The Potential of Mystification in The Jakarta Post Articles toward Human Right Violation Issue

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A R T I C L E   I N F O

A B S T R A C T

This paper tries to unfold the potential of mystification in the Jakarta Post Articles toward human right violation issues during 2014 and 2023. This study focuses on nominalization and passivization. The method of this study is the identification of mystifying and non-mystifying texts in passives based on Lingle's (2023) framework criteria. It aims to find whether the agent or patient (Hart 2021) is potentially mystified by passivization (Langacker 2008) or nominalizations (Fairclough 2003; Halliday & Matthiessen 1999). The results suggest that the agent is the most potential mystified in articles for 2014 and 2023. Agents are potentially mystified by nominalizations such as killing, kidnapping, death, disappearance, massacre, and atrocities. Meanwhile, the patient is potentially mystified by its impact, for example, insubordination, violators, and cases, also through the impersonality. The dismissing agency in nominalization means that the writer tries to reduce the information. Besides, reifying verbs to nouns indicates the existence of such entities.

I N F O   A R T I K E L

A B S T R A K

Studi ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis potensi mistifikasi dalam Artikel Jakarta Post terhadap isu pelanggaran hak asasi manusia selama tahun 2014 dan 2023. Penelitian ini berfokus pada nominalisasi dan pasivisasi. Analisis dilakukan dengan metode identifikasi teks mistifikasi dan non-mistifikasi dalam bentuk pasif berdasarkan kriteria kerangka Lingle (2023) untuk menemukan apakah agen atau pasien (Hart 2021) berpotensi dimistifikasi dalam bentuk pasif (Langacker 2008) atau nomina (Fairclough 2003; Halliday & Mathiessen 1999). Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa agen menjadi yang paling berpotensi dimistifikasi dalam artikel tahun 2014 dan 2023. Mistifikasi agen dilakukan melalui bentuk nomina atau kata benda, seperti *pembunuhan*, *penculikan*, *kematian*, *penghilangan*, *pembantaian*, dan *kekejaman*. Sementara itu, mistifikasi pasien berpotensi dimistifikasi melalui dampaknya, misalnya, *pembangkangan*, *pelanggar*, dan *kasus*. Potensi mistifikasi pada pasien juga ditemukan melalui bentuk impersonalitas. Penghilangan agen dalam bentuk nominal menunjukkan bahwa adanya kemungkinan untuk mereduksi informasi. Selain itu, bentuk reifikasi kata kerja menjadi kata benda menunjukkan keberadaan entitas tersebut.

INTRODUCTION

The mystification or vagueness of actors in an action chain is frequently used in sensitive news articles one is the human rights violation issue studied in this paper. Half a century after independence, Indonesia had dark historical events in the humanitarian sector, one of which

was in the 1998 era. Human rights issues often arise at the same time as presidential and vicepresidential candidates, especially because one of the presidential candidates is often linked with the disappearance of several activists fighting for democracy. Accusations against the mastermind behind the disappearance of activists in 1998 have had their pros and cons; each media has its stance. The Jakarta Post is one of the national media in Indonesia, with English as a news source.

Mystification aims to reduce the sense of responsibility for events resulting from linguistic expressions in intransitive verbs, passives, agentless passives, nominalizations, metaphors, metonymies, etc. Technically, mystification is defined as reducing readers' comprehension of actions and participants in a text by various means, such as the use of nominalizations that leave actors unnamed or agentless passives. Fowler et al., (1979) in Billig (2008) mention that "choosing noun phrases over verbs and the passive voice over the active voice was often ideologically charged; the choice of passive over active, or of noun over the verb, was not ideologically random." Filardo-Llamas et al., (2016) argue that ideologically, "the active voice is thus said to be used to draw attention to negative behaviors of the out-group while the passive voice is used to direct attention away from negative behaviors of the in-group."

