

CONTESTATION OF NEWSPAPER DISCOURSES IN THE NOVEL *PEROESOEHAN DI KOEDOES*: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

*PERSAINGAN WACANA AKHBAR DALAM NOVEL
PEROESOEHAN DI KOEDOES: SATU ANALISIS WACANA KRITIS*

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Received: 13th December 2023

Accepted: 16th March 2024

ABSTRACT

Newspapers are the primary medium of moulding discourse on significant events, including the anti-Chinese riots in Koedoes, also known as Kudus, Central Java in 1918. Some publications even created conversations to further their goals of broadcasting news to the public. Hence, this study aims to examine discourse conflicts featured in newspapers highlighted by the novel *Peroesoehan di Koedoes* by Tan Boen Kim (TBK). A qualitative descriptive approach was utilised in this study, with an emphasis on the identification of news cuttings featured in the novel. Data was processed using Teun A. Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis theory, focusing on social context, text structure and social cognition. Findings indicated that the contestation of discourse in the newspaper cuttings was an attempt to influence public opinion. *Sin Po*, a Chinese newspaper, focused on protecting Chinese victims, whereas *De Locomotief*, a Dutch periodical, focused on the hazardous propaganda by indigenous groups. Conversely, *Sinar Hindia*, a *Bumiputera* newspaper, focused on the protection of residents and the Islamic Union (SI). The outlet also wrote a clarification to relieve the *Bumiputera* of responsibility. In addition, specific newspapers could have potentially displayed ulterior motives. TBK's choice of stories might also indicate his aim to denounce the rioters' crimes against ethnic Chinese. Future research can explore other TBK works through critical discourse analysis as well to map his tendencies during the production of discourse.

Keywords: contestation of discourse; newspaper; *Peroesoehan di Koedoes*; indigenous; Chinese

ABSTRAK

Surat khabar menjadi medan utama membentuk wacana semasa berlakunya pelbagai kejadian, misalnya rusuhan anti-orang Cina di Koedoes, kini dikenali sebagai Kudus, Jawa Tengah pada tahun 1918. Sejumlah akhbar tersebut turut menggalakkan perbincangan lanjut demi menyebarkan berita kepada orang ramai. Oleh itu, kajian ini bertujuan meneliti persaingan wacana dalam keratan akhbar yang diketengahkan dalam novel *Peroesoehan di Koedoes* tulisan Tan Boen Kim (TBK). Pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif digunakan untuk mengenal pasti keratan laporan yang dipilih. Data selanjutnya diproses menggunakan teori analisis wacana kritis olahan Teun A. Van Dijk sambil menekankan unsur konteks sosial, struktur teks dan kognisi sosial. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahawa persaingan wacana dalam keratan akhbar yang dipaparkan bermatlamat mempengaruhi pendapat awam. Akhbar berbahasa Cina *Sin Po* bertujuan melindungi mangsa berbangsa Cina, manakala penerbitan berkala Belanda *De Locomotief* menampilkan propaganda berbahaya daripada golongan Bumiputera. Sebaliknya, akhbar Bumiputera, *Sinar Hindia*, bertindak melindungi penduduk tempatan dan Sarekat Islam (SI). Akhbar berkenaan turut menjelaskan bahawa golongan Bumiputera tidak bertanggungjawab atas kejadian itu. Sejumlah akhbar pun boleh dianggap sebagai memiliki niat tersembunyi. Pemilihan laporan berita oleh TBK mencerminkan juga matlamatnya hendak mengkritik kesalahan perusuh ke atas orang berbangsa Cina. Cadangan kajian lanjutan ialah analisis wacana kritis ke atas karya lain tulisan TBK perlu dijalankan untuk memahami arah kecenderungannya semasa berwacana.

Kata kunci: persaingan wacana; akhbar; *Peroesoehan di Koedoes*; bumiputera; Cina

Introduction

The media is essential in the production and distribution of discourse, which could alter people's perspectives, attitudes and perceptions towards numerous issues. Discourse is a social praxis in which assertions about certain themes in specific historical times are made through language (Haryatmoko, 2016). It not only reflects social reality but serves to generate interest that might influence social policy and behaviour. In other words, everything debated in the media is essentially a type of ideological construction comprising a variety of interests of many parties (Halwati, 2013). Another viewpoint holds that discourse is the process by which things or ideas are publicly debated, giving rise to generally held beliefs (S3obur, 2006).

In Indonesian history, the media, particularly newspapers, have been the primary method of creating discourse on numerous events. These newspapers were involved in shaping the country's history. Fachruruzi (2018) showed that newspapers published in the early 20th century, such as *Bintang Hindia* and *Medan Prijaji*, were the chosen media to disseminate the discourse of nationalism. Such media played a discursive role in growing the embryo of postcolonialism. The newspaper also became the progressive and critical medium to articulate sensitive issues on women, such as polygamy and the urgent call for their education (Arivia & Subono, 2017). Such studies imply, at least since the early 20th century, that the media have expressed many ideological issues. Therefore, this paper attempts to demonstrate that same phenomenon through the coverage of the anti-Chinese riots in Kudus, Central Java in 1918. The turmoil involved indigenous and Chinese ethnic groups. The resulting discourse was a result of intricate interaction between the media, society, and political and social interests-each with their respective concerns.

The Kudus riots of 1918 were portrayed in a novel titled *Peroesoehan di Koedoes*. It tells about the dispute that arose due to the jealousy of the native Hajj merchants towards the progress made by Chinese merchants from 1912 to 1918. The rivalry culminated at the moment when the Chinese conducted rituals to deal with the Spanish flu epidemic, and the indigenous group mocked them, leading to violent conflict. The novel was written by a Peranakan Chinese writer, Tan Boen Kim (TBK), and released in 1920, two years after the riot. TBK was also a journalist for several periodicals. TBK constructed the riot story in his writing based on media reports. TBK also claimed in the novel that he had been physically present at the site several days after the riot began (Kim, 1920). He cited numerous newspapers that covered the riots, which were presented in a discourse with different publications supporting different factions. *Sin Po*, a Chinese nationalist daily, was the first to be mentioned, and TBK was one of its journalists. In addition, Dutch periodical *De Locomotief*, *De Nieuwe Courant* and *Het Nieuws Van Den Daag* were quoted. TBK referred to the four publications as "neutral" parties.

