

The manifestation of privilege: A critical discourse analysis of the Indonesian circular letter on health protocols for international travel

Naomi Halida Kintani¹, Susana Widyastuti^{1*}

¹Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, Indonesia

*Corresponding Author. Email: susana_widyastuti@uny.ac.id

Abstract

Taking the principles of critical discourse analysis favoring issues on unequal power relations, this discourse study attempts to disclose the manifestation of privilege in government regulations. To do so, it combines the principles of Systemic Functional Grammar and CDA by explicating the results of transitivity analysis on the legal text within relevant socio-political context. The data were the clauses in Circular Letter No. 26/2021 enacted by the Indonesian government on Health Protocols for International Travel during the COVID-19 Pandemic. The results show that, in terms of transitivity, the circular letter includes material, relational, verbal, and mental process, which serve to show the details on health protocols to be adhered by travelers, to describe the criteria of travelers who are given special provisions and of the countries being temporarily banned from entering Indonesia, to report the health condition of travelers, and to show the need of medical assistance. The material and relational processes demonstrate the form of privileges, namely dispensation from quarantine implementation and the exemption from Indonesia travel restriction. The relational process shows the particular privileged groups, including the state officials, delegates of economic cooperation, and well-known figures. It is embedded in the circular letter that what are deemed beneficial for the political elites and the country's economic are somehow not in line with the public interest.

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INTRODUCTION

Linguistic and social context constructs meaning and helps readers interpret ambiguous text and reveal hidden agenda in a text (Nordquist, 2020). Understanding the context also needs to look at the particular historical situation in which the text is constructed (Dremel, 2014). Moreover, Wiebe, Hirst, and Horton (1996) propose participatory context which deals with a particular intention or purpose of the speaker and writer in producing texts for the hearer or reader. Morley (2000) explains that language users undergo a selection of actual options when using language on any certain occasion by which the options made can represent what the user is meaning. Subsequently, the choices of meaning which language user selects bring out meaningful texts that contain the goals and motives of text producers. People construct the abstract concept of particular objects or subjects in mind and put those things into concrete utterance or writing using various options through language. Texts are thus not unconsciously produced without any intention but there are certain purposes inculcated in the production. The process of making text involves the act of inserting ideas, thoughts, interests, or ideologies for particular persons or groups.

In linguistics, the use of language for certain purposes is known as discourse. Discourse applies to any languages that are used whether spoken or written for any purposes. Similarly,

discourse is the way language used in certain pattern to particular social situations such as newspaper discourse, medical discourse, classroom discourse, or advertisement discourse (Fairclough, 1992). In addition, Van Dijk (1993) asserts that discourse plays a significant role in performing social power by powerful groups which resulting social inequalities. So, texts are in fact not value-free but rather ideologically constructed. This is in accordance with Padilla and Vana (2019) who states that ideologies are manifested in discourse (text and talks). Van Dijk (2006) also believes that ideologies are obtained, asserted, and reproduced in society, mainly in the forms of texts and talks.

To reveal the relationship between discourse and power in texts is a complex matter and combining the textual analysis through SFL's transitivity and Fairclough's three dimensions concept of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can be fruitful. Transitivity analysis is one of the textual tools for analyzing texts originated in the theory of System Functional Linguistics (SFL) by Halliday. Morley (2000) points out that transitivity deals with content meaning and patterning. In other words, transitivity reflects the factual element of what we say or write and our expression in experiencing the phenomena of the real world through a system. The system categorizes: the people or things involved, which are labeled as participants and typically expressed by nominal group; the actions, events, and state taking place, which are labeled as process and typically expressed by verbal group; and any relevant surrounding circumstances, which are labeled as circumstance and typically expressed by adverbial or prepositional group. (Morley, 2000). Transitivity processes are divided into six different categories according to what they represent. Process of doing and happening is classified as material process; process of being and having is classified as relational process; process of sensing is classified as mental process; process of saying is classified as verbal process; process of physiological and psychological behavior is classified as behavioral process; and process of existing is classified as existential process. (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Meanwhile, circumstances serve as an elaboration of the process which encompasses Extent, Location, Manner, Cause, Contingency, Accompaniment, Role, Matter, and Angle.

