kebijakan yang melegalkan kejahatan kemanusiaan itu	dilakukan	negara,”	pungkas	nya
	Circ. Manner degree	Part. Goal	Process Material	Part. Actor	Process Verbal	Part. Sayer

In this data, the state is placed as an *actor* in the *material processes* "*dilakukan*/was done by." Through this transitivity labelling, the Government is again represented negatively and labelled as a party that often commits crimes against humanity. The indication of "*sering*/often" is raised through the use of a circumstantial *manner degree* type which functions to make the process carried out by the *actor* explicit. The occurrence of crimes against humanity committed by the state is not a new phenomenon. Puspitasari (2002:1) states that there is a pretty sharp argument that many human rights violations in Indonesia involve the state as the main

perpetrator; the high level of these acts has even been the same since the initial period of the formation of the National Human Rights Commission in The era of President Suharto (Pratikno & Lay, 1999: 8). The Batamnow media then reinforced this through the following clause in data 10.

(10)	terbukti	penanganan yang dilakukan oleh aparat keamanan di wilayah konflik agraria lebih sering berujung pada pelanggaran HAM	yang	dilakukan	oleh aparat.
	Process Existential	Part. Existent	conj	Process Material	Part. Actor

Through this clause, batamnow.com states that there is evidence that strengthens the claim that human rights violations are often carried out by the Government, especially human rights violations such as *pembunuhan*/murdering, *penganiayaan*/torturing, and *penembakan*/shootings. However, this evidence was not shown in the news. It is used as a media strategy so that readers focus on the human rights violations that the Government has carried out.

Apart from that, negative representations of the Government are also supported by the emergence of participants who dominate the text. Some of the participants who appeared in the tempo.co media were *Komnas HAM*, joint officers from the TNI, Polri, Satpol PP, Ditpam BP Batam, Rempang residents, and school officials. Based on Table 3, it is stated that the participants who dominate Tempo.co media texts are *actors* at 19.3%. After conducting an investigation, the *actor* was dominated by *Komnas HAM*. It indicates that in its reporting, Tempo.co places greater emphasis on the activities carried out by *Komnas HAM* regarding the Rempang Island conflict. It can be seen in data 11 below.

(11)	Komnas HAM	melakukan kunjungan	pertama	di dua sekolah yang terkena <u>gas air mata</u>	saat ricuh terjadi
	Part. Actor	Proses Material	Circ. Extent (Frequency)	Circ. Location Place	Circ. Location Time

Data 11 shows that *Komnas HAM* was positioned as the *actor* who carried out "*kunjungan*/visits" to schools affected by the Rempang Island riots. Using these participants is a strategy by Tempo.co media to highlight the Rempang Island conflict from a human rights perspective. The action of the police spraying tear gas against Rempang residents violated Article 5 of National Police Chief Regulation No. 1 of 2009 concerning the use of power, which states that actions that the police can take can include an act that has a deterrent effect, verbal commands, soft empty-hand control, hard empty-hand control, and blunt weapons control (Habiba et al., 2023: 378).

Meanwhile, participants in the batamnow.com media are dominated by *Sayer* at 20.5%. After tracing the report, it was dominated by Walhi (Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia), Ferry Widodo, and Rempang residents. It indicates that in its reporting on the Rempang Island conflict, the batamnow.com media explored events from the viewpoint of Walhi and its residents. The implication of using these participants is that there is a negative representation of the Government because the verbiage or information conveyed by Walhi and residents always corners the Government. For example, in clause "*Penggusuran atau juga dikenal dengan istilah relokasi sepihak warga Rempang, Batam, Kepulauan Riau, termasuk kejahatan kemanusiaan*" sebagai kalimat pembuka dalam media batamnow.com. hal ini diperkuat pula dengan pemunculan klausa "*Pasal 9 ayat (d) Undang-undang Nomor 26 Tahun 2000 tentang Pengadilan Hak Asasi Manusia yang menyebutkan bahwa salah satu yang disebut kejahatan*

kemanusiaan adalah pengusiran atau pemindahan penduduk secara paksa." The use of this sentence as the opening paragraph is a strategy so that the media focuses on the issue highlighted by the media, "forced eviction or relocation carried out by the government on Rempang residents is an act of crime against humanity, and this is stated in Indonesian positive law, in the law of Republic Indonesia No. 26 year 2000".

Walhi states the party that has the authority and capability to convey information regarding the Rempang island conflict because Walhi is the most significant environmental organization in Indonesia, which highlights the protection of people's ecological rights, which the State must fulfill and one of Walhi's fundamental values is respect for human rights. The Rempang conflict is also a rural conflict that involves human rights issues due to evictions carried out by the Government. Walhi has even made a report on the Rempang Island conflict with the title "*Keadilan Timpang di Pulau Rempang: Temuan Awal Investigasi atas Peristiwa Kekerasan dan Pelanggaran HAM 7 September 2023 di Pulau Rempang pada laman resminya*" (Walhi, 2023) which explains how this incident is viewed from a human rights perspective.