In some situations, language exclusion only sometimes serves to mystify. For instance, genre constraints or standard discourse rules (such as brevity) may lead to linguistic exclusion. Therefore, the main questions explored are: What tends to be mystified in The Jakarta Post articles during 2014 and 2023? How do nominalization and passives mystify agents and patients? By exploring mystification, it is possible to identify how The Jakarta Post constructs agents and patients through issues.

The structure of this paper is as follows: The paper begins by discussing the background of this study. Following this, previous research related to this study is described in the second section. The third section will explain the data compilation process and method. The analysis and results of the study are presented in the analysis section. Lastly, the conclusion section will summarize the analysis points.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Mystifications have been covered in previous studies in a variety of contexts. Research on mystification is very closely related to agency. Some research on the agency is done by Reid (2022). He observes the agency's representations in the 2011 Fukushima nuclear disaster through the agency framework: coreness, impact, scaling, and control. Using three official foreword reports on the causes of the Fukushima nuclear disaster, he found that representations of agency in two reports could have been stronger before than after the disaster. When discussing responsibility, two of three organizations involve natural and human factors. Three of them agree that structure and organizational factors have more influence than individual and individual decisions. However, in his paper, instead of finding who did what to whom, he only focused on how much of what to whom. For that reason, in this paper, other than finding mystification, it also adopts a control framework to examine the freedom and constraint of the action, to find the stronger or weaker, guilty or innocent, or to assign credit or blame for actions.

The agency has also been covered in identity representation of post-colonial Hong Kong in English newspapers (Liu & Zhong, 2020), contemporary history in Chile and Spain (Oteíza & Pinto, 2008), Uruguay perspective (Achugar, 2004). One that is interesting is written by Barca (2018) on representations of responsibility in the coverage of the highly publicized 2013 Steubenville, Ohio rape as a case study. She was performing transitivity and agency in her paper and connecting with neoliberal notions of victimization.

Similary to the research above, Achugar (2007) focuses on how the social actors and events were represented, evaluated, or silenced in the open-access Military texts from 1976–2004. Using a transitivity and appraisal approach, one of her findings highlights the avoidance of responsibility through impersonal constructions such as passives and nominalizations. It is in line with Fairclough's (2003) argument that nominalization characteristically involves the "loss" of certain semantic elements of clauses, either tense or modality. It also may involve the exclusion of Participants in clauses, so in this case, none of the nominalizations nor the process nouns has an agent (Suswandi, 2020). However, Achugar is only focused on the responsibility of agents explicitly mentioned in the corpus and leaves aside the implicit agent mystified by nominalizations or passivization.

Mystification is also often related to cognitive grammar. Langacker (2008) states that grammar offers a comprehensive and coherent view of language structure that is intuitively natural, psychologically plausible, and empirically viable. Hart (2021:4) mentions, "Cognitive Grammar makes no distinction between grammar and the lexicon and instead views all linguistic units as paired with meanings, at different levels of abstraction, inside a system of symbolic assemblages." Grammar allows us to construct and symbolize the more elaborate meanings of complex expressions (like phrases, clauses, and sentences).

More recently, Hart (2021) used Cognitive Grammar and its applications to 7 newspaper texts of two events that took place on the Gaza-Israel border in 2018 in which large numbers of Palestinians. He divided three categories to identify mystification: agent-based, patient-based, and multimodal mystification. He argues that "in agent-based mystification, the role and identity of the agent are possibly obfuscated while in patient-based mystification, the agent is identified, but the force of the action in which they are agentive is most likely modulated" (p.7). The reformulations as a preference for a transitive verb are also found in reader responses through Twitter. For that reason, this paper examines whether the agent in this data is obfuscated and the patient is modulated, as it happened in the same human rights issue in Palestine. The multimodal mystification analysis and the reader's response is left aside because some articles do not attach the picture's context.

