



RHETORICAL STYLE OF STUDENT CRITICISM AT DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE KHUP BILL AND REVISION OF THE 2019 KPK LAW: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

by

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ABSTRACT

This research was motivated by the event of a demonstration against the KHUP Bill and the Revision of the KPK Law which occurred in 2019. Many student banners were found at the action that contained sentences of criticism of the government but were packaged in the form of humor using a rhetorical style. This study aims to dismantle the rhetorical style of students in the Demonstration of Rejection of the KHUP Bill and the Revision of the 2019 KPK Law. This research uses qualitative descriptive research methods with the Norman Fairclough model of Critical Discourse Analysis approach. The data used as an object is in the form of banner images containing criticism sentences from students at the demonstration of the rejection of the Criminal Code Bill and the revision of the KPK Law which was carried out on September 24-26, 2019. The results showed that students used two rhetorical styles, namely the rhetorical style of euphemism and the rhetorical style of dysphemism.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Demonstration is an open and direct movement carried out by a group of people in order to defend or fight for interests or demands. There have been many demonstrations in Indonesia, both in the form of small demonstrations and large demonstrations. Seeing the great influence of the demonstrations, these actions have been repeatedly carried out in various cities in Indonesia, including Jakarta, Jogja, Bandung, Malang, Balikpapan, Samarinda, Purwokerto, Makassar, and so on, by several community groups, the majority of which were carried out by student groups to channel their criticisms and demands, one of which was the demonstration on September 24-26, 2019. Students as agents of change held large demonstrations in order to reject the government's policy regarding the draft article of the Criminal Code and asked to revise the article in the KPK law.

This policy is considered not to be partial to the community and only benefits certain groups. In addition, there are still other issues that actually give an awkward impression regarding the design of this policy. Finally, at the end of September 2019, students held demonstrations in almost all cities in Indonesia. This action is known as a demonstration against the Criminal Code Bill and the Revision of the KPK Law.

During this demonstration, many students carried banners containing their protest writings against government policies. The interesting thing in the protest or criticism writing can be seen from students who no longer just use language that is condemnation or reproach. Now, students are more creative in expressing their disapproval of government policies, not even a few of the protest writings at the demonstrations against the Criminal Code Bill and the revision of the KPK Law actually seem to use everyday language or ordinary speech, but tend to be quirky and contain humor.

Many serious issues are presented in a relaxed or easy-to-understand manner with humor (Anam, et al 2020). This is because humor makes things more relaxed so that they can be understood and can solve serious

problems. Such a serious problem can be in the form of criticism of anyone, including the government. As a state institution, the government should make policies that are in favor of the people and are neutral. However, in this case, it seems that the Indonesian government still has to learn because many policies that have been and/or will be made are actually considered as unequal rules, even fatally seemingly oppressing the people.

One of the government policies that has attracted a lot of controversy is the Draft Law on the Criminal Code (hereinafter abbreviated as the Criminal Code Bill). The law, which has been discussed by the DPR since 2014-2019, has reaped many pros and cons, even though it has not been passed, especially from among students. This policy is considered too intervening in private spaces as Indonesian citizens (Larasati, September 4, 2019, accessed through LBH.org) and siding with certain groups.

In addition to the draft law above, another serious issue is the Corruption Eradication Commission Law (hereinafter shortened to the KPK Law). Unlike the draft Criminal Code Law, the 2019 KPK Law has been passed, even though many articles in this new law are considered to weaken the KPK. As a state institution that spearheads the eradication of corruption, the KPK should be given the widest possible freedom in fighting corruptors, but now many KPK authorities are minimized, including the authority to wiretap, prosecute, stop prosecution, and the establishment of a KPK supervisory agency. In fact, according to KPK spokesperson Febri Diansyah, there are 26 points in this new law that can paralyze the work of the KPK (Ramadan, September 25, 2019, accessed through Kompas.com). Some people argue that if left unchecked, the KPK's performance may decline and no longer be in accordance with the original purpose of establishing this executive institution.

Responding to the serious problems above, students requested that the draft Criminal Code Law not be passed immediately and the 2019 KPK Law was revised because the two policies still need to be reviewed for the benefit of the people. However, the aspirations of students in the demonstrations that took place in 2019, were packaged in a humorous dimension. Insinuations to the government are structured in such a way, from diction to sentence structure, so that student criticism carries a rhetorical style of demonstrations that is different from the style of demonstrations that occurred before. Student criticism of these demonstrations can be in the form of a rhetorical style of euphemism, that is, a smoothing of meaning; and the rhetorical style of dysphemism, that is, the roughing of meaning.