Van Dijk (2001) explains that Critical Discourse Analysis is a branch of discourse analysis that principally examines how discourse in the social and political context creates or legitimates social power abuse, dominance, and inequality. In making transparency of the depiction of those issues, critical discourse analysts attempt to find linguistic structures, strategies, or any other forms of communicative means utilized in exercising them (Van Dijk, 1993). Likewise, Rogers (2004) also states that conducting CDA study can be helpful to delineate, interpret, and elucidate the relationships between language and important issues in society such as issues in the economy, national policies, and educational practices. Thus, CDA appears as a fundamental approach to uncovering linguistic realizations of power, dominance, and inequality in texts by analyzing the communicative acts which are performed by powerful parties.

CDA has been defined as a sort of discourse analytical study that is interested in the relations among power, dominance, and inequality and the way these are being produced or resisted by social group members through text and talk Van Dijk (1993). Critical discourse analysts particularly seek "what structures, strategies or other properties of text, talk, verbal interaction or communicative events" are employed in the production of power, dominance, and inequality (Van Dijk, 1993:250). Meaning to say, CDA is concerned with the ways in which linguistic structures are utilized in various formulas resulting in manipulations of power. CDA is a problem-oriented approach where it starts with identifying social problems (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Further, Fairclough and Wodak (2011) elaborate that CDA interferes on the side of dominated and oppressed groups and takes a side against dominating groups. As CDA seeks and uncovers the manifestation of social issues in relation of power through language acts, it proposes society to take corrective actions and to make a change to alleviate inequality (Toolan, 1997).

In seeing discourse as a social practice, Fairclough (1989) argues that CDA does not only deal with analyzing texts but rather analyzing the correlation between texts, processes, and context as well as their social conditions. He thus conceptualizes discourse across three interdependent dimensions where they are separately mapped into three different forms of analysis, i.e. description, interpretation, and explanation. Description is the stage of analysis that deals with formal properties of the text by which the analysis is carried out by "identifying and labeling formal features of a text

in terms of the categories of a descriptive framework” (Fairclough, 1989:26). The formal features are vocabulary, grammar, and textual structures. Each of these features has values that a text may draw upon such as experiential, relational, and expressive values. This study, specifically, applies the grammar feature embracing experiential values. This value is concerned with “the ways in which the grammatical forms of a language code happenings or relationships in the world, the people or animals or things involved in those happenings or relationships, and their spatial and temporal circumstances, manner of occurrence, and so on” (Fairclough, 1989:120).

The interpretation stage is basically based on a combination of what is in the text and what is ‘in’ the interpreter. The formal features of the text identified in the preceding stage of analysis contribute to giving a ‘cue’ which activates elements of interpreters’ interpretative producers. What is meant by interpretative producers is the background knowledge that the interpreters have. Fairclough (1989:142) argues that there are six interpretative producers: social orders; interactional history; phonology, grammar, vocabulary; semantics, pragmatics; cohesion, pragmatics; and schemata. Social orders lead to the interpretation of situational context and interactional history leads to the interpretation of intertextual context. Meanwhile, the rest relate to the interpretation of the text. To get the situational context, Fairclough proposes four questions that relate to four dimensions of the situation: what’s going on; who’s involved; what relationships are at issue; and what’s the role of language in what’s going on (Fairclough, 1989:147). For intertextual context, the analysis can be carried out by looking at what historical series that discourse and text belong to and which series of texts they also belong to.

In the explanation stage, a discourse is portrayed as a social practice showing a social process. Fairclough (1989) asserts that the analysis of this stage covers three things. The first is the ideologies of the discourse which are sourced from the interpretative producers found in the interpretation stage. The other two are the social determinants and effects. Any discourse is determined by social structures which are in the scope of power relations and also have effects that result in social struggles. Fairclough adds that these determinants and effects should be seen from the lens of three levels of social organization: situational, institutional, and societal (Fairclough, 1989:164).

The Indonesian Task Force for COVID-19 Handling is a unit specially formed by the Indonesian government in regards to the urgency of the COVID-19 pandemic. One of their tasks is providing regular updates on the health protocols in Indonesia through circular letters and changing the protocols regularly according to the current COVID-19 situation. Health protocols for international travel during the COVID-19 pandemic are likely the most frequently updated regulation. On December 14, 2021, the task force released a circular letter that announced particular groups who were free from quarantine obligation. After its issuance, it received criticism due to its controversial content which allowed quarantine-free travel for certain groups that were a cohort of elites. Surely, it provoked indignation for many people since there had been many cases of disobedience towards quarantine protocol by prominent persons in Indonesia and more importantly a new variant of COVID-19, Omicron, showed its lightning-fast spread in several countries, especially in the US. A few days later a Circular Letter Number 26 of 2021 on Health Protocols for International Travel during the COVID-19 Pandemic was released as the continuation of the previous letter which explained specifically whoever are considered as elites.