Another study of mystification focusing on the human rights topic was done by Kuosmanen (2021). He explores the executive summaries of human rights country reports produced by the U.S. State to investigate the agency and find who/what is afforded an active role and how responsibility for abuses is represented. The result is that "the reports make a distinction between public authorities and ordinary citizens: the former serves as enablers or perpetrators of human rights abuses; the latter remain largely invisible but are assumed to yearn for the freedoms that the U.S. model provides" (p. 439–440). The weakness of the paper is that he only focuses on describing agent roles to justify the structure and themes in the reports. He

does not delve deeper into linguistic features such as the possible use of nominalization to vague the agency. Linguistic features are only discussed by highlighting agents and their role in a text and justifying word choice.

There are some examples of a more nuanced approach to mystification in passives. One such study is Lingle (2023), which explores the corpus approach to identify passive verbs; Qtag is used as part of speech tagging and POS tag naming search dalam AntConc. To analyze 61 passive texts, he classifies mystifying and non-mystifying passive texts. After finding the classification, he created stimuli or tests on readers ' responses to modified texts in mystified texts by adding agents to sentences containing agentless passives (Lu et al., 2021; Stockdale, Porter, Coyne, Essig, 2020). A reader then should find out the inferences of the text that have bee n modified. Reader responses will not be included in this paper. Instead, this paper will apply Lingle's (2023) method for distinguishing mystified and non-mystified texts. Previously, Lingle conducted the same study in 2018, examining the instances of nominalization and agentless passives in two editorial texts. Overall, this study is a comprehensive version of Lingle's (2023) paper. However, in 2018, he focused on more profound questions regarding the cumulative effects of passive verbs, subtle effects of agents appearing in a by-phrase as opposed to subject position, or readers' evaluations of the accountability of agents for violent actions (Mickenautsch, Yengopal, & Banerjee, 2010; Schuler, Hamilton, Kunzler, 2009).

Another fascinating study in nominalization has been suggested by Billig (2008). He argues that "several ideological features are associated with nominalization and passivization: (i) deleting agency (especially when the writers used nominalization or passivization, it is possible to transform statements that identified agents of actions into agentless statements that convey less information); (ii) reifying (turning verbs into nouns), for example, "instead of talking about people buying and selling commodities for various prices, economists, administrators, journalists, etc. might talk about "market-forces". The nominal term "market-forces" can then be used as the subject for verbs that denote agency: "market-forces dictate/demand/forbid . . .", etc." (p. 786); (iii) positing reified concepts as agents; and (iv) maintaining unequal power relations, means that nominalization is created from lexicalization intentionally. For example, scientists create new lexical terminologies from the nominalization of verbs. The effect is that it may control the one-way flow of knowledge (Fowler et al., 1979, p. 33) in Billig (2008)." His paper gives me insight into the ideological reasons behind nominalization and passivization.

Overall, from all the studies above, this study will enrich CDA's research treasures in mystification, especially in human rights violation issues. However, instead of using the same method as Kuosmanen (2021) and Achugar (2007), who focus on describing the agent's role, transitivity, or appraisal, this paper will find the absence of patient and agent as it is analyzed by Hart (2021). However, rather than doing precisely the same as Hart, this study only focuses on nominalization and passivization, as Lingle (2018) has done.

DATA

This paper is textually oriented discourse analysis that focuses on detailed analysis of small selections of carefully chosen texts rather than testing large corpora of material. All the

data is obtained from The Jakarta Post, one of the English national newspapers in Indonesia covering 2014 and 2023. Another reason why The Jakarta Post was also chosen as a data source is because of its efficiency; the text does not need to be translated from Bahasa Indonesia into English. The period of 2014 was chosen because the presidential election happened, and the 2023 period was chosen because of a more comprehensive coverage range than 2024. The data consists of 5 news articles written in 2014 and 5 more in 2023. In total, there are 7,807 words written in 10 articles. The data is obtained using the keywords "Prabowo human rights" and "Jokowi human rights" on the Jakarta Post platform. That means human rights issues related to Prabowo and human rights issues related to Jokowi. The later section discusses the analysis of the data.