Other periodicals cited were *Bumiputera* newspapers *Oetoesan Hindia* and *Sinar Hindia*, which he referred to as "organs" of the Islamic Union (*Sarekat Islam*, abbreviated SI). TBK was irritated by these two periodicals because he considered them excessively protective of the *Bumiputera* and SI groupings. Based on this, TBK could have made his novel the field for contesting the discourse with specific interests by including the mass media reports. As a result, these platforms could be purported as sites of contestation of discourse in this research because the content has not been produced with neutrality. The quoted reports were found to be full of specific interests, meanings and ideologies fought for by the author or the producer of the discourse through language.

Critical discourse analysis is crucial because it allows a deeper understanding of mass media, authors, and the sociopolitical context. Therefore, the question proposed here is how the mass media's contestation of discourse is formed in TBK's novel. It will be answered using the discourse analysis model by Van Dijk, elucidated by Darma (2009) as a concept that involves the text structure, social cognition and social environment as primary dimensions. Dialectically, this research can reveal

the relationship between the discourse structure and the social dimension, which are the issues portrayed in the mass media and the author's interest. Therefore, the analysis is operated in the field of language and social contexts.

The main benefit in the production of this knowledge is a historical understanding of mass media and discourse in Indonesian history. Mass media as *locus publicus* or public sphere is a contested sphere for various interests, such as politics, business, and religion (Nugroho et al., 2012). In contemporary Indonesia, Syarief (2022) shows that within the media landscape, some media outlets are owned by key players linked to the political arena. As such, they would utilise these platforms to highlight issues and policies and influence the public. Throughout its development, mass media has been in line with the Internet and social media, which have transformed social and political arenas (Nugroho & Syarief, 2012). Hence, this research is relevant as it provides a critical way for readers to understand the hidden interests in Indonesian mass media so that they do not accept the information unquestioningly.

The 1918 Kudus riots depicted in the novel *Peroesoehan di Koedoes* have been discussed historically in past research. The book *Bakar Pecinan! Konflik Pribumi vs Cina di Kudus Tahun 1918*, written by Masyhuri (2006) focused on history and could be considered complete because the sources utilised Dutch colonial documents, with several oral accounts from numerous persons connected to the events that transpired during the riots. Based on this review, it may be concluded that no research has focused on literary work, namely *Peroesoehan di Koedoes*, until today. TBK's work has been utilised as a reference in some research and publications about the Kudus riots, but not as a primary source. Hence, this novel research could provide a new perspective towards the incident through literature and explore how it could generate discourse and vice versa, besides shaping public opinion. This research is crucial for two reasons.

First, literature and the media are not neutral entities; the writer uses them to disseminate their interests and ideologies, individually or collectively, and their group representatively. This paper could model the techniques to read a piece of text in a critical manner so that people would be made aware and not trapped on different sides of a phenomenon highlighted. Second, especially in the context of riots as discourse (Agusta, 2001). Points out that ethnic and religious bases could have caused some riots in Indonesia. This argument is aligned with the story in TBK's selected novel. Understanding the discourse of riots in the text could allow researchers to be aware of the discursive power that tries to control opinion. Subsequently, awareness becomes a personal and collective capital to avoid and prevent the violence that may occur. Furthermore, Indonesia is a multicultural country in Asia and built on cultural heterogeneity (Hartanti & Sundrijo, 2022). Therefore, this research could provide an academic contribution in terms of raising awareness towards violence and implicitly emphasises the norm of multiculturalism of ethnicity, religion, and other aspects in research on discourse.

Critical Discourse Analysis by Teun A. Van Dijk

Critical discourse analysis is a branch of research that examines how language (text) is not only considered a linguistic aspect but also connects to the context, namely certain practices and intentions, including power practice (Eriyanto, 2001). Hence, the Van Dijk model of critical discourse analysis theory was applied to this study. According to Van Dijk, a study on discourse cannot be focused merely on text analysis because the text is a production practice that must also be observed. Thus, research should also examine how the text is generated to understand why that text is the way it is (Darma, 2009). Discourse analysis by Van Dijk has three dimensions based on the description by Eriyanto (2001) from the writing of Van Dijk (1998).

1. Text structure: Text structure examines how text as a discourse strategy stresses a particular theme or topic. According to Van Dijk, text structure is further organised into three categories – macrostructure, superstructure and microstructure. However, this study will explore only two text structures, the macro and superstructure, because the main focus is on the elementary structure of the text (its general meaning, topic and framework). Eriyanto (2001) explained that the global meaning of a topic is supported by the text's framework. It means that the lingual aspect of microstructure can be ignored without reducing the validity of the findings. This research also focuses on the riots, not its linguistic aspects. These are the justifications for the two choices:
 - a) The macrostructure tries to perceive the global or general meaning that the author wishes to transmit, and this is accomplished by comprehending the topic or theme since the significant concept the text writer advocates may be determined from this topic (Van Dijk, 1985).
 - b) The superstructure is often known as the text's framework or flow. The text framework was created with a particular plan or flow in mind. This system is separated into two categories: A summary that includes the headline and major body of the news and the entire substance of the news. There are two types of news content: Scenarios that explain the progression of events and comments reflected in the text (Eriyanto, 2001).
2. Social cognition refers to how the text induction process involves individual cognition (Darma, 2009). According to Van Dijk, discourse influences a person's social cognition or mental awareness of their surroundings and the degree to which they engage with the knowledge, ideology or views of specific social groupings (Van Dijk, 2009). A schema, or what Van Dijk refers to as a model, governs how events are viewed and comprehended by the text author. Schemas demonstrate how humans utilise mental structures to pick and analyse information from our surroundings (Eriyanto, 2001). Several schemas or models that may appear in a text based on its cognitive structure are person schema, self-schema, role schema and event schema.
3. Social context is how a problem develops in society (Darma, 2009). Social context may aid in the analysis of the underlying goal or meaning behind an ideological discourse that the text writer wishes to transmit, a speech driven by a social environment. According to Van Dijk, there are two critical factors in this social context analysis: Power and access (Eriyanto, 2001). Van Dijk defines power as a group's ownership of the ability to dominate other groups, while access increases a group's ability to influence public consciousness.

