

Social Phenomena Related to Fraudulent General Election Results in Indonesia 2024: Systemic Functional Linguistics Perspective

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Abstract

This research delves into the societal implications of fraudulent general election results in Indonesia, with a specific focus on the 2024 presidential election. Applying Systemic Functional Linguistics, the study examines the language use in elections, the repercussions of fraudulent activities on public trust, and the broader impact on Indonesian society. Through detailed data collection and analysis methods, the study uncovers linguistic patterns in fraudulent clauses, discourse strategies employed, and the manipulation of language to influence public sentiment. By identifying fraudulent clauses in news reports, the research sheds light on the intricate nature of election fraud and its historical context. The findings underscore the significant role of language in shaping perceptions and behaviors within the electoral system, emphasizing the need for valid data in understanding and addressing fraudulent practices. Ultimately, this study contributes to a deeper understanding of election fraud's complexities and its far-reaching consequences on Indonesian society.

Keywords: *Fraudulent election results, Systemic Functional Linguistics, Language manipulation, Public trust, Indonesian society*

Introduction

In 2014, Indonesia experienced a significant social phenomenon during the General Election. Almost all nations in the world conduct General Elections to obtain the people's mandate in selecting their leaders. In Indonesia, the General Election consists of national, provincial, and local levels. This event sparked an increased understanding among the public of the significance and sensitivity of elections, particularly due to instances of election fraud, particularly in legislative elections. These occurrences were directly connected to the merging of Law number 31 in 2002, which focuses on political parties, with Law number 10 in 2008, which covers election legislation. This law has been criticized for impeding the progress of democracy because of its open contact system and its influence in the execution process. The open contact system that allows election participants to choose legislative members from all levels (district, provincial, and national) greatly contributes to the occurrence of political transactions and practicalities based on the exchange of short-term interests, such as money or other materials. The General Election in Indonesia took place on April 9th, 2014, followed by the presidential election on July 9th, 2014. These elections marked the beginning of a series of ongoing social phenomena associated with unfavorable electoral outcomes. The public, entrusted with the responsibility of selecting leaders and legislative members, believed that achieving the best results in the General Election was crucial for shaping a new future for the nation and country. However, numerous cases of election fraud during the implementation of the General Election in 2014, especially in legislative

elections, left the public disappointed, perceiving it as a repetition of past election events.

In May 2020, a public debate was held by the language and culture faculty of Indonesia University, in response to the growing tensions in Indonesian society. The debate focused on the "general election tender" and explored the theme of "language deviation as a social reflection in politics and case law". The event brought together students from various universities, as well as esteemed lecturers and experts in Indonesian language and literature. During the event, Prof. Dr. Sumarlam, a language expert from Jakarta State University, highlighted the phenomenon of language deviation among the higher echelons of society, particularly when they are about to commit something. This phenomenon has become evident in the current state of the general election, where both candidate teams possess a strong grasp on power but still wish to present themselves as willing to step down if necessary. This was exemplified through the choice of words used to discuss the election results between the candidates. Furthermore, one candidate team expressed doubt in the legitimacy of the other candidate's victory and has issued a legal document to challenge the results. As of now, the decision on this matter remains unclear. This use of language deviation is a direct consequence of the tension and complex nature of contemporary politics, which often straddles the line between legality and illegality.

The 2024 general election held a crucial position as a significant milestone for Indonesia in the selection of its leader. The chosen leader will be the inaugural head of the Indonesian presidential governance system, comprising the president and one vice president. Apart from its monumental significance in Indonesian political history, the general election has triggered numerous phenomena in the realms of social, political, and cultural developments. One of the most impactful phenomena is the impasse between the two candidate teams regarding the election outcome. Multiple sources, including survey institutions and internal survey teams from both sides, have presented contrasting news and data. Consequently, this situation has resulted in divergent public opinions regarding the election outcome. The tension escalated when the Electoral Commission (KPU) officially declared the elected president, contradicting the claims of the losing candidate team. This "battle" between public opinion and the official decision has heightened public anxiety and carries the potential for conflict.