METHOD

In this section, the methods used in this research will be explained, which only focused on nominalization and passivization. Fairclough (2003, p. 144) mentions that "the CG analysis thus lends psychological weight to the claims in CDA that nominalizations can 'obfuscate agency, and therefore responsibility." Then, the analysis of this study proceeds in two parts. The first part of this paper is the identification of mystifying and non-mystifying texts in passives based on Lingle's (2023) framework criteria which mainly focus on the agent and patient (Hart 2021). It aims to find whether the agent or patient is potentially mystified by passivization. Second, the analysis of texts that is potentially mystified in nominalizations. It refers to the Merriam-Webster dictionary (2002) to determine whether the analyzed terms are transitive or intransitive and to find out the meaning. The text considered potentially mystified is highlighted in the underlined mark, and all extracts in this section are quoted from The Jakarta Post 2014 and 2023.

1. Passivization analysis

The first question of the first criterion relates to 'backgrounding' as Hart (2014) in Lingle (2023) mentioned that by-phrase has a 'backgrounding' effect for readers. Backgrounding as mentioned above excludes social actors, it means that they are mentioned elsewhere in the text, but not as grammatical subjects of the relevant clause. The second question relates to whether or not there is an agent's name in the action. If it is not there, then the text may be mystified and will be analyzed further. Third question related to the possibility of constraints. The fourth question relates to the possibility of ambiguity for readers when reading text, especially for those who do not have a specified background of knowledge related to the topic. If the 1–4 questions result in 'no', then it is possible that the text may be mystified and will be explained further. Last question, if there are rational interpretations, then the agency is likely mystified.

Table 1. Criteria for distinguishing mystifying and non-mystifying passives

	Question	Result	Is agency likely mystified?
1	Does the passive contain a by-phrase naming the agent?	Yes	No
		No	Possible
2	Do the preceding clauses in the text contain information naming an agent of a related action?	Yes	No
		No	Possible
3	Does the passive have significant selection constraints?	Yes	No
		No	Possible
4	Is prior knowledge likely to enable an agency inference for non-specialist readers?	Yes	No
		No	Possible
5	Is there a 'yes' for **any** of questions 1-4?	Yes	No
		No	**Likely**
6	Are multiple plausible interpretations of agency possible?	**Yes**	**Likely**
		No	Possible

The commonly accepted structure of a verb in its past participle form, which may or may not be preceded by the auxiliary "be", however some auxiliary does not appear in passives. The auxiliary "be" may not always appear with the participial verb. Standard forms of passives are simple enough to explain, but when identifying them in authentic texts, some areas of ambiguity arise. The figure below is how active and passive are modeled by Langacker (2008). Tr refers to a trajector or a subject (a nominal) while lm refers to a landmark or an object. Hart (2021, p. 6) describes that "in a transitive active clause, the agent is the trajector and the participant of primary focus while in a passive clause, the patient is the trajector and the participant of primary focus."
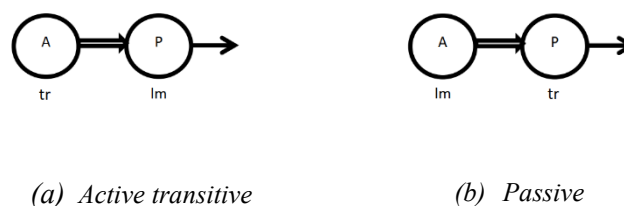

(a) Active transitive   *(b) Passive*

Figure 1. Active transitive and passive model

The following example can be categorized as passives because semantically, it fulfills the passives rule even though there is no auxiliary be. The agent of the passive excerpt (1) below is likely to be mystified because there is no specification of who appoints. The agentless passive can be illustrated as event-structure 'downstream' in energy flow leaving the agent within scope of attention but out of focus as it shown in Figure 2. In March 1998, Prabowo was appointed as Kostrad commander, a position previously held by Soeharto, his former father-in-law. [*2023 text*]
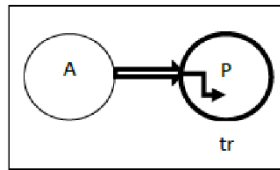
Figure 2. Agentless passive event-structure