The rhetorical style will be dismantled through Norman Fairclough's Theory of Critical Discourse Analysis. This theory is used to expose students' efforts in intensifying their existence as agents of change through rhetorical styles on student demonstration banners. According to Fairclough (in Darma, 2014: 100) CDA sees that the use of language in speech and writing as a form of social practice gives rise to a dialectical relationship (thinking based on existing reality) between certain discursive (deviant) events and the situations, institutions, and social structures that form them. The practice of discourse can display an ideological effect that is in the form of producing and reproducing unbalanced power relations between social classes, men and women, majority and minority groups.

According to Fairclough, discourse analysis is divided into three dimensions: text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. The analytical framework developed by Fairclough consists of text analysis, analysis of discourse practices in the form of text production and consumption, and analysis of socio-cultural practices. In this study, it will be focused on the dimensions of the text, namely the whole that leads to oral, written, graphic, and a mixture between the two. All that refers to oral, written, diction, grammatical, structural syntax, metaphors, and rhetoric. The developed methods include a linguistic description of the text in terms of its linguistics,

Fairclough stressed that it is not necessarily that all items of inquiry be used as tools for analyzing a text, but rather simply an alternative that is open to discussion and further development. Referring to this, in this study the text analysis was only focused on the rhetorical style, namely the rhetorical style of euphemisms. The rhetorical style of euphemisms is the smoothing of meaning. According to Keraf (2010: 132) euphemisms are expressions that do not offend people, or subtle expressions to replace references that may feel insulting, offensive or suggest something unpleasant. Dysphemism is the use of harsh words and is worth being impolite, painful, vulgar, taboo, and indecent, usually to express annoyance or irritation.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses qualitative descriptive research with the Approach of Critical Discourse Analysis modeled by Norman Fairclough. The data used as an object is in the form of banner images containing criticism sentences from students at the demonstration of the rejection of the Criminal Code Bill and the revision of the KPK Law which was carried out on September 24-26, 2019. Data sourced from various sites in the network that contained news about demonstrations against the Criminal Code Bill and the revision of the KPK Law which was carried out on September 24-26, 2019. In this study, the populations were texts that contained a style of criticism from students to the government in the image of student banners demonstrating the rejection of the Criminal Code Bill and the revision of the KPK Law.



In obtaining data in this study, the listening method was used. In order to complete the listening method in this study, several data collection techniques were used, namely: First, documentation techniques, the text that has been listened to is followed by two ways of downloading images of student banners on several websites that contain news of demonstrations against the Criminal Code Bill and rejection of the revision of the KPK Law. Second, The Note Technique, this technique is an advanced technique after implementing the previous technique. The note-taking technique is carried out by recording data that has been documented. The data that has been sorted to be sampled is transferred to the data card for analysis. The data that has been collected is then randomly selected. The data is then listened to and recorded and then classified. After that, the data were again analyzed descriptively according to the AWK theory of Norman Fairclough's approach to dismantling the rhetorical style of student criticism sentences.

3. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Based on the results of research using the CDH theory of Norman Fairclough's approach, the text dimensions in student criticism sentences at the Demonstration of Rejection of the Criminal Code Bill and the Revision of the KPK Law in 2019 used the rhetorical style of euphemism and dysphemism.

a. Euphemism

1.



"Itu DPR What Lagunya Afgan? Kok 'SADISTIC' "
"That's DPR What the Song Is Afgan? How Come 'SADISTIC' "

The above sentence can be seen that the words used by students in demonstrating the rejection of the Criminal Code Bill and the KPK Bill are interesting. The above sentence of criticism uses words that are correlational unrelated, both in terms of form and meaning (context), for example the word DPR and the word *Afgan*. DPR is a people's representative institution whose job is to make /create laws and supervise the implementation of these laws, according to this function, the word DPR is natural when used in demonstrations considering that this action is intended to protest against the DPR, but the word *Afgan* who is one of the male singers in Indonesia does not have the same correlation with this action. *Afgan* is a symbol of popular music that is synonymous with the pleasures of today's young people. From the use of these two words, it can be seen that students are trying to convey innuendo by helping to bring their "selfhood".