Based on the explanation above, critical discourse analysis is operated by analysing the two main areas, the textual and social contexts, in a dialogical manner. The first context focuses on how text is produced structurally, and knowing this structure will bring to the key findings to unpack the social cognition of the reader. Social context is the second context that influences the first one and conceals the ideology. Therefore, this analysis model could guide researchers to gain deep textual, sociopolitical and sociocultural understanding.

Methodologies

The descriptive qualitative research method was utilised to describe and analyse data from the study object, TBK's novel *Peroesoehan di Koedoes*. The primary emphasis was on the examination of news texts or newspapers utilised as novel attachments, namely *Kariboetan Besar!* in *De Locomotief*, *Kariboetan di Koedoes* in *Sin Po*, *Perang Ketjil di Koedoes: Saban-Saban Dikata S.I. Jang Berdosa* in *Sinar Hindia*, *De Nieuwe Courant*, *Het Nieuws Van Den Daag* and *Oetoesan Hindia*. Secondary sources included books, journals, and other research-related data.

This study used the literary sociology method, which stresses the importance of literary writings about the numerous social, economic, and political factors that surround them. The data was analysed using Teun A. Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis theory on text structure, social cognition, and social context. This technique will then be used to investigate the meaning of the novel's news texts to illustrate how the social environment of the period shaped the presentation of newspapers to society. This investigation aims to uncover and determine the author's objective in displaying certain newspapers in his novel.

Results and Discussion

The Macrostructure of the Text

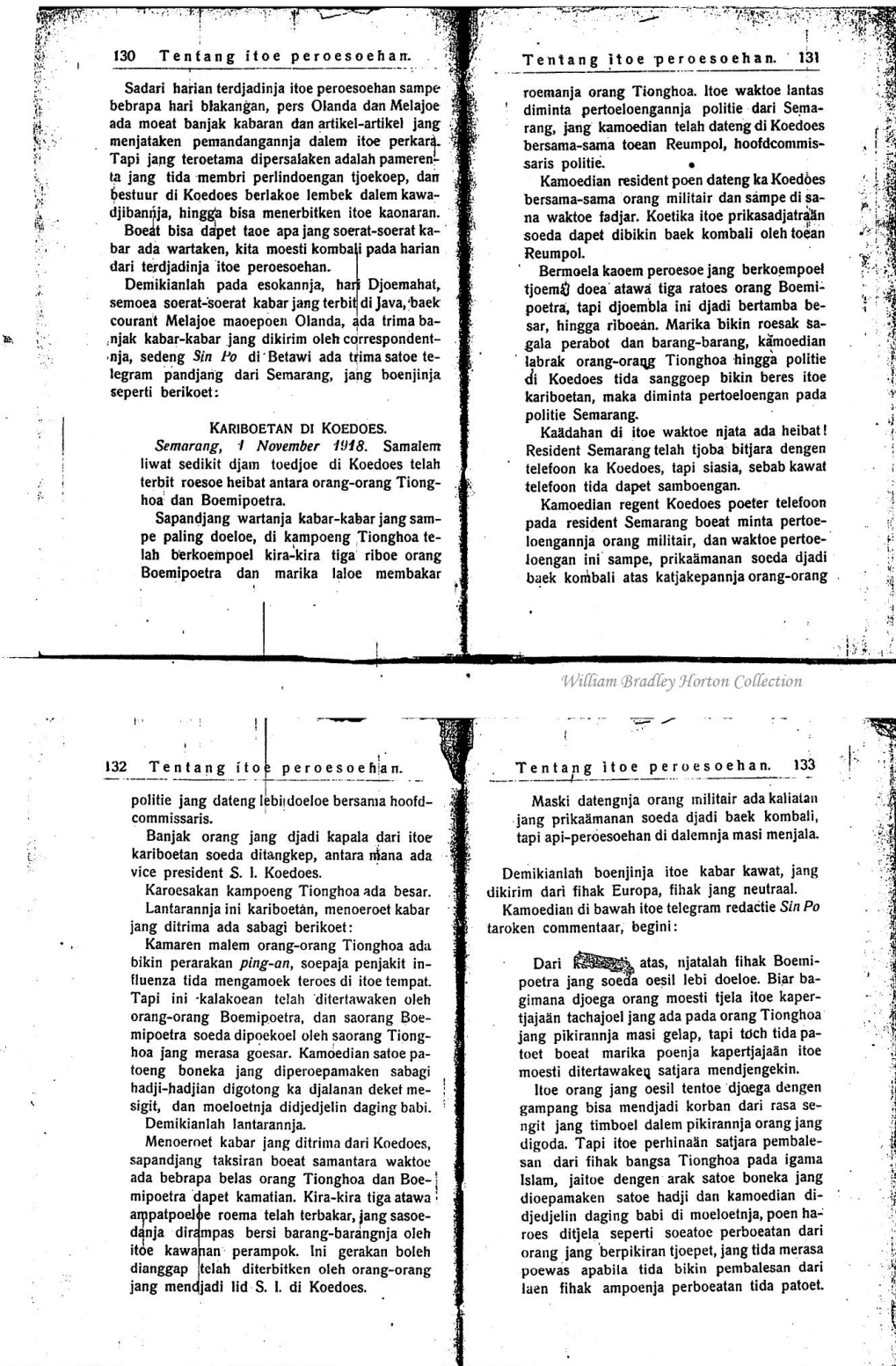
In his work *Peroesoehan di Kodoes*, TBK introduces six newspapers with opposing viewpoints. The opposite point of view is blaming the natives as the perpetrators of violence, whereas the defence of the natives was the second. However, it should be underlined that this oppositional relation is not pure because it occurred due to the author's construction. For example, the author omitted a particular part of a newspaper cutting (this will be discussed in the following section).