The content in the legal document issued by COVID-19 Task Force exemplifies how language is used to control inbound travelers coming to Indonesia and plays a role in exercising and legitimating inequality in society. The manifestation of unequal power relations is depicted in the circular letter. Therefore, there are at least three grounds underlining the need for language studies on Circular Letter Number 26 of 2021 on Health Protocols for International Travel during the COVID-19 Pandemic. First, the linguistic activities in the circular letter are loaded with social-power abuse by the elite. In this case, the activity of producing and distributing the circular letter is a manifestation of exercising control over international travelers who enter Indonesia. Second, the content of the circular letter depicts social inequality which draws attention and anger to some Indonesian people considering Omicron has spread significantly in other countries yet a free-quarantine is allowed for some parties. Moreover, disobeying quarantine protocol after Indonesian

travel become hot issues in Indonesia after some famous Indonesian public figures had violated the quarantine protocol. Third, the circular letter can be easily accessed and quickly shared.

It is therefore necessary to conduct CDA study to show how the act of exercising social injustice is done in order to seek awareness of this aspect of language use in society and to disclose it. CDA can help at making transparent connections between language use in the circular letter and its manifestation of power inequalities. Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA can be a fruitful theoretical and methodological orientation since its focus is on relations between discourse and other social elements of life. The first dimension involves systemic analysis of linguistic features, and the second dimension takes analysis of the production, distribution, and consumption, while the last dimension takes places at social analysis (Fairclough, 1995). To do so, this study investigates the linguistic device in the first dimension by adopting transitivity analysis.

Previous CDA studies employing transitivity have been conducted by many scholars. However, those crossing two areas of legal text and CDA using transitivity are rarely found. The work by Määttä (2017) investigating the EU law is one rare exception. His study finds that the foundations of the EU are presented by material process, which shows the outcome of the European Union's action. Some others have conducted transitivity to find out the implicit meaning in news media such as studies by Liu and Jia (2019) and Isti'anah (2014). Utilizing transitivity to observe the hidden ideology in political speech is also done by Salayo (2020) and Anggraini (2018).

This research, therefore, is expected to widen the CDA study field on legal text documents, a circular letter. This present study differs from previous works in two major ways: first, it is based on the theoretical and methodological of three-dimensional framework of CDA proposed by Fairclough (1989; 1995); second, it explores the discourse of health protocols for international travel during the pandemic. More specifically, the aim of the study is to investigate the transitivity choices present in Circular Letter Number 26 of 2021 Regarding Health Protocols for International Travel during the COVID-19 Pandemic produced by Indonesian Task Force for COVID-19 Handling in the form of the English-translated version. Through the transitivity analysis, the study seeks to understand how the text manifests relations of unequal power and how social conditions shape the content of the health protocols through the three-dimensional framework of CDA.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research was a mixed method study since this research collected qualitative data in the form of a linguistic unit of clause and involved a descriptive statistic in analyzing the data. However, this study was considered as qualitative dominant mixed method research. According to Johnson et al (2007), this type of mixed method research prominently relies on qualitative whilst simultaneously adding quantitative strands (in Schoonenboom and Johnson, 2017). The quantitative strands in this study were reflected with a statistical test, which is a frequency test. This quantitative method unfolded how the Circular letter loads the ways of construing experiences of health protocols through transitivity system. Focusing more on qualitative methods is the best way to figure out how the transitivity structures reflect the manifestation of privilege in the legal document of the Circular Letter Number 26 of 2021 on Health Protocols for International Travel. This understanding is in line with Flick (2014) who argued that qualitative approach favored in examining subjective meaning or social issues, events, or practices by analyzing texts and images.

Transitivity analysis was useful for generating detailed and rich results on how linguistic choices in clause construction can be ideological. The data were in the form of clauses in the circular letter, which employ the transitivity process. The content of the health protocols used in this study was the English version which was taken from the article published in Cabinet Secretary of the Republic of Indonesia official website on December 27, 2021. The article was entitled "COVID-19 Task Force Issues Latest Guidelines for International Travelers". Trustworthiness is achieved through theoretical and methodological triangulation by consulting relevant theories on discourse and power as well as based on detailed textual analysis. Triangulation with peers having studied the same area was also done to ensure trustworthiness.