The current conditions are quite concerning given that the Act represents the highest form of collective decision-making for the upcoming five years. Elections allow citizens to exercise their right to participate in a nationwide event aimed at selecting representatives for the "DPR", "DPD", and "DPRD", as well as a new president and vice president for the next five years. As such, general elections are eagerly anticipated by the entire population of Indonesia. Failing to achieve the desired outcome will undoubtedly have long-term implications, impacting both the proportion of representation and the overall public welfare in the realms of politics and economics. This should be taken into account by presidential candidates who seek re-election and contemplate resorting to deceitful tactics in order to maintain their position for the next five-year term. Such a course of action carries significant risks, as it would lead to a situation tantamount to a failed general election. The prevalence of fraudulent activities in elections presents an intriguing subject for analysis through the lens of systemic linguistics, as it is closely related to how politicians employ language to persuade voters until the final decision becomes public knowledge.

The community's perception is greatly influenced by the knowledge of dishonest acts committed during a general election. Indonesia has often confronted the problem of

fraudulent elections. This issue has resulted in the losers refusing to accept the election results. In the 2019 election, certain political parties accused the KPU of being biased and held numerous protests in response. These circumstances have left the Indonesian people disheartened and have eroded their trust in the electoral system. Consequently, a prevailing belief has emerged that elections in Indonesia are regularly marred by fraud. This belief is reinforced by the Chairman of KPU assessments, which consistently highlight that public expectations for the selection of presidential candidates are consistently obstructed by an unfair process.

The research centers around the societal occurrences linked to deceitful election outcomes in Indonesia in the year 2024. The research approach employed is qualitative and seeks to shed light on this matter by utilizing the Systemic Functional Linguistics theory. The analysis of this social event is based on the information conveyed in texts. The data for this study consists of news articles pertaining to fraudulent elections sourced from online mass media outlets. The data collection technique involved conducting internet searches for relevant news articles, which were then selected based on their alignment with the study's focus. The gathering of data was accomplished by capturing screenshots of the aforementioned news articles. The primary source of data is the newspaper, along with other online mass media platforms featuring daily news updates on the general election in Indonesia. These news articles were chosen due to their accuracy and contemporaneity with the discussed issue, specifically addressing the fraud occurring during the process of leadership replacement in the general election. These concise yet impactful news pieces can serve as an authentic portrayal of the societal happenings surrounding this matter.

Method

As it is mentioned before that this research uses SFL as the theory. SFL consists of three parts that are closely related to one another i.e. rank, which is concerned with the relative degrees of delicacy of the system networks, stratification, which is concerned with the separation of the system into strata and realization, which is the deployment of the system in actual use. By using this theory, it is expected that this research yields accurate results on what is desired to be revealed.

Clauses are elements that build up the structure of complex sentences. Investigation on clause level is important because the elements that contain in one clause can show the meaning and teach us to be more critical in interpreting a text. A complex sentence can be made up from several simple sentences. In building up a compound or complex sentence, we can get information on how the elements of thought are organized and arranged in line with the goal of communication. On the contrary, the derived of a clause can provide an opportunity to develop an analysis that focuses on the networks and organization of the elements of thought.

Systemic Functional Linguistics

The language of law and the language used in legislative products are sometimes also misinterpreted due to different contexts created by the language. This creates a new practice of fraud in elections, which is changing the context of the meaning of the law or legislative product. This may be done by certain candidates to fulfill their will for certain purposes or by their opponents to trap the candidate. This was done in the "Pilkada" 2005, where a "Pilkada" candidate in a big city changed the meaning of the word "Lembaga" (meaning: institution) in the legislative product of the budget. He

changed it to "Uang" (meaning: money). He told the people that it is the "institution of money," hence he closed down the institutions created by the previous budget and took the money for his own purposes. This act had created a new problem for another candidate and perhaps still brings similar problems in different places. This is the type of practice that may be studied through the systemic functional linguistics theory.