Meanwhile, using the word Sayer "warga/citizens" is a media strategy to inform readers that the Government's forced relocation has caused fear among residents. Walhi called this action a "state psychological terror" carried out by the State (Walhi, 2023a). It has also caused many residents' activities to stop because they are focused on defending their village.

Meanwhile, the role of circumcision in Tempo.com media coverage is dominated by the place "Rempang Island," while in Batamnow.com, it is dominated by the time "hari ini/today." Tempo.com provides more explicit information about the process from the place's perspective; something occurred on Rempang Island. Batamnow.com did something different, which made the time the process occurred more explicit.

Socio-cultural (Explanation)

Discussions about socio-culture relate to textual and practical aspects of discourse. Therefore, the explanation section will elaborate on the Rempang Island conflict intertextually. This discussion will highlight the Rempang Island conflict from three perspectives: human rights, land rights, and government interests.

The human rights aspect is the most highlighted in the news media, either in Tempo.co or Batamnow.com. It is because the Government carries out repressive actions against the people of Rempang Island; in connection with this, some actions are a form of human rights violations carried out by the Government. It is not the first time the Government has committed human rights violations. These actions tend to occur frequently, mainly when agrarian conflicts arise. Saurin Siagian, a Commissioner for Studies and Research and Chair of the Agrarian Team of the National Human Rights Commission stated that indigenous peoples are the victims of rampant acts of human rights violations committed by the Government, be it the central Government, regional governments, or the police. In fact, according to *Komnas HAM* (The Indonesian National Human Rights Commission), there were 692 agrarian conflicts recorded during the last eight months of 2023; the occurrence of agricultural disputes related to the *Proyek Strategis Nasional* (PSN)/National Strategic Project was so massive (Firmansyah, 2023). Apart from the Rempang conflict in 2023, agrarian conflicts related to PSN also appeared in 2022 in Wadas village, Purworejo, Central Java. This action was characterized by intimidation of residents (Adyatama, 2022). It is in line with the statement by Dewi Kartika, an Agrarian Reform consortium, that there have been 2,710 agrarian conflicts during President Joko Widodo's administration from 2015 - 2022. These conflicts were accompanied by the criminalization of citizens, shootings, and arrests carried out by the authorities (Wicaksono, 2023).

Based on this explanation, the act of forced eviction accompanied by violence carried out by the Government can be categorized as a violation of Human Rights by referring to Law of Republic Indonesia No. 26 of 2000 Article 7b in Point d concerning Crimes against Humanity, forced eviction or transfer of residents (Sobarnapraja, 2020). The officers even committed violations by firing tear gas at residents; this refers to *Perkap* (*Peraturan Kepala Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia*/Regulation of The National Police of The Republic of Indonesia) No. 1 of 2009 concerning the use of force in police actions, *Perkap* No. 8 of 2009 concerning the implementation of human rights principles and standards in carrying out the duties of the Republic of Indonesia's police force, and *Perkap* No. 8 of 2010 concerning Cross-dressing procedures and how to act in handling riots. The arrests carried out by the Government also constitute a violation of several International Instruments, such as Article 3 of the DUHAM (*Deklarasi Universal HAM*/Universal Declaration of Human Rights), which explains that "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person." Apart from that, the provisions in Article 9 paragraph (1) of Law of Republic Indonesia No. 12 of 2005 as ratification of the ICCPR which states that "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention. No one shall be deprived of his liberty except on such grounds and in accordance with such procedures as are stabilized by law" (Habiba et al., 2023).

Furthermore, viewed from the perspective of land rights, the ownership of Rempang land is still being debated, whether it belongs to the Government or whether it belongs to the Rempang island's traditional community. It is the background to the struggle for land between Rempang residents and the Government. It is not visible in the news, both from Tempo.co and batamnow.com, as a strategy to focus readers' attention on the issue of human rights violations committed by the Government. Based on the search results, land rights on Rempang Island are still being debated. In the context of the Indonesian state, apart from constitutional law, there is also customary and religious law in viewing land rights. From the perspective of constitutional law, management rights over Batam land are given to the Batam authority (BP Batam). They are complete to be distributed to third parties who manage the land further. It refers to Presidential Decree (Keppres) Number 41 of 1973 concerning the Batam Island industrial area (Hanum & Hardi, 2023). However, on the other hand, based on customary law, the Rempang people are residents who have lived on the island for 200 years, and the rights to land automatically belong to the residents. It refers to Article 1 of the second part of the UUPA, which states that "Eigendom rights to land owned by exist upon the entry into force of this Law from that moment on it becomes property rights" (Wartawati, 2023). Besides that, the Government does not have the right to label land as its own. It was stated by a professor of law from Muhammadiyah University in Jakarta, Prof. Dr. Ibn Sina Chandranegara, said that:

"The law states that all kinds of land in Indonesia do not belong to the State, but the State is only given power of attorney. The real owners are the Indonesian people. It is contained in the Basic Agrarian Law/Undang-Undang Pokok Agraria (UUPA). "The government cannot label every land as state property because that is an outdated legacy of the colonial era" (cited from <https://umj.ac.id/opini-1/konflik-rempang-benarkah-mereka-warga-liar/>).