In analyzing the data, we followed Fairclough's three stages of the analysis of CDA: description, interpretation, and explanation so as to answer the research questions. This is to say that

explanation for the answer for each research question corresponds to each stage of discourse analysis. In the description stage, we analyzed the data by describing the transitivity process, participants, and circumstantial elements. In the interpretation stage, we interpreted the transitivity analysis to reveal the representation of privilege by adopting Fairclough’s (1989) four-dimension questions: what’s going on; who’s involved; what relationships are at issue; and what’s the role of language in what’s going on (p. 147). In the explanation stage, the analysis is carried out to unveil the ideology, social determinant, and effect of the text (Fairclough, 1989). Therefore, the discovery of the ideology became the final result of the analysis.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Transitivity: Process, Participant, and Circumstantial Elements

There are 175 clauses which were analyzed based on the grammatical system of transitivity within experiential domains. The results show that the experiences of health protocols policy of international travel during COVID-19 are dominated by material processes. Besides material processes, the clauses also employ relational, verbal, and mental processes. Behavioral and existential processes are not found in the data. Table 1 summarizes the emergence of each type of transitivity processes and the participants in the circular letter.

Table 1. The Occurrences of Each Type of Transitivity Process and Participant

Process Types	Σ	Participants	Σ
Material	132 (75.42%)	Actor	57
		Goal	51
		Scope	57
		Recipient	5
		Client	1
Relational	37 (21.14%)		
Attributive: intensive	7 (4%)	Carrier	21
Attributive: possessive	8 (4.57%)	Attribute	24
Attributive: circumstantial	13 (7.42%)	Attributor	1
Identifying: intensive	6 (3.42%)	Token	7
Identifying: circumstantial	3 (1.71%)	Value	12
Verbal	4 (2.28%)	Verbiage	2
		Sayer	1
		Receiver	2
Mental	2 (1.14%)	Senser	1
		Phenomenon	2
Total	175 (100%)		232

Table 1 depicts the findings that there is only a small number of grammatical choices made in the clauses of the text by which the selections in the system of process type are only limited to material, relational, verbal, and mental processes. The results show that the use of process types is concentrated in the material process. Meaning to say, the material process is the most frequently used process in the circular letter. The domination of the material clauses is in line with the purpose of the text as the text gives instruction to the readers, specifically the inbound travelers, in entering Indonesia with some protocols during the pandemic. The material clauses construe the outer experience of the international travelers in performing action of health protocols.

The next dominating processes are relational processes and there are five sub-categories of the relational process identified in the data: intensive relational-attributive; possessive relational-attributive; circumstantial relational-attributive; intensive relational-identifying; and circumstantial relational-identifying. The findings of the five sub-categories of relational process prove that the producer of the circular letter operates relational clauses not only to characterize and identify but also to express ownership and circumstance by which these operations of the relational process are related to certain implementations of the provisions in the circular letter. Verbal process takes the third place

and is followed by mental process. The small number of verbal and mental processes signify that the circular letter does not contain personal thoughts or opinions of the producer since the circular letter is a legal document which is issued to govern or instruct the inbound travelers to comply with the provisions written in the letter.

Each type of processes with its participants and circumstances is explained below.

Material Process

A material process construes outer experiences which cover the process of ‘doing’ or ‘happening’ (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). In the process of ‘doing’, there are actions or activities undertaken by which they need some input of energy to occur. The process of ‘happening’, on the other hand, depicts occurrence of events. The innate participant in material clauses is the Actor who is doing the material deed. In addition, the Goal may also be a participant which is affected by the doing. Material process also has other further participants which are Client, Recipient, and Scope. A Client or Recipient is a participant that has benefited from the doing. The Client one occurs when the clause elaborates “a provision of service” realized with a preposition ‘to’, while the Recipient is embroiled when the clause elaborates “a transfer in possession of existing goods” realized with a preposition ‘for’ (Martin, Matthiessen, & Painter, 2010:103). Meanwhile, the Scope is the domain where the process takes place.