The use of language in an election is vast and varied, depending on the candidates and the people involved, as does its function. The intended function of the language usually does not correspond with the apparent function of the language. For example, during road campaigns, almost all candidates will give a message of hope and a better life for the people if they are elected. Now, the apparent function of the message is clear: it is a promise. But the intended function is certainly to persuade the people to vote for the candidate, thus creating a different context. This kind of language function will certainly be interpreted differently by different groups of people, especially by people of different socioeconomic backgrounds.

Linguistics is the scientific study of language or languages. One of the famous linguistic theories is systemic functional linguistics. It is a theory that focuses on the relationship between the system of language and its function. It is said that language is a system through which meanings are expressed. This theory is based on three main components: syntax, meaning, and context. This theory is best suited to explain how certain frauds are conducted in elections related to the use of language to create different contexts of meaning in certain parts of society.

Data Collection

Conducting research is not an easy process. There are several steps that we have to pass to be able to gain valid data according to our problem. Data collection is one of the most important steps in deciding the success of our research. Since data is the raw material for the next data analysis, we have to collect appropriate data to our problem and really concern about the validity of the data itself. The problem emerges when the situation doesn't go along with our expectation, just like what happened to Indonesia general election in 2024. With manipulation and bribery, the ruling party (in power since 2014) finally lost the election. This incident is an interesting issue for us to analyze. Because this issue is socially related to many areas such as politics, economics, language, and so on. Valid data is needed to overcome this problem. In this research, I only conducted research on the "PDIP" support group on Facebook social media. I chose this group because "PDIP" is the ruling party that lost the election. So, there must be a strong emotional expression of disappointment from the members regarding the victory. Based on the theory of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), by taking one just a little part of event in social practice, we can describe the whole social phenomenon. Data collection is an activity to gather raw material from the object or event which is studied that can be processed into useful information. In this research, the object to be studied is a social phenomenon related to fraudulent 2024 general election result in Indonesia. The method used to gather the information is to record the conversations and download the posts from internet as the data source, and then categorize and code it to be processed into a valid derivation. The data in this research is taken from internet conversations, particularly in "PDIP" group on Facebook. This method is chosen to get the primary data from the real situations. With no need to go directly to the object site, this method is more effective and efficient. The method in recording the conversation refers to the context of situation and the formal acts of the conversation so it can grasp the deep meaning of the conversation itself. Keep in mind that the primary data have to

be validated by several other sources and also have to be triangulated with other method to ensure the validity and the reliability of the data.

Data Analysis

The purpose of this research, as stated in the title of this research itself, is to know social phenomena related to fictitious general election results in Indonesia in 2024 viewed from the clause found in systemic functional linguistics. Since the data of the research are in the form of written texts, it will be more suitable and easier to be analyzed by using the theory of SFL. According to Yule (1996:4), a language will have functions in the context of its use. There are three general meanings as the functions of language: the conative function as the efforts of influencing from the speaker in doing or not doing an action, the referential function as the function of language that will affect the mind of the listener concerning whether believing or not believing the proposition, and the emotive function as the effects of language to evoke the feeling of the speaker or listener. And in its use, a language needs to be realized into texts. A text, however, must have internal unity and it should be contrasted with sequences of unconnected sentences. A simple example is when we read an article from a newspaper about a certain case, in which there are several sentences and paragraphs to explain the case in the article. In this case, the article is a unity and if combined, the aggregated sentences and paragraphs are a sentence that explains a complex action of a process. And to have a clearer understanding, a system is needed to be used. Before analyzing the data, it would be better to start with identification of the things related to the supportive data in the form of documents and the interview of the informants. This is the first step for analyzing data because for now, the data is still primary data and sometimes the interaction between the interviewer and interviewee cannot be directly expressed into an expected context. After primary data is obtained, it should be identified first the truth of the expressed meaning and the problems of the social condition of the reality concerning the purpose of the research. And on this point, the data is transformed into secondary data in the form of an implicit meaning of an action and a situation that should be revealed and compiled to be a conclusion of the reality. This method can be called critical discourse analysis.