The words DPR and Afgan are then linked to the word *sadistic*. DPR is considered sadistic or cruel in making a policy, but instead of presupposing with objects or something cruel, DPR is presupposed like the title of the afgan song which includes a sad song. This is a form of rhetorical style of dysphemism. The sentence of criticism above also has the use of the word *kok* which is a word from the prokem language. This marks that the language used by students in criticizing the government is colloquial.

The sentence structure used in the above criticism is interesting and influences the rhetorical style of the sentence. When viewed from the use of punctuation, the sentence uses two sentence structures, namely interrogative sentence structures and declarative sentences. The sentence is interrogative on "*is the DPR what is the song Afgan?*" and the declarative sentence on "*how come it is sadistic*". In the interrogative sentence, in addition to the question mark the question word 'what' also emphasizes that the sentence is an interrogative sentence. Just as a question must ask for an answer, but the sentence above does not ask for an answer because the sentence is rhetorical, this can be seen from the declarative sentence that follows it so that it can be concluded that the two sentences above when

combined are a declarative sentence that "borrows" the structure of the interrogative sentence to give a "dramatic" impression to the sentence that is satire.

The sentence of criticism is full of innuendo to the government. The sentence of criticism has a meaning, that is, the draft policy to be made does not satisfy the hearts of the people. Their annoyance to the power-eaters can be clearly seen from both sentences. The disappointment is wrapped in a euphemist style, giving rise to an interesting sentence of criticism but still has the meaning of innuendo or protest in it.

2.



“Mahalnya SkinCAREKU TAK SEMAHAL HARGA NKRIKU”
 “The high price of my skincare is not as expensive as my NKRI price”

The above sentence of criticism uses the rhetorical style of euphemism or the smoothing of meaning. This can be seen from the diction used so as to form a series of sentences of a subtly criticizing or satirical nature. The protesters used a word closely related to their daily lives in criticizing the government. The use of the word *skincare* which means medicines for skin care is deliberate to smoothen the innuendo. The word *skincare* is very identic with women, as it is known that women are creatures who pay attention to their visuals or beauty so they strive to do various kinds of treatments, including treatments using skincare. The care of skincare users today, is no longer cheap, even hundreds of millions of rupiah. The word *skincare* is one of the things that is now very close to the lives of today's younger generation, especially female students. Referring to this, this *skincare* refers to women so this sentence is a sentence of innuendo issued by women to the government.

Actually, the meaning of this sentence is a satire to the government that the policies that have been issued by the government have greatly harmed the Indonesian people, to women, especially female students who take care of their beauty so much that they spend a lot of money and usually do not want to be hot, are now willing to participate in demonstrating in the hot sun which could damage the performance of their expensive skincare. Women realize that the price of their skincare, which may be worth hundreds of millions of rupiah, will not be comparable to the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia.

3.



“Rambo salah apa? KUHP pasal 278”
 “What's Rambo wrong? Criminal Code article 278”



One of the contents of the Criminal Code, article 278, which deals with poultry and farm animals that damage the garden. The article reads "any person who allows poultry or his livestock to walk in a garden or land that has been sown with seeds or crops belonging to others". This article was also criticized by students who demonstrated in 2019. This article is considered unfair to the breeders. The protesters considered that this article only benefited the landowner, while the farmers had to bear huge losses even if the damage was caused by the farmer's livestock.

The criticism is wrapped in a phrase of criticism in the rhetorical style of euphemism, that is, the smoothing of meaning. To represent the breeders, students have *Rambo's* diction. Rambo is a farm animal in the form of a rooster from the animated character of the series "Upin and Ipin" from Jiran, Malaysia. This animated series is one of the favorite shows of the Indonesian people, especially for children. Every day, this series appears on one of the private TV channels in Indonesia, so that the characters in the animation are known to almost all circles. Rambo, who is an animated character in the form of a rooster, is a chicken figure who is like a rooster, who is brave, tough, and difficult to manage. In upin and Ipin's animation, this unruly character is what sometimes causes problems, but the problem is finally solved by the human character because Rambo is considered only as a livestock animal. This unruly character is what students use as a reason to make Rambo's character a representative of the breeders.

In addition to the diction of 'Rambo', the above sentence of criticism is made in the form of rhetorical sentences. Through this rhetorical criticism sentence, students seem to want to make the government aware that livestock owners cannot be completely blamed in cases of damage to other people's land, even if the destroyer is the farmer's livestock. The government wants to be made aware by students, that even if farm animals are farmed or taken care of, they are still said to be animals, meaning that living things are not sensible so that their behavior is sometimes beyond the control of the owner.