In the circular letter, material process is utilized in the data to show the health protocols that have to be performed by the inbound travelers in entering Indonesia. Thus, the Actor mostly represents the travelers while the Scope and Goal are related to the protocols.

Extract 1

Foreign nationals who have lived and/or visited within fourteen days from the country/region with certain criteria [Actor] are temporarily [Circ. Extent] prohibited to enter [Material Process] the territory of Indonesia [Scope], either directly or in transit in a foreign country [Circ. Manner].

In extract 1, the Material Process is marked by a verbal group complex “are temporarily prohibited to enter” which indicates the action that cannot be done by “foreign nationals who have lived and/or visited within fourteen days from the country/region with certain criteria” as the Actor. There is Circumstance of Extent “temporarily” functioning to tell time extent of the prohibition of entering. The Scope is “the territory of Indonesia” since it is the domain where the action takes place. The Circumstance of Manner “either directly or in transit in a foreign country” exists to explain how action is done; it is through taking a direct or transit flight. Thus, the clause above tells that foreign nationals who come from the certain countries cannot enter Indonesia either through direct flight or transit for the time being.

Extract 2

Upon arrival [Circ. Location], RT-PCR retests [Scope] are carried out [Material Process] for international travelers [Circ. Cause] and they [Actor] are required to undergo [Material Process] centralized quarantine [Scope] for 10 x 24 hours [Circ. Extent].

In extract 2, there are two clauses. The first clause starts with the Circumstance of Time “upon arrival” which is operated to tell the time of the process. The verbal group “are carried out” signals the action as the Material Process to perform the Scope “RT-PCR retests”. The prepositional phrase, “for international travelers” is the Circumstance of Cause explaining to whom the process is done. Meanwhile, the second clause also involves the material process which is shown by the verbal group complex “are required to undergo” which denotes the action that has to be done by the Actor “they”. The pronoun *they* here refers to the international travelers. The noun phrase “centralized quarantine” is the Scope as it is the scope of the performance of the process and the prepositional phrase “for 10 x 24 hours” is the Circumstance of Extent which tells the duration of time of the

process. Thus, the clauses above explain that international travelers have to be in centralized quarantine for 10 days after they carry out RT-PCR retest when they arrive in Indonesia.

Relational Process

Relational process is the process of ‘being’ and ‘having’ which has two particular verbs: be and have (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The use of relational process functions to characterize and to identify which subsequently make the process comes in two distinct modes of ‘being’: attributive and identifying. Attributive modes construe class-membership, while identifying modes construe identity. The significant difference between these two is that the attributive ones cannot be reversible, whereas the identifying ones are reversible. There are thus two different sets of participant roles: Carrier + Attribute and Token + Value. The attributive ones cannot be reversible, while the identifying clause is reversible. Some relational clauses also have additional participants: Assigner which use in identifying modes and Attributor which utilizes in attributive modes. The relational clauses in the circular letter are employed to describe the criteria of the travelers who are given special provisions and of the countries that are temporarily banned from entering Indonesia.

Extract 3

travelers who [Carrier] are [Relational Process] honorable persons and distinguished person [Attributive].

In extract 3, an entity has some class being attributed to it. The relative pronoun “*who*” is the Carrier that is being attributed by the nominal groups “*honorable persons and distinguished person*” as the Attribute. Here, the text producer construes ‘who’, which refers to travelers given a quarantine-free travel, as a member of the class of honorable and distinguished person. Thus, the clause above characterizes certain travelers as the class of people that are honorable and distinguished to be excluded from quarantine.

Extract 4

a country who [Carrier] has confirmed [Relational Process] community transmission of new variants of SARS-Cov-2 B.1.1.529 [Attribute].

In the extract 4, the relational process is encoded in the verbal group “*has confirmed*”. The Attribute is the nominal group “*community transmission of new variants of SARS-Cov-2 B.1.1.529*” which is being ascribed to the Carrier “*who*”. The relative pronoun ‘who’ here is the country that are banned from entering Indonesia. Thus, the clause points out that the countries who have declared local transmission of Omicron are restricted.

Verbal Process

Verbal process is the process of saying. This process includes the various modes of saying such as asking, stating, offering, and commanding and also semiotic modes such as showing and indicating (Martin, Matthiessen, & Painter, 2010). The central participant in verbal process is the Sayer who is saying, stating, telling, informing, and so on. The participant who is targeted by the verbal actions is the Target and the one who becomes the addressee of a verbal interaction is the Receiver. Meanwhile, the content of saying is the Verbiage. The verbal clauses in the data are used to report the health condition of the international travelers.