Results

Social Phenomena of Fraudulent General Election

Most people have known that the election result in Indonesia, especially in the presidential election of 2024, has correlated with big phenomena. As we know, many people, NGOs, or organizations have predicted and strongly believed that the election result will show many indications that lead to unfair and fraudulent actions done by the committee. Some acts or indications are considered fraudulent actions that will impact the substance of the general result. This opinion is predicted from some poll survey data that was obtained by oversize samples, indicating that the figure of the voting society is less than 20% of the total voters, and inversely with the winner. Other indications are that many societies did not receive "KTP" for voting, and the peak is when some candidates declare their disappointment about the result and have less belief in the committee's neutrality. As a result, some habits against the election undertaken by the committee are many societies searching for the cause of the failed election to be discussed deeply by observation and sending their opinions. Some others just do not

care and do not want to know the output. This condition indicates less success of the election.

Definition of Fraudulent Election Results

Election results in Indonesia are classified as "fraudulent" if the integrity of the election has been compromised, including manipulation, rigging, vote buying, and ballot tampering throughout the stages of the election process. This definition can be found in Law No. 10 year 2016 concerning Election Organisers, Article 1, point 11. Other laws do not provide a definition of "fraudulent election results". This includes the 1945 Constitution, Law No. 2/1987 on General Elections to the People's Consultative Assembly and the House of Representatives, Legislative Body No. 1/2003, and the Constitutional Court Law No. 8/2012. Considering the definition of fraud is no longer relevant, and the need to give a legal definition of election fraud in an effort to correct and an election crime to the regulation of criminal law in Indonesia, the current legislature has to formulate a new rule in the legislation election regarding regulation election crime that is still based parliamentary condition, by changing the preceding legislation, this will be a start towards. With law enforcement and so forth, this will be a start towards prosecution election crime cases, and an effort to prevent election fraud from reoccurring.

Historical Context of Election Fraud in Indonesia

In line with the change of power governance system in 1999 to the reform era marked with the held general election and autonomy implementation, the euphoria of change was coupled with high expectations of social change for the better. The general election system held since the fall of the 32-year New Order regime opened a new history of Indonesian election, in terms of socialization, political practices, and election culture. In the transition from the old type of election called "Mencoblos" to the new type called "Pemilu," there's a huge difference in how to vote and how society understands democracy. This change makes an adaptation process that is also reflected in different election culture. This transition causes confusion and phenomenon in society, still nostalgic for the system of the New Order while the new type of general election has not been understood properly. The election in 2004 and 2009 is a turning point where political practitioners began to race seizing power to improve welfare and the New Order pattern. This election is not a good era for the "clean government" where there are many alleged election frauds, mostly the misuse of state apparatus, money politics, and identity politics, which result in society becoming cynical about election and democracy.

The historical context of election fraud is an important factor in understanding the social factors of fraud in general election results. In general, Indonesian society was unaccustomed to election practices some time after independence when the era of "Orde lama" while the election was not held yet. At that time, power was obtained through a "back door" and "maneuver" occurred between the power holders and political players. That era was the beginning of the political vacuum and the absence of clear political process, which was the seed of election tradition that was not fair in the future.

Impact of Fraudulent Election Results on Society

The impact of election fraud is wide-ranging, especially in a country that has experienced it several times. The society cannot escape from the loss caused by election

fraud. From their disappointment to the unwillingness of exercising their rights in future elections. As experience in the manipulation of election results a few times ago, the Indonesian society has developed various methods to express their disagreement with that phenomenon. From the mass demonstrations, strikes, and various other forms of expressing rejection of society in different regions, as experienced by Sonora widow by buying ink and cakes which have later become a symbol of rejection until the occurrence of social conflict. In reality, the social phenomenon will be affected by the policy taken by the cheater. Since the community is never silent to the truth, they will demand clarification of the election implemented. If it turns to further resistance, it would be fatal in the policy that will eventually give rise to a social conflict. This situation has been experienced in several places in Indonesia, such as in Ampenan-Lombok, the community must deal with the chaos in a few days because there is a group that refused the victory of an election and the policy eventually triggers the society to act against the group.