Students want there to be a deeper study related to the article 278 policy, because if it is enforced, the fines that must be received by breeders in Indonesia are not small. Moreover, breeders in Indonesia Are mostly people with a lower middle economy. Students again use words or diction and sentence styles that are very close to their daily lives in criticizing the government or DPR.

- b. Disfemisme
 - 1.



“DPR DEWAN PEMERKOSA RAKYAT
“DPR People's Rape Council”

In addition to the rhetorical style of euphemism, there is also a rhetorical style of dysphemism or the roughing of meaning in the sentences of student criticism. Like the data above, students use the abbreviation DPR (House of Representatives) as material for wordplay. The word Representative was replaced with the word Rape which means the person who committed the act of raping. Rape is one of the major criminal acts in Indonesia, so the word rape is one of the words that means rude in Indonesian.

In this case, given the policies that have been issued by the government, the demonstrators consider that the government has committed major acts of misconduct against the people, especially for the DPR. DPR is a council that acts as a representative figure of the Indonesian people. They occupy positions thanks to the support of the people, so it is appropriate for them to make policies that put the interests of the people first. But now, the policies issued are considered no longer in favor of the people. The Criminal Code Bill and the KPK Law should be used as

regulations that can benefit the Indonesian people instead of just certain groups. The DPR is actually considered a group that oppresses and criminalizes minorities.

2.



“HUTAN DIBAKAR KPK YANG DIPADAMKAN”
 “Forests Burned, KPK Extinguished”

In the criticism sentence above, students criticized the existence of the KPK Law. The forest burn *clause* is actually a satire sentence to the government regarding forest fire cases that occur in several regions in Indonesia, especially those that occur in Kalimantan. Actually, these forests were accidentally burned, but the forests were burned due to illegal and massive logging which eventually caused natural disasters such as landslides or thick smog. This problem has become a perennial issue in Indonesia, but the government is considered not to have taken decisive steps in dealing with it.

This is sad because the DPR took decisive steps in minimizing the authority and independence of the KPK instead of overcoming the problem of forest fires. In the new KPK law, many rules are actually considered to cut off the sharpness and function of the DPR itself. The *KPK clause is extinguished* as a sentence that contains a sense of disappointment. The KPK is a corruption institution in Indonesia; there have been many corruption cases that have been successfully dismantled by the KPK since its establishment in 2003. However, it is because of this that some dark groups in Indonesia consider that this institution actually threatens their existence. People or groups who intend to illegally control the state's finances feel cornered so it is alleged that they are the ones who incite the representatives of the people to make unfair policies.

In the opinion of students, compared to having to revise the KPK Law, there is another more urgent thing, namely the handling of forest fires. The forest *clause being burned* gives the impression that the forest was burned by the government, but the DPR actually extinguished the performance of the KPK.

3.



“TELAH MENINGGAL AKAL SEHAR PARA WAKIL RAKYAT”
 “HAS DIED THE COMMON SENSE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES”

The sentence of criticism indicates the presence of a rhetorical style of subsequent dysphemism. Dysphemism is characterized by fragments of *common sense deceased* clauses referring to members of the House. The word died has the meaning of dying or returning to God, meaning that this word refers to every animate being, but this sentence actually refers to the common sense that belongs to the representatives of the Indonesian people who sit in the DPR seat. When viewed from the type, the above sentence belongs to the declarative sentence type.



The above sentence is in the form of a declaration from students that the thoughts possessed by the members of the council of people's representatives that are the basis for the issuance of the draft law policy are very unreasonable. The existence of inequality and marginality of certain groups makes the policy unfit for passage.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the study, it was found that the rhetorical style contained in the sentences of criticism of the demonstrators in the Action to Reject the Criminal Code Bill and the Revision of the KPK Law are divided into two types, namely the rhetorical style euphemisms and rhetorical styles of dysphemism. The rhetorical style of euphemism is a rhetorical style in the form of smoothing out meaning; this is characterized by dictions that are satirical but still polite in the sentences of student criticism on demonstration banners. While the rhetorical style of dysphemism is a rhetorical style that is in the form of an appropriation of meaning, it is characterized by satirical dictions but very harsh use. Both rhetorical styles contained in student criticism sentences use words from those they are used to in everyday life. These words also seem to be deliberate in order to create a sense of humor in the student's screaming sentences.

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