The first group includes the newspapers *Sin Po* and *De Locomotief*, which are shown as an attachment with fairly complete news content published on 1st November 1918, while *De Nieuwe Courant* and *Het Nieuws Van Den Dag* show the story of the correspondent's journey in gathering information about the riot. TBK regarded these four publications as unbiased, honest and fair in their riot coverage. The second group consists of the *Bumiputera* publications *Sinar Hindia* and *Oetoesan Hindia*, which were only presented through a few paragraphs rather than the whole story published on 9th November 1918 compared to the *Sin Po* and *De Locomotief* stories.

Figure 1a

Attachment of *Sin Po* article on 1st November 1918 in *Peroesoehan di Koedoes*

Source: *Peroesoehan di Koedoes* (William Bradley Horton Collection, n.d., p. 130-133)



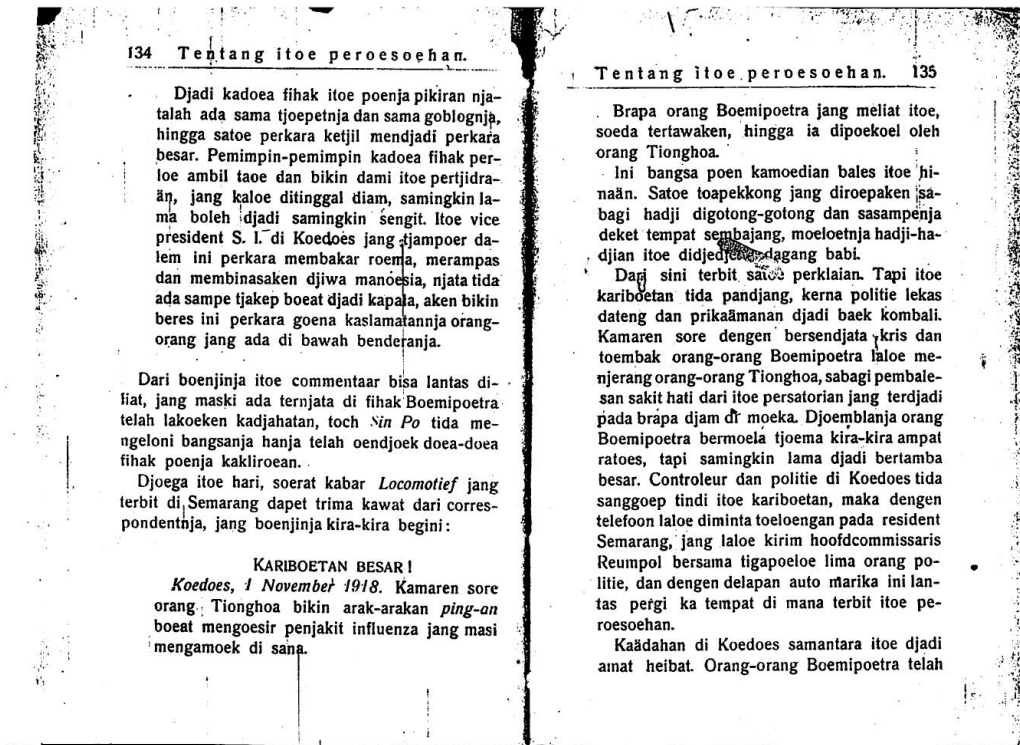
William Bradley Horton Collection

William Bradley Horton Collection

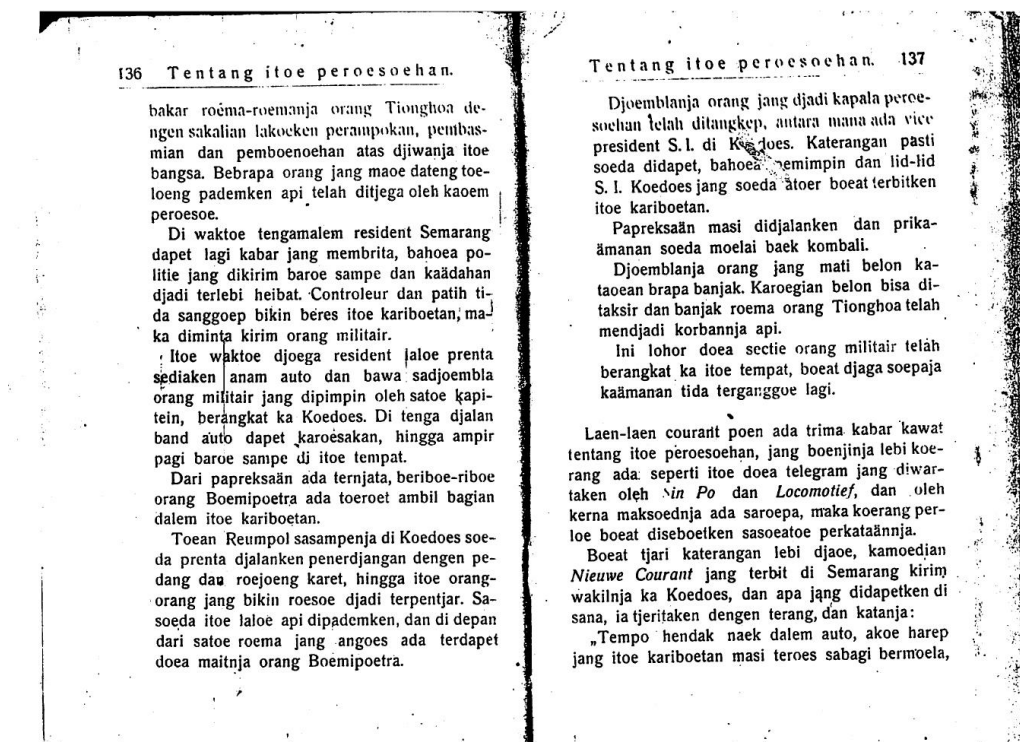
Figure 2a

De Locomotief Newspaper (translated to Malay) in *Peroesoehan di Koedoes*

Source: *Peroesoehan di Koedoes* (William Bradley Horton Collection, n.d., p. 134-137)