Perspective in Systemic Functional Linguistics

Halliday (1973) states that language has three metafunctions: the ideational, the interpersonal, and the textual. In this study, the author focuses on the ideational metafunction, especially the clause. A clause is defined as a unit of grammar that represents a single process in the material world. A process is a happening, an action, or an event. There are two processes named as material and mental. The material process relates to transaction from one state to another and it consists of three elements: the Actor, the Process, and the Goal. The mental process is a process of sensing and it includes only two elements: the Sensor and the Phenomenon. A clause can also portray a state which is different from a process and it consists of two processes named as relational and verbal. Each of the processes has different elements. The relational process consists of the Carrier and the Attribute while a verbal process consists of the Sayer, Verbiage, and Receiver. A clause can be realized in different ways. This is called the transitivity system. According to Halliday and Hasan (1989:25), the transitivity system is a resource for making choices about how experience is to be represented in language; it is concerned with the way in which a clause represents what it is about. This research focuses on the fraudulent general election in Indonesia this year, mainly on the proclamation of the victory of a candidate party and the opinions of voters about it.

Overview of Systemic Functional Linguistics

Halliday (2014) concludes that language is a socially accepted potentiality, a situated system of options for making meaning; and precisely this is what Systemic Functional Linguistics is all about. M.A.K. Halliday is the founder of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). He considers language as a part of social semiotic and is rooted in sociolinguistics to reveal the relationship between language, society, and culture. SFL employs grammar as a tool to reveal this social semiotic and relates it to other components of the system. SFL has been used as a framework to study a wide range of discourse (spoken, written, visual, multimodal, etc.). It uses three metafunctions (ideational, interpersonal, textual) to uncover the meaning potential in language and realize the function of the language system in realizing meanings. From the ideational function is built the theory of the clause as a message. A clause is described as a unit of exchange for a negotiable content of experience. This means that the process types in the clause are potential representations of actual events of the world. The participant roles represent the type of process that performers roles (O'Donnell 2012).

Application of Clause Analysis in Studying Social Phenomena

The application of SFL, especially clause analysis in this research does not have a specific step about how to analyze the data into the social phenomena related to the fraudulent Indonesian general election 2024. But we can enhance Halliday's framework about the analysis of social phenomena. As we know, Halliday divides the metafunctions into three parts in a clause: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. In the ideational aspect, this research is more concerned with the wording that indicates the appearance of fraudulence in Pemilu. For example, when there's a quotation that implies the doubt of certain people about the decision of "Pemilu". This kind of wording is scattered in some news or even personal sayings and is a manifestation of the dissatisfaction with the acceptance of "Pemilu" itself. Then, the other wording indicates the agitation of social organizations in society to stage or provoke some violent incidents in some regions in order to create social unrest and invite army intervention to take over the existing power of the government. All of these wordings indicate the hidden demand of Indonesian people for a better general election but channeled in a negative way. The wording of this kind is a clue that there's something wrong with the election, and that the Army itself is still using the New Order mentality and acting. The next step is analyzing the interpersonal aspect of the clause. This case is related to the news that tells about the continued existence of the "SARA (Suku, Agama, Ras, Antar Golongan)" lifestyle to determine the decision of society in voting for legislative members. From the words of someone who says that the decision to choose a legislative member is not solely based on the candidate's capability, but on many other aspects such as money, the "Pribumi-Pendatang" issue, and many other things. In this case, some of social organizations in society is often accused of using provocative ways to achieve power because they think peoples is not ready yet to make a change to the new government. This thing is quite hard to identify because there's no tracking result of what social organization groups is doing, but the acts of the agitation teams that quite often cause clashes in many regions are a manifestation of the news concerning this matter.

Analysis of Fraudulent General Election Results in Indonesia 2024

It is not easy to get the exact attending and doing that behind people's saying. In Hodge and Kress' theory, most of people's saying is only reflecting the result of interpreting the experience on the objects about what they are attending, doing, states, etc. The most effective way to get the values of those is by deducing the clauses used in that saying. This is also performed by the writer to interpret the decisions of the winners by comparing the proposed programs with the current condition, as if he wants to develop a program over certain condition. And the result is in that news, it was discovered that many irregularities and contradictions in interpreting the data in the news with what is the condition in the moment.