In this context, the legal ownership of land rights is indeed the Government. Still, there are indications that the Government has acted negligently regarding the land certificate ownership rights of the residents of Rempang Island since the residents of Rempang have long submitted a request for determination of their land rights to the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning (*Kementerian Agraria dan Tata Ruang Republik Indonesia*) since September 17, 2020, but did not receive a positive answer. Even though the President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, had promised land certificates for Rempang residents during his 2019 presidential candidacy campaign (Wartawati, 2023), his promise has not been realized, but the people of Rempang were instead labeled as 'squatters' because they did not have a certificate.

The conflict regarding Rempang Island gives the image that the Government is fighting against its people to defend investors in realizing their desire to launch the project to develop Rempang Island into Rempang Eco City. The Government should be more supportive and prioritize indigenous residents over investors who come later just because they bring money and promises of economic development. It is even reinforced by the attitude expressed by Bahlil Lahadalia as Minister of Investment of Indonesia and Head of the Investment Coordinating Board in the Advanced Indonesia Cabinet (*Kabinet Indonesia Maju*), who is more concerned that the conflict that occurred could give a bad image to investors rather than caring about the fate of Rempang residents as a result of the conflict (Siagian, 2023).

The development of Rempang Eco City was vehemently rejected by the people of Rempang Island, especially the Melayu residents who are native to Rempang Island because Rempang Island belongs to the Melayu people. The existence of Melayu people is attached to the existence of Rempang Island, located in the Riau archipelago. Following the branding built by the Riau Islands government, Riau is the homeland of Melayu (Riau is Melayu Blood Spilled Land) (Fajriandhany et al., 2020; Munir, 2017). Quoted from Hukumonline.com, the Government has shown its impartiality towards the people with Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 62-year 2018 Article 4 letter b. It was further revealed that it is not the people who do not have land rights, but rather, the state neglects the recognition and protection of rights to land that has been controlled by the people for generations (DA, 2024).

Viewed from the perspective of government interests, the development of Rempang Eco City is the result of collaboration between the central Government through the Batam Free Trade Zone and Free Port Concession Agency (BP Batam) and the Batam City Government and PT Makmur Elok Graha (MEG), which is a subsidiary of Artha Graha, a business group founded by Tomy Winata. This development then involved foreign investors from Xinyi International Investment Limited (Dwi, 2023). This development is a megaproject with an investment value of 381 trillion until 2080 (Habiba et al., 2023), which is claimed to provide benefits to residents, improving the quality of life of Rempang residents, increasing micro and medium business economic activities/*usaha ekonomi mikro kecil dan menengah (UMKM)*, absorbing local workforce, equitable development, and sustainable investment (bpbatam, 2023). However, on the other hand, viewed from the environmental aspect, the project caused several negative impacts, such as ecological damage, relocation conflicts, community resistance, and environmental law violations (Habiba et al., 2023: 381). It contrasts sharply with what was expressed by *bpbatam* because it is one of the government agencies supporting the Rempang ecocity development in the Rempang area. Until now, relocation conflicts and community resistance have still been carried out by Rempang residents. In fact, for the sake of the Government's ambitious interests, the Government has carried out various human rights violations on Rempang Island.

CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis results, both media tend to show the government in a negative light. In the news, the Government is represented as a party that has failed to protect the community, as a party that fights the people just for the sake of investments whose interests are not clear to whom, and as a party that is willing to commit various acts of human rights violations to support investments that are rejected by the community. The current government regime, in particular, is labeled as a violator and perpetrator of crimes against the human rights of its people. As is known, the Rempang Island development project has been a topic of discussion long before 2023, but in the current government regime, residents are being forced to relocate; even the discourse that has emerged is evictions carried out by the Government for the sake of foreign investment. In addition, both media tend to show their partiality towards the community. This can be seen from how both media framed the news. Tempo highlighted the problem of the Rempang island conflict as controversial because it harmed many civilians; therefore, it needed

to be stopped, while batamnow.com framed it as a crime against humanity. It indicates that from Tempo.co's perspective, the media approves of the development of Rempang Ecocity provided that the Government commits no human rights violations. However, Batamnow frames it as a crime against humanity as a strategy to clarify that forced relocation is a crime against humanity.

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