Extract 5

Requiring [Verbal-] quarantine supervisory officers [Sayer] to report [-Process] quarantine monitoring on a daily basis [Verbiage] to KKP officers in their region [Receiver].

The clause above contains verbal process that is signed by the verbal group complex “*requiring to report*” Here, the Sayer is “*quarantine supervisory officers*” who takes a role as the one who reports and the Verbiage is “*quarantine monitoring on a daily basis*” as the thing being

reported. Meanwhile, the receiver is “*KKP officers in their region*”. In this clause, the text producer of the circular letter asks the travelers who undergo self-quarantine to report their daily quarantine monitoring that is reported by their quarantine supervisory officers to the KKP officers in their regions.

Mental Process

Mental process is called as the process of ‘sensing’. The mental process deals with conscious processing. In other words, the process takes place in the cognitive process in experiencing the world. In mental clauses, they involve “process of cognition and desideration, emotion, and perception” (Martin, Matthiessen, & Painter, 2010:103). The innate participants in mental clauses are the Senser, who is sensing, and the Phenomenon, that is being sensed. The mental clauses in the circular letter are utilized to show that there are certain travelers who are in need of medical assistance due to special health condition.

Extract 6

Indonesian citizens or foreign nationals traveling abroad who [Senser] need [Material Process] emergency medical services upon arrival in Indonesia [Circ. Location].

In extract 6, the mental verb is shown in the word “*need*” which expresses the process of needing. Here, the Senser is presented by the relative pronoun “*who*” that refers to Indonesian citizens or foreign nationals. Then, the words “*emergency medical services*” is described as the phenomenon since the senser needs them. Thus, this clause talks about all international travelers, both Indonesian citizens and foreign nationals that need medical treatment.

The Representation of Privilege in Circular Letter Number 26 of 2021 on Health Protocols for International Travel during the COVID-19 Pandemic

The Forms of Privilege

The privileges maintained under the circular letter are in the form of dispensation from quarantine implementation and exemption from Indonesia travel restrictions. Each form of the privileges is explained below.

Dispensation from Quarantine Implementation

Indonesian government also applies the implementation of centralized quarantine for overseas arrivals. The government adopts a compulsory ten-day centralized quarantine approach. However, this implementation of ten-day centralized quarantine is not wholly practiced. The duration of the quarantine can be reduced.

Extract 7

Dispensation [Goal] may be granted [Material Process] for the implementation of centralized quarantine for 10 x 24 hours as referred to in number 4.f. [Circ. Cause] by reducing [Material Process] the duration of the quarantine [Goal].

Extract 7 above depict the dispensation from the duration of centralized-quarantine, which is encoded in the form of Goal and Material Process. According to the provision above, the ten-day duration of quarantine in the accommodation place may not be implemented and also reduced. Beside the reduction of quarantine duration, there are also dispensation from centralized quarantine, which is in the form of undergoing individual quarantine and dispensation from quarantine obligation, which is in the form of not undergoing the mandatory quarantine by which they are disclosed through the use of material process

Exemption from Indonesia Travel Restriction

Amidst the emergence of new COVID-19 variant known as Omicron, the Indonesian government banned travel from countries with confirmed cases of Omicron variant in order to prevent the ingress of this variant to Indonesia. Despite this, Indonesian government also makes provision which allows travel from the banned countries. The provision is realized by a relational clause presented below.

Extract 8

The temporary prohibition for foreign national to enter Indonesian territory either directly or in transit in a foreign country [Carrier] does not apply [Material Process] to those ...; those who are under an agreement scheme (bilateral), such as travel corridor arrangement (TCA); and/or those who get special consideration/permission in written from a ministry/institution [Circ. Angle].

In extract 8 above, the Carrier shows the travel ban provision from countries with confirmed cases of Omicron variant. The relational process indicates that the travel restriction is no longer applicable or relevant for certain people mentioned in the clause above. Thus, they are able to enter Indonesia freely.

The Privileged Groups

There are three types of high social status individual found as the groups who get the privilege in the data; they are state and government officials, economic cooperation delegates, and well-known figures.