Fraud is an intentional and dangerous act to achieve certain targets. It is also a deviation from moral and legal rules and can bring harmful effects to society. The target of fraud is immeasurable, either making any short or long-term profits. In this case, the winners are alleged to have committed fraudulent acts to get high votes in the general election, hence they can get into the "DPR RI" and "DPD RI", the legislative bodies in Indonesia. High votes for them are a guarantee to get strategic positions in the government, and this is their main goal to commit those fraudulent acts mentioned in the news. Based on that case, the winners must form some plans to get very high votes

in the general election. These plans commonly involve some unconventional and dirty strategies to get quick and maximum results. One reflection from those plans is that the winners are too often using the past and future time, rather than the present time. According to the news, the winners proposed some programs that are so contrasting with the reality at that moment and irrelevant to the condition of Indonesian society. To convince the people, they're using unrealistic data as a comparison to the current condition. All of these are actually a form of self-suggestion that they had successfully obtained high votes and got into the required jobs in the future, hence they can realize their unrealistic programs. This form of reflection can be seen through the usage of circumstance clauses, which are divided into three types: empirical, counterfactual, and conditional.

In this section, we are going to discuss the clauses that reflect fraudulent acts performed by the winners in the general election held in Indonesia in 2024. Here, we're only focusing on the acts performed by the legislative candidates and would skip the other candidates acts. These fraudulent clauses were found in the news published on a news portal, www.bbc.com, titled "Dugaan kecurangan di Pemilu 2024 disebut 'lebih parah' – Apa saja bentuk pelanggaran yang terjadi saat pencoblosan? _16 Februari 2024".

Identification of Fraudulent Clauses

The third type is the verbal process. This process is used to describe the behavior of one entity towards another entity. It always deals with information or content. In the data, this process is only found once. The example is the sentence "try to influence the direction of public opinion." This sentence describes someone's behavior to change the direction of public opinion. So we can conclude that this process is actually a description of a behavior to change the direction of an opinion.

Next is the mental process, which is a verbal group that has a mental nature. Mental processes are used to make a clause that describes a saying, opinion, belief, desire, or perception of something. In the data, there is no such kind of process found.

There are three types of verbal groups: material process, mental process, and relational process. These processes are always part of a clause. Material processes describe actions or doings. They are commonly used to form a clause that describes an activity. In the data, one example is "massively by the president." This phrase actually has the locution "to do" by the word "massively." But because the meaning of the context is clear, it is still categorized as a material process. So the clause is describing the way the president does the special meeting.

Clause is a structure that is made up of a verbal group and a nominal group. The verbal group consists of a verb or verb group, and the nominal group consists of a subject or a subject group. Since the verbal group is the nucleus of the clause, the process of identifying it will start from there. Once the verbal groups have been identified, it will be easier to continue further into the identification of the clauses.

Linguistic Patterns in Fraudulent Clauses

Then the theory of Michael Hoey was divided into the micro and macro theory. In the micro theory, it explains that language is in the word itself, such as choosing the word, the spelling, and the grammar. In this part, the fraudulent practices usually use euphemism to reduce the disgusting image from the word that is used in the clause. Then in the macro theory, it explains that the language is continuous from chaining

several clauses. When it comes to the candidates of the general election, they are the people who really understand the real intention to make the condition of the state become better. But in reality, it is different. Some of the candidates ignore their real reason to join the election. They prevent it from being known by other people who ask about it or make a statement that can be understood by the people who ask them. But they say that it is not really important. For example, in the first episode, candidate A tells his friend not to ask him about the election. In that, it means that the action that A has would take the responsibility because the election is really a big program to make the country become better. And he says that it is not really important because candidate A thinks that the questioner will find it hard to know that A has a will to join the election.