William Bradley Horton Collection



William Bradley Horton Collection

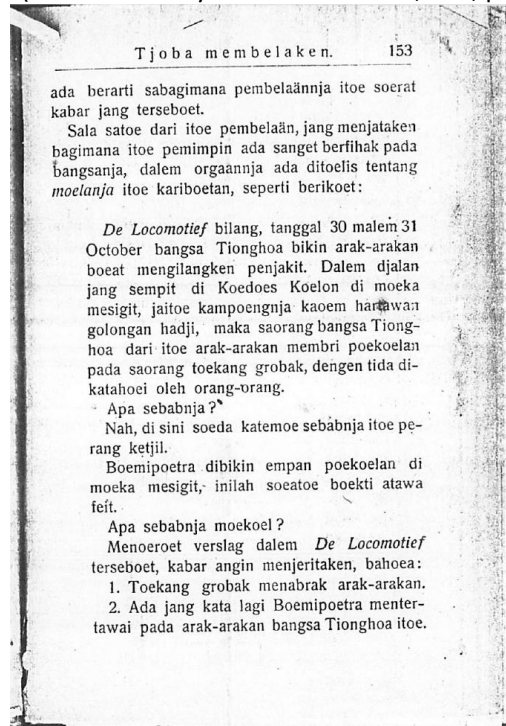
Figure 2b
De Locomotief newspaper pages on 1st November 1918
Source: National Library of the Republic of Indonesia Collection



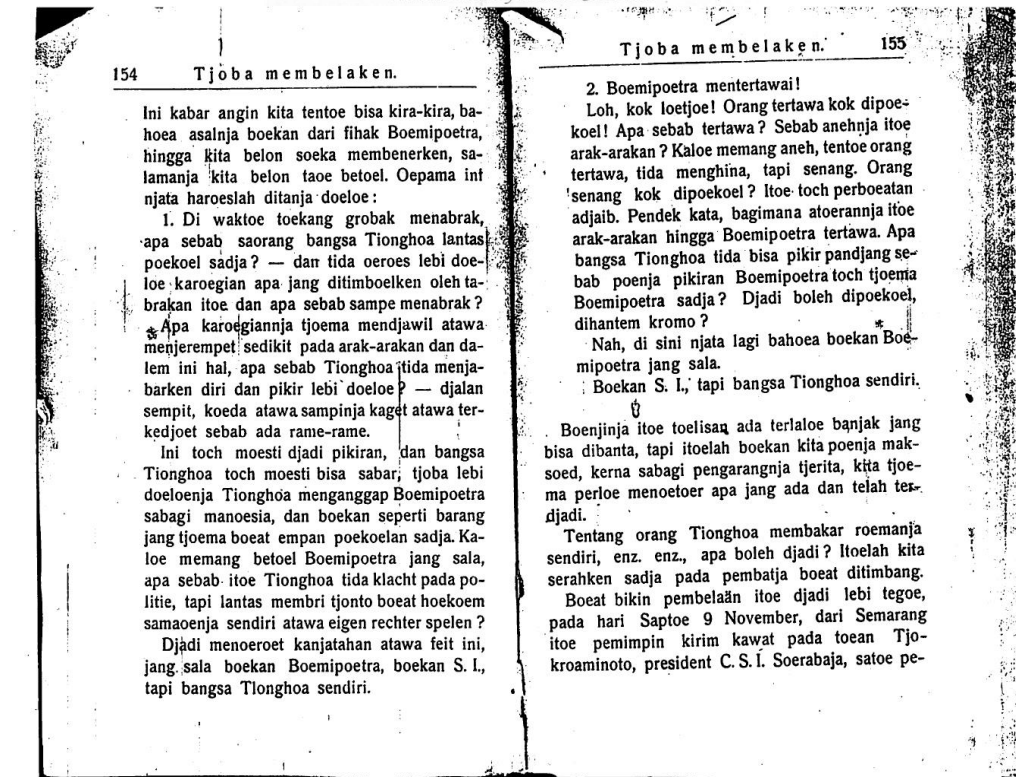
Figure 3a

Sinar Hindia newspaper on 11th November 1918 attached in *Peroesoehan di Koedes* (only partial article was attached, p. 153-155).

Source: *Peroesoehan di Koedoes* (William Bradley Horton Collection, n.d., p. 153-155)



William Bradley Horton Collection



William Bradley Horton Collection

Figure 3b

Sinar Hindia newspaper on 11th November 1918 attached in Proesoehan di Koedes (only partial article was attached, p. 153-155)

Source: National Library of the Republic of Indonesia Collection



Concerning the newspapers featured by TBK in his novel *Peroesoehan di Koedoes*, the central themes or topics of the first and second stories share a common thread, namely the events in Kudus on 30th and 31st October, 1918. However, the way these newspapers contextualise the themes to be presented to the public is quite different.

Sin Po and *De Locomotief* are in the first group. The journalists' overarching issue was the big riot planned by the *Bumiputera*. This paragraph was backed by multiple subtopics, including *Bumiputera* who do not respect the religious practices of the Chinese; thousands of *Bumiputera* who assembled, burnt, looted and killed the Chinese; and police and military personnel who were unable to stop the aggression. The focus on each issue in the two newspapers will reinforce, enhance and constitute the central theme in the shape of the fury and criminality of the rioters staged by the *Bumiputera*. *Sin Po*, as the Chinese voice, sought to demonstrate the misdeeds of the indigenous against the Chinese ethnic group, while *De Locomotief*, as the Dutch voice, wanted to use the Chinese hatred against the *Kudus Bumiputera* as a propaganda tool.