State and Government Officials

In the circular letter, state and government officials are the most mentioned group that receives the privileges. According to Article 1 number 7 and 8 of Law 9/2010 on Protocols, state officials are the chairmen and the members of state organs that are stated in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and firmly determined in Indonesia constitution, while government officials are offices who hold certain positions in government institutions (Hartono, 2016).

Extract 9

Indonesian citizens with official status at echelon I level and above in government institutions, leaders of government institutions, members of the House of Representatives (DPR), the Regional Representatives Council (DPD), and judicial institutions in an official trip [Actor] may carry out [Material Process] individual self-quarantine [Scope].

In excerpt 9, the Actor signifies the existence of Indonesia officials as part of the privileged group from Indonesia state organs and government institutions. Members of DPR, DPD, and of judicial institutions are part of state offices based on Article 22 of Law 5/2014 on State Civil Apparatus (Hartono, 2016), while echelon I-level officials and leaders of government institutions are considered as government offices.

Delegates of Economic Cooperation

The second group who receives the special dispensation is economic cooperation delegates. Their existence is shown by material clause and relational clause.

Extract 10

... exemption from quarantine obligations provided [Goal], ..., are allowed [Material Process] for foreigners with the following criteria: ...; travelers who enter Indonesia through the TCA scheme; delegations of G20 member countries;... [Circ.Cause].

The Circumstance of Cause in extract 10 above depicts that travelers under Travel Corridor Agreement (TCA) and delegations of G20 member countries are given a revocation of travel

prohibition and the ten-day mandatory quarantine. Here, they are the ones whom the allowance for not undergoing quarantine is designated for. Indonesia government has negotiated a bilateral TCA to open the travel borders for entry and/or exit permission with the United Arab Emirates, China, South Korea, and Singapore, starting from the third quarter of 2020. This TCA agreement has been set up to ease the essential travel for business, and diplomatic purposes so that it is exclusively consigned for fundamental business travelers and high-ranking officials. As a result, the COVID-19 Task Force waives the travel ban and the perceptive quarantine for those traveling for business or economic purposes.

Meanwhile, G20 is a multilateral forum for global economic cooperation which aims at securing future global economic growth and prosperity. The members of the G20 comprise 19 countries and European Union. The 19 countries are Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Mexico, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the European Union. Since Indonesia becomes the G20 Presidency starting from December 2021 until November 2022, the representatives from G20 member countries are free from the quarantine rule, including the member countries from the banned countries.

Distinguished Persons

Well-known figures are the third party identified as the privileged group.

Extract 11

An honorable person [Token] includes [Relational Process] a former head of state or a former head of government of a country [Value].

Extract 12

Meanwhile, a distinguished person [Token] is [Relational Process] an individual who holds a position of high social and economic value in the eyes of the international community such nobel laureates, global religious leaders, global community leader, and global economic figures [Value].

The Value in excerpt in 42 clarifies the definition of honorable person, which is a former head of state or head of government of a country. Meanwhile, the Value in excerpt 43 has an embedded relational-attributive clause to define distinguished persons. The Attribute in the clause denotes possession of having a position of high social and economic value in the eyes of the international community. Thus, a distinguished person is a person who is known and has a contribution in the eyes of international community. From these descriptions, it can be concluded that these people are well-known figures.

Understanding the ideology underlying the issuance of the Circular Letter

The socio-political perspective of the document reveals a conflict of interests in formulating the health protocols regarding international travel during COVID-19. The substance of the circular letter represents particular interests which are political elites' interest and economic interest that contradict the public interest, which is public health. These conflicting interests have made the gap in the implementation of health protocols which can be seen from the discovery of the prerogative of the state and government officials, the economic cooperation delegates, and the well-known figures.

Firstly, the fact that state and government officials receive a special treatment for the quarantine implementation depicts their power as the political elites having access to maneuver public health policies regarding international travel during COVID-19. Burstein and Linton (2002) points out that in the process of policymaking political elites are powerful inputs that have huge influence on the formulation of the policy (in Ramdani & Purnomo, 2018). Mills (2000) also argues that the pivotal policies are determined by individuals who have power and high position, shall be called as elites. Meaning to say, political elites are capable of producing a policy output which fulfills their desired outcomes. As stated by Tahir (2020), public policy tends to represent powerful people's

interests rather than public interest. This phenomenon is reflected in the provisions of the circular letter. Having high status in the state organs and government institutions, the government officials bargain for advantageous positions in the implementation of health protocols by exempting them from the obligation of ten-day centralized quarantine. These political elites' interference in determining the health protocols in the circular letter shows their manifestation of power exercises as they have access to power in the form of their high position.