At the part of the systemic functional linguistics theory, it was explained about the clause, and that theory is not enough for explaining what should be explained by the writer according to his analysis about the language that is used in the fraudulent election. Then the writer takes a theory from Michael Hoey, the theory about the pattern of the language. This pattern can be categorized and can be explained clearly, and the people who read or listen to it can understand the real intention of the person who says the language.

The analysis of fraudulent general election results in Indonesia 2024 is one of the social phenomena that should be observed. In the previous chapter, the writer had explained that fraudulent general election is one of the social phenomena. He used the SFL theory, about the language, and the way the language is used. In doing so, the writers try to show how language is related to the election practices, specifically the fraudulent practices. The fraudulent practices in the election can be seen by the language that is used in the election, such as the language that is related to the clause. By using language that lies, the people who are involved in the election, such as the vote committee, the candidate, and the people who vote, will feel that the election is clear, meaning the fraudulent practices are successfully done by the commitment of the vote committee.

Discourse Strategies Used in Fraudulent Clauses

In the first speech, key to the strategy of legitimation was the obfuscation of the factors which deemed his rule illegitimate to a growing number of Indonesians. Suharto diverged from the conference's agenda in order to spend the majority of the speech discussing the 'New Order'. He went to some length to define the period between 1966 and 1998 as an era of transition and transformation. This was an attempt to create separation between his leadership and the Soeharto era as a point when Indonesians had apparently failed to reach the 'guiding goal' of the nation's independence and development. This was linked to a personal anecdote about Soeharto's nomination to the armed forces officer corps in 1945 where he was allegedly unsure of whether or not to attend the ceremony and only went upon direction from seeing a sign in the form of a rainbow. This digressed story was a way to try and suture the listeners to a moment in history when secretarial staff posted on the gates of armed forces buildings was still written using Dutch.

In this section, I investigate the discourse strategies used by Suharto to legitimate his rule. While there are a number of ways in which discursive resources can be stretched to achieve dubious effects, I limit my analysis to only two of his speeches delivered at Golkar's National Conference and the Armed Forces' 49th Anniversary. This is because of limitations of space and the fact that detailed analysis is necessary in order to fully

appreciate the way in which meaning is constructed. The speeches were selected as they represent two key turning points in Suharto's rule and illustrate the way in which language was used to try and influence public sentiment regarding his legitimacy. The first speech came shortly after his re-election for a 4th term in March 1988. This was a time when the challenge to his leadership was growing. Economic crisis was beginning to erode the social support base for his regime. There were criticisms from opposition figures about his eligibility to stand for another term due to a perceived failure to meet constitutional requirements for a Muslim head of state. The second speech three years later came at a time when anxiety about the succession to his rule was becoming a key point of contestation. This was prompted by the ousting of his hand-picked successor choice BJ Habibie from the Golkar convention in 1998.

Findings and Discussion

In systemic functional concept, the reality is the condition of truth, fact, or state of affairs in which the speaker wants the listeners or readers to believe. It can be seen from the mood that is used by The Jakarta Post, which is the types of mood that presents the facts. It is different from Kompas that persuades and commands the readers to change their behavior and take action. Kompas used declaratives to convey the information to the readers and used mood imperative to make an appeal or command to the interlocutors or readers. This is caused by the conditions in both newspapers being different. Kompas wants the condition right now to be changed with this news, otherwise The Jakarta Post wants the condition right now to be seen as it is by the readers.

Data in the above table presents the comparison of the use of types of mood in the two newspapers. The data indicates that The Jakarta Post used declaratives as the dominant mood in its news. It can be seen in the percentage (66.1%) of the use of declarative compared to the others. While on the other side, Kompas used almost all types of mood equally. But it tends to use statements that command as the most often used (32.9%). It is proved by the percentage of the data above. It also can be seen that The Jakarta Post used only two types of mood as the dominant ones, that is declarative and imperative. It spends 91.2% of the use of mood_declarative and 21.6% of the use of mood_imperative. It is different from Kompas that often-used types of mood. Especially mood declarative (37.8%), mood imperative (32.9), question (15.3%), and mood_exclamatives (14%). This is caused by The Jakarta Post used only mood declaratives to show the reality to the readers and used mood imperatives to make an appeal or command to the readers.