For the second group of newspapers, namely *Sinar Hindia*, TBK did not display the newspaper's entire page under the guise of "*pembelaanja ini commisaris C.S.I ada terlaloe pandjang boeat dipoengoet satoe persatoe*" because this newspaper is said to be one of the mouthpieces of the Islamic Union (SI). This organisation has been dubbed the mastermind of the riot. TBK did not hesitate to highlight the newspapers, which he labelled as fair and impartial, and talked openly about the correspondent's voyage to obtain news about the turmoil. Hence, the researchers decided to source the complete story as well from the specific *Sinar Hindia* newspaper. The information gathered showed that the original article was titled "*Perang Ketjil di Koedoes: Saban-Saban Dikata S.I. Jang Berdosa*" and published on 9th November 1918.

Based on this, there is a distinction between the discourse provided to readers about the substance of the news mentioned in the novel and the content of the whole news story in the original newspaper. The content of the newspaper extracts suggested that *Sinar Hindia* is primarily concerned with protecting the SI and *Bumiputera*. The explanations also appeared to emphasise that the indigenous are not wrong. In reality, numerous vital details were omitted by TBK in the original newspaper story, which is detailed below: SI Kudus has a soft opinion and is only "based on religion", making riot impossible; *Bumiputera* poverty as a result of capitalist *stelsel*; the Dutch government's political segregation seemed to favour the Chinese nation; the government did not pursue the perpetrators of the beatings that began with the Chinese; harsh words and parades that offend the religious sentiments of the *hadjis* (*Sinar Hindia*, 9th November 1918).

The Superstructure of the Text

Table 1 shows a schematic mapping of the attached media stories, namely from *Sin Po*, *De Locomotief* and *Sinar Hindia*:

Table 1

Schematic Data from Sin Po, De Locomotief, and Sinar Hindia Newspapers

Newspaper	Schematic	Quoted News
<i>Sin Po</i>	1. Summary	<i>"Kariboetan di Koedoes"</i>
	a. Title b. Lead	<i>Semarang, 1st November 1918. Samalem liwat sedikit djam toedjoe di Koedoes telah terbit roesoe heibat antara orang-orang Tionghoa dan Boemipoetra.</i>
	2. Story	Paragraph 2: Riot carried out by <i>Bumiputera</i> Paragraph 3: Slow aid from Semarang Paragraph 7: The mastermind was a high-ranking SI Kudus committee member Paragraph 9: Background of the riot Paragraph 10: Impact of the riot
<i>De Locomotief</i>	1. Summary	<i>"Kariboetan Besar!"</i>
	a. Title b. Lead	<i>Koedoes, 1st November 1918. Kamaren sore orang Tionghoa bikin arak-arakan ping-an boeat mengoesir penjakit influenza jang masi mengamoek di sana.</i>
	2. Story	Paragraph 2: Background of the riot. Paragraph 3: The inability of the Kudus police to deal with the riot Paragraph 4: The ferocity of the rioters Paragraphs 9 and 11: The perpetrators are <i>Bumiputera</i> and SI involvement
<i>Sinar Hindia</i>	1. Summary	
	a. Title b. Lead	<i>Perang Ketjil di Koedoes: Saban-Saban Dikata S.I. Jang Berdosa, 9th November 1918 (based on information gathered by the researcher).</i> <i>Beroelang-oelang kita mengoetip soearanja pers fehak Tiong Hwa tentang hiroe hara di Koedoes, tetapi semoea tereakan itoe tidak njjaman oentoek kita Boemipoetra, itoelah soedah djamak! Tetapi djangan koeatir pembatja, lain hari tentoe tertampak djoega pemandangan kita tentang itoe perkara. Dibawah ini kita mengoetip dari Oetoesan Hindia toelisannja saudara SEMAOEN (researcher finding)</i>
	2. Story	Paragraph 9: i) Denial of the background to the riot caused by <i>Bumiputera</i> ii) <i>Toekang grobak menabrak arak-arakan</i> iii) <i>Ada jang kata lagi Boemipoetra mentertawai pada arak-arakan bangsa Tionghoa itoe.</i> Paragraphs 10-11: Clarification of two points in the background of the riot Paragraph 12: Defending yourself and blaming other ethnicities

According to the schematic data, each report began with a title. The lead paragraphs described the discourse references that motivate readers to read the main body text. The stories in *Sin Po* and *De Locomotief* publications are comparable, even though the sequence is different. *Sin Po* focused on the rioters' wrath towards the Chinese and had a propensity to protect its readers, who were also victims of the riot. It was as if they had also wished to draw sympathy towards the circumstances faced by the Chinese. The background information was also presented after the piece ran and was not overtly stressed to disguise the culprits. It was also published from the Chinese side, hurting native religious emotions by assaulting native *hadjis* and producing an example of a parade doll that looks like a *hadji*, then filling the doll's mouth with pork. On the riot's history, TBK included a form of a response from *Sin Po* regarding this. *Sin Po's* comments underneath the news read as if he was hesitant to stand with his country. Its doubt can be seen in the following quote:

"Dari berita dia atas, njatalah fihak Boemipoetra jang soeda oesil lebi doeloe. Biar bagaimana djoega orang moesti tjela itoe kepertjajayaan tachayoel jang ada pada orang Tionghoa jang pikirannya masi gelap, tapi toch tida ada patoet boeat marika poenja kepertjatjaan itoe moesti ditertawaken setjara menjengkelkan."

"Tapi itoe perhinaan satjara pembalesan dari fihak bangsa Tionghoa pada igama Islam, jaitoe degen arak satoe boneka jang dioempamakan satoe hadjie dan makoedian didjedjelin daging babi di moeloetnja, poen harus ditjela seperti satoe perboeatan dari orang jang berpikiran tjoepoet..."

"Djadi kadoea fihak itoe poenja pikiran njatalah ada sama tjoepoetnja dan sama goblognja."

(Kim, 1920, p. 133-134)

Although *Sin Po* tried to defend the Chinese, the newspaper showed an ambivalent construction, where its country is also stereotyped negatively. The quote showed that the Chinese were constructed as a group with superstitious beliefs (*kepertjajayaan tachayoel*), which should be censured, narrow-minded (*jang berpikiran tjoepoet*), and foolish (*goblognja*) like the natives. Such a depiction showed they were no different from the natives who orchestrated the violence.