Then, the assumption that the Government is more concerned with the economic sector than the health sector is associated with the provision regarding the exemption from mandatory quarantine for economic cooperation delegates, who are G20 delegacies and travelers under TCA. As the president of G20, the Indonesian government proposes three priority issues, one of which is digital transformation. These digital transformation issues are related to the digitalization of the global economy. Through this digitalization, the government believes this digitalization brings a stronger global economy after the pandemic hit. The Indonesian government also initiates some discussion agendas about economic issues namely coordination of an exit strategy to support the global economic recovery and effort to deal with the economy that has been affected by the pandemic. These forums are believed to support and bring positive impact on the recovery of Indonesia's economy. Moreover, the loosened quarantine travel rules for business travelers under TCA scheme, which has been initiated since 2020, prove that the government still endeavors to accelerate the national economic activity. The waiving of quarantine mandatory for TCA travelers is an ongoing strategy which is expected to boost the private sector and business investment projects between Indonesia and the negotiated country (Siregar, 2020).

The government's tendency to accelerate the country's economy first rather than focusing on public health is also seen through an incentive policy that allows famous figures to travel to Indonesia without compulsory quarantine. This provision is believed as the government's efforts to recover the undermined tourism sector because of COVID-19 pandemic by enticing international tourists to revive Indonesia's tourism and increase flight escalation. Based on the statistical data of foreign tourist visit to Indonesia from Kemenparekraf official website, compared to the third quarter of 2020 which recorded 466,275 visits, the number of foreign tourist arrivals in the third quarter of 2021 to Indonesia only reached 365,822 visits. Thus, this data might be the rationale for government to apply this incentive provision. Moreover, the fact that the honorable figures are initially chosen has led to the thought that it is also a tactic to attract more international tourists. They are believed to have great influence in contributing the tourism promotion and thus can engage those looking up to these figures.

It cannot be dismissed that these provisions show the dominance of political power and economic considerations without considering the country's ability to prevent the new variant. The Indonesian government does not really pertain to the health aspect. The protocols have not maximally considered the importance of Indonesian public safety and health as the main priorities. The provisions of home-based quarantine for the elites may raise question about the effectiveness of this form of quarantine. This study by Zhu and Tan (2021) reveals that home quarantine has been proven less effective than centralized quarantine despite having small differences in infection rate with centralized quarantine. There have also been doubts about the effectiveness of self-quarantine since multiple violations of this type of quarantine have been ensued, which especially relies on self-discipline. Furthermore, there is some evidence transmissibility of Omicron which suggests that Omicron exhibits higher infectivity than the previous variant and it has lower efficacy of vaccination on preventing its transmission (Lyngse, 2021). Therefore, the determination of those provisions under the beginning of Omicron-variant outbreak can easily open the gap for the entry of this variant to Indonesia and it may have been responsible for the further increase of COVID-19 cases in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

Within the context of the study, transitivity analysis has been fruitful in revealing the manifestation of privilege in regard to international travel amidst the ongoing pandemic. While the material process may give information about the details of the health protocols to follow, we can see that, as per the

relational process, certain criteria are imposed on the travelers who are given special provisions and on the countries that are temporarily banned from entering Indonesia. The forms of privilege and the groups receiving the privilege are made explicit in the legal text. The privileges are like dispensations from quarantine implementation and exemption from Indonesia travel restrictions. The specific groups having the privileges are those of high social status individuals such as state and government officials, economic cooperation delegates, and distinguished figures.

It is apparent that conflict of interests takes place in the creation and implementation of the regulation, by which the health protocols are influenced by political elites' interest and economic interests and contradict the public health interest. The provisions stating that delegations of G20 member countries, travelers under TCA scheme, and distinguished persons are free from quarantine obligation can be seen as the nation's economic agenda to recover the economy.

CDA in this study has demonstrated ways in which social and political phenomena can be investigated thoroughly from various perspectives. Transitivity has also been a fruitful analytical tool which opens wide for revealing hidden agendas in and through text. Further research in the areas of discourse and society in the Indonesian political context can be limitless as there is a wide range of data available from the complexities of the social order.

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