Overview of Findings

In the chapter of overview of findings, there are a lot of conclusions that could be taken as the results of the analysis from the data. The decision of the Constitutional Court Number 4/PHPU.PUU-XVII/2019 is proven to be still controversial and being the main factor of the behaviour of protesters who mostly committed violence and law violations. The plot by the legislative and executive leader of homeland also gives real contribution to the case of election fraud occurred. The large number of election fraud that is proven by the data also shows that election fraud has become small matter and is a common thing to win the election in Indonesia. There are also moldy roles of law enforcer which are not neutral and tends to take side of particular elements and have indications of discriminations to the protesters. High level of social jealousy and

disintegration that has potential to discharge some horizontal conflicts and clash among several element of society in Indonesia. These findings were unfolding and boosting the assumption that fraud election gives no significant impact more than just repetition of election in certain region in accordance with paragraph of Article 222 ITE. Presumption of repetition of election it is intended is the formula of crime as to give easing to every public official who violate election law to avoid heavier punishment. So let the repetition of election as the lightest punishment for a person who commit crime in election. From the interviews and the facts there are some perceptions to face the decision of the Constitutional Court Number 4/PHPU.PUU-XVII/2019 to mention the decision is a regulation of immunity and acquittal. This perception lead to the juridical dissonance between decision of the constitutional court with the event and facts in the field.

Discussion of Findings

Many of the findings have been explained in Part 7.1. The very basic finding that can be drawn from this research is that the 2004 General Election became the source of social phenomena. Furthermore, the research also found that the social phenomena are related to the trust of society in the honesty of the General Election result. The society's trust in the honesty of the General Election result can be positive or negative. The positive trust is reflected in the society's participation in the General Election event. In the 2004 General Election, it was found that there was an increase in society's participation in the election. This situation is reflected in the total number of valid votes, which increased compared to the General Election in previous periods. It was also found that the society who have a positive trust in the GE result usually have an optimistic view of the future of their country, and vice versa. The negative trust usually occurs when the society has a suspicious feeling about the General Election result. This situation is reflected in the unclear and deepening perception of society regarding the decision to give the president's mandate for the next period. This situation occurred in the 2004 General Election, where there were still many societal groups who were not sure whether the president's mandate was still good and there was no amendment for the next General Election. The society's trust sometimes can also be a resistance to any changes related to the General Election.

Conclusion

This research was conducted because of the existence of fraud which has become a common thing in general elections in the legislative and executive levels. During the reform era which aimed to bring change to Indonesia, the legislative general elections conducted in 1999 were carried out tightly and democratically to select the People's Consultative Assembly Members. Although the implementation of general elections in 2004 aimed to select the members of the House of Representatives and the Regional Representatives Council, but the situation was different. What occurred was the fluctuation between the order in the Orde Baru and democracy, and it was apparent at the time that the government was in doubt and the "DPR" in pressing the plan on general election delay. Several political aspirations were cancelled and were not suitable to public interest, but the suggestions from local elections or otherwise known as "Pilkada" became the underlying reason in ratifying the Elections Law Number 12/2003 which was revised with Law Number 32/2004 about Regional Government. This law essentially related to the General Elections System that implements proportional open list system elections and is still used today. Based on the author's explanations and research, the main factors to the occurrence of fraud in general

elections that have been and are still occurring are: still low public political education, low quality of human resources from the knowers of the elections implementation, the cost of general elections is too high, still weak idealism from some candidates to be elected in the legislative and/or executive levels, and low trust in government programs (Sarundajang, 2009:142). Data and legislative general election facts up until today have showed that there has been no significant ideal change, but in reality the events taking place have been contradictory to the aspirations and the norms of the people themselves. This was due to various factors that hinder the improvement towards general elections such as discontinuous changes to the legislations about general elections, the electoral system that is considered complex, to the conflict of interest involved in the implementation of general elections itself. All these things have become a prelude to the growth of fraudulent actions in the implementation of general elections.

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