The periodical *De Locomotief* was found to begin its stories by providing context for the incidents. The title *Keriboetan Besar!* would entice readers to learn about what transpired. The primary focus was how the *Bumiputera* were the first to cause a stir on 30th October. The *Bumiputera* were not easily satiated; they would continue to riot until the Chinese in Kudus had been exterminated. Indeed, the riot in Kudus might be used by the Dutch press to demonstrate that the relocation of the *Bumiputera* was no longer compassionate, even if it was hazardous (Hana, 2019). This was also colonial propaganda aimed at limiting the social mobility of the *Bumiputera*, which could have impacted their behaviour. The subsequent tendency was that *De Locomotief* backed the military, which had arrived in the morning after the disturbances had been repressed, under the guise of providing security:

"Itoe waktoe djoega residen laloe prenta sediaken anam auto dan bawa sadjoembla orang militair jang dipimpin oleh satoe kapitein, berangkat ka Koedoes. Di tenga djalan band aouto dapet karoesakan, hingga ampir pagi baroe sampe di itoe tempat."

(Kim, 1920, p. 136)

The Dutch press backed the military because the Dutch East Indies were under Dutch control then. *De Locomotief* is unlike *Sin Po*, which said that the troops could not deploy rapidly and arrived in a secure condition of turmoil. Even though the two papers have nearly identical fundamental aspects, their relevance was determined by the journalist's or text developer's background. Although *Sin Po* referenced *De Locomotief*, the former emphasised the rioters' intensity and the government's inability to provide help. However, *De Locomotief's* attention was drawn to the history of the riot led by SI, which was deemed hazardous, as well as clarity on government and military support that had been delayed.

Last, the *Sinar Hindia* newspaper published a feature titled *Perang Ketjil di Koedoes: Saban-Saban dikata SI Jang Berdosa*. This term refers to the early disturbances that erupted during the Tua Pek Kong procession. The piece was reasonably lengthy in the original newspaper, published on 9th November 1918. However, in the novel *Peroesoehan di Koedoes*, TBK cut many of the main news points. Crucial elements in the *Sinar Hindia* piece were not mentioned in TBK's novel. For instance, the Bumiputra's poverty, while the Chinese demonstrate their wealth, is also due to the prevalence of capitalist *stelsel*. There was also extortion by subtle persuasion (*vorschoot*), selling rice and other items at high prices, and paying workers low wages. Next, the founding of the Republic of China made them proud. They then attempted to equalise their position while looking down on the poor *Bumiputera*. Third, there was injustice because the Chinese people, who were also perpetrators of the beatings during the parade, were not punished. It was as though these offenders were shielded since their identities could not be revealed. However, 60 members of the *Bumiputera* were penalised. The absence of these points could indicate that the author wished to keep some things hidden so that the reader would focus solely on the discourse that "natives do not want to be blamed". TBK stated in his novel:

"Boenjinja itoe toelisan ada terlaloe banjak jang bisa dibanta, tapi itoelah boekan kita poenja maksoed, kerna sabagi pengarangnja tjerita, kita tjoema perloe menoetoer apa jang ada dan telah terdjadi."

(Kim, 1920, p. 155)

If readers did not read the complete text in the original newspaper, they could have made the conclusion that *Sinar Hindia* had ignored the rioting and chose to protect the people. In contrast, crucial elements within the *Sinar Hindia* article were not mentioned in the cuttings featured in TBK's novel. Based on the findings, there is a distinction in the position and framing of natives in three newspapers: *Sin Po*, *De Locomotief* and *Sinar Hindia*. The first two constructed the natives as the cause of the riots because they started the ethno-religious conflict at the peak of long-standing rivalry due to trade issues. The Chinese were then highlighted as victims. This contrasted the fact that natives were defended from wrongdoing and framed as not the perpetrators of violence as how *Sinar Hindia's* essay explained that the views of the Chinese people may promote "recklessness" among the *Bumiputera*, leading to the riots. TBK omitted the original article's arguments from the novel as though he wanted to conceal something that might "disturb" the readers' views towards those who might be considered right or wrong. The absence of this element could indicate that the author wished to keep some things hidden so that they would focus on the narrative that "natives do not want to be blamed". The following sections will reveal the social cognition and social context surrounding the production of discourse.

Social Cognition: Dissecting Interests Through the Background of Text Creators

Schemas define how a person uses memory information and the way it is merged with new information that specifies how events are understood, processed, and incorporated as part of a person's understanding of reality (Augoustinos & Walker, 1995). The person schema (how someone characterises and perceives other people) was utilised in *Sin Po*. For example, a Chinese journalist from a Chinese publication dealt with the reality that the primary victims of the riot he was covering were ethnic Chinese, while the culprits were the *Bumiputera*. As a result, the author's mind will automatically seek to protect the downtrodden people when writing his news pieces. TBK created his narrative based on his observations of the scenario presented. He also included images of the rioting, wreckage of Chinese dwellings, and the many deaths of ethnic Chinese buried in fallen buildings. At the very least, this caused him distress. Understandably, his primary focus was on the persecuted ethnic Chinese community and their defence.

In contrast, *De Locomotief* was a Dutch newspaper that came to the scene the day after the riot. Their focus was on the native population's anarchist actions. *De Locomotief* recommended that the SI's legal standing (*rechtspersoonlijkheid*) be withdrawn. This call made sense at that time, given that diverse indigenous groups and organisations have long been regarded as forerunners of resistance against the Dutch empire. As a Dutch publication, *De Locomotief* had a vested interest in discrediting indigenous movements and organisations. *Sin Po*, states Hana (2019) wrote that the Dutch press – which abhorred the *Bumiputera* movement – produced propaganda news to the government and forced them to intervene to suppress the movement by force of arms.

Last, *Sinar Hindia* was an indigenous press serving as SI's spokesman. Based on the data retrieved for this study, the *Sinar Hindia* newspaper is one of the local media that was particularly active in the protection of indigenous interests. When SI was implicated, *Sinar Hindia* defended the natives, mainly SI. Semaun wrote the piece published on 9th November 1918 in reaction to voices in the Chinese press that he found unsettling for the *Bumiputera*.

The Social Context Behind the Riot in Koedoes in 1918

Social context analysis seeks to expose how speech evolves in society; hence, to evaluate texts, an intertextual analysis must be performed by assessing how discourse about something is generated and produced in society (Eriyanto, 2001). In 1912, the social situation in Kudus was marked by the social mobility of the native middle class with a revolutionary ideology, as proven by the emergence of SI and Association of Workers and Farmers (PKBT); the existence of capitalist practices; the founding of the Republic of China in 1911, which influenced Chinese nationalism's passion for unity; and the emergence of religious fanaticism for both ethnic Chinese and natives (Castles, 1982; Hana, 2019; Masyhuri, 2006).

Fundamental issues that arose were trade competitiveness and capitalism in practice. Initially, the *kretek* cigarette industry in Kudus was exclusively handled by the Bumiputras. It was unclear when the Chinese began working in the *kretek* industry (Masyhuri, 2006). However, at the start of the second decade of the 20th century, the Chinese were found to own such factories. The story depicted trade competitiveness due to numerous native labourers who previously worked for local *hadji* merchants, but migrated to work for Chinese merchants due to strong ties. TBK also conveyed the notion in the novel that Chinese merchants recruited workers with more outstanding talents and were prepared to issue loans or *vorschoot* to them (Kim, 1920).

China's economic development was inextricably linked to the establishment of the Republic of China in 1911. The country's establishment impacted many aspects of Chinese life, particularly in Kudus. Due to their proximity to Europe, the Chinese were proud of the revolutionary party's political and intellectual success (Korver, 1985). The construction of a superior commodity in Kudus's industrial economic structure succeeded in capturing the attention of the Chinese community, particularly in market movement. The Hadji people in Kudus attained significant profits in the *kretek* business, which then piqued the interest of Chinese traders to become actively involved in the production and trade of *kretek* too. Due to the potential for enormous profit, uniformed products and minimal barriers to competition, the Chinese community became more involved in the *batik* and *kretek* markets in Kudus, creating trade competition (Hana, 2018).

Religious belief was also a significant influence in the Kudus riots. Tensions peaked as a result of a religious infraction. When the ethnic Chinese in Kudus organised the Tua Pek Kong parade, a rite aimed at expelling the Spanish flu was conducted. The reason was the disease had spread and caused worker deaths, thereby affecting trade. However, several native *Bumiputera* residents allegedly chuckled at the rite and parade as it progressed down Menara Street as if belittling the ethnic Chinese's beliefs. The reaction was deemed unacceptable; therefore, a member of the Chinese community retaliated physically by striking one local. This altercation elicited a response from other members who were participants in a parade element that resembled a *Hadji* costume and had its mouth stuffed with pork. News of this occurrence circulated among the native *hadjis*, causing friction between the two groups.

Power and access were critical aspects to consider when assessing the society's social setting (Eriyanto, 2001). In this situation, both groups (local Muslims and Chinese) have equal influence. This authority is typically built on the possession of valued resources such as money, position and expertise. A type of power control, according to Van Dijk (2015) is persuasive control or the ability of an individual or group to control the acts and minds of another individual or group through knowledge, information and authority. For example, when they wished to start a riot, they were able to manipulate the *Bumiputera* population to carry out collective mass action to riot in the name of religion. They banded together to preserve the dignity of the Hajj sign, which was insulted during the March, as well as to defend a *Hadji* whom a Chinese youngster had earlier attacked.

Regarding access, Van Dijk claims that elite groups have more than just non-powerful organisations. People with more authority have a greater chance of accessing media that impact public understanding (Eriyanto, 2001). During the Kudus riots, both native Muslim and Chinese groups had easy access; they even had their own publications. *Sin Po* is a Chinese-owned daily whereas *Sinar Hindia* is an arm of SI. As a result, the mass media at the time tended to present varying information on the Kudus riots, with interpretations made based on the interests of each party. The dictions employed in reporting could be offensive at times, particularly in the appraisal of events provided by the various leaders of the *Bumiputera* and Chinese people (Hana, 2019).

From the discussion above, it can be understood that the four mass media cited in TBK's novel are not neutral discourses. Hence, they cannot be read in a taken-for-granted manner. Critical discourse analysis could provide a better understanding of the fact that the mass media contains the meaning intended by the authors as their producers. By revealing the findings and their interpretation, this research could provide critical knowledge on how to understand literary work and mass media, emphasising that ideological interests are hidden behind the language used.

Conclusion

Newspapers are essential mass media as a forum for debate that allows diverse individuals and political organisations to disseminate messages and impact public opinion. Using van Dijk's theory, an analysis of media texts revealed that the Chinese daily *Sin Po*, the Dutch newspaper *De Locomotief* and the Bumiputra *Sinar Hindia* had distinct priorities when delivering their messages on the Kudus 1918 riots. *Sin Po* concentrated on defending their ethnicity as a victim of the riots while simultaneously demonstrating how vicious the rioters were. Dutch periodical *De Locomotief* focused on instilling public rage against indigenous organisations, mainly SI, which they saw as dangerous and had the potential to undermine Dutch imperialism and their position in the Dutch East Indies, thereby exploiting the media's role in supporting the political agenda and colonial interests. *Sinar Hindia* concentrated on offering defence for its group and clarified material to avoid being accused of causing the disturbances. The hidden meanings and interests in mass media cited in the novel *Peroesoehan di Koedoes* were implied through the macrostructure and superstructure that show the overall framing of the text analysed. They are formed by the producers or authors who struggle with their concerns about ethnicity (Chinese and indigenous) and politics (Dutch colonialism). In the broader context, this research shows that these discourses are inseparable from religious and capitalist conflict. This paper hopes to encourage readers to question and put forward a critical attitude when accepting, reading, or hearing ethical, political, cultural and social information in contemporary mass and social media. Future research could analyse other TBK literary works using critical discourse analysis to convey and map his tendencies when producing discourse.

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