2. Nominalization analysis

Identifying nominalization, this paper condenses the meaning of a word, phrase, or clause in a way that can be 'unpacked' into a more concrete form. The four types which are taken from the examples of Halliday & Matthiessen (1999, p. 246) in Lingle (2018, p. 62) are also adopted. They consider that nominalization can be a transformation from:

  i) Adjective to noun (for example: unstable → instability; quick(ly) → speed);

  ii) Verb to noun (for example: transform → transformation; can/could → possibility/potential);

  iii) Preposition (al phrase) to noun (for example: with→accompaniment; [dust is] on the surface → surface dust); and

  iv) Conjunction to noun (for example: so → cause/proof; if → condition).

Example of nominalization analysis is below. The clauses (3) below show an "unpacked" process from verb (kill) to noun (killing). The action of *killing* in clause (3) appears to have no reference to possible agents in the co-text (2). This clause also seems open to interpretation in the absence of a piece of information which does not name the agents who kill. Therefore, agency was found to be potentially mystified because it has the potential to confuse readers with no prior knowledge, so their understanding of agency in this case may be reduced. The oldest and the worst of these cases is the 1965-1966 massacre, an army-led campaign to crush the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). [*2023 text*]. Until last week, the killings had never been recognized in the official history books. Human rights groups said more than 500,000 PKI members, sympathizers and their family members were slain. Tens of thousands of others were sent to do hard labor on a penitentiary remote island in Maluku. [*2023 text*]
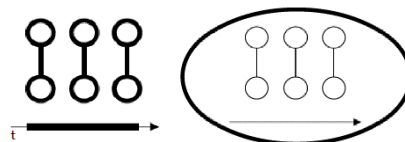

Figure 3. Scanning

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In total, there are 13 passive instances and 11 nominalized instances, which some of them are potentially mystified. In this section the identification of passives based on passives criteria of Lingle (2023) and nominalization based on Halliday & Matthiessen (1999) to answer the research questions.

1. Non mystified agent and patient

Based on the analysis of mystifying and non-mystifying passives criteria of Lingle (2023) in table 1, it can be seen that six clauses below are by-phrase naming the agent because all the transitive verb such as order (5), attempt (6), foil (7), and shut down (7) are named with the agents. The passive clauses are identified as non-mystifying the agent nor the patient. Those explicitly stated that Soeharto (4 & 5), Indonesian Communist Party (6), military (7), and government (8) are the agents of the action. Referring to Langacker (2008), the excerpts below are illustrated as in the figure 1(b) where the patient is the trajector and primary focus. (4) Prabowo 'ordered by Soeharto to kidnap activists' [2014 text]. (5) Prabowo told me when he visited Pepabri recently, that he was ordered by former president Soeharto to kidnap the activists. [2014 text]. (6) On June 27, President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo launched the government's nonjudicial solution for 12 cases of gross human rights, including the mass killing of 500,000 people that followed the alleged coup attempt by the now defunct Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) on Sept. 30, 1965. [2023 text]. (7) Any attempt to uncover the truth about 1965-1966 massacres has been foiled by the military. [2023 text]. (8) The lively discussion, aided by Joshua Oppenheimer's 2012 documentary film The Act of Killing, was abruptly shut down by the government [2023 text].

2. Agentless mystification

The 2014 data used the intransitive verbs 'died' (9) and 'death' (10), indicating that death is an autonomous event without energy that drove it. Hart (2021) calls it an independent form of causation or agency. This form is modeled as absolute intransitive (Langacker, 2008) as it is shown in the Figure 2 below that causal input is outside of the scope of attention. These excerpts leave agents unnamed. (9) that Munir <u>had died</u> demanding justice for victims of state-sponsored abuses. [*2014 text*]. (10) He was referring to <u>the death</u> of more than 130 people in a stampede at Kanjuruhan stadium in 2022 that was precipitated by these unwarranted use of tear gas by police, and the deaths of six Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) members in a fatal shootout with the police at the Jakarta-Cikampek toll road in 2020. Two police officers were acquitted in the case in 2022. [*2023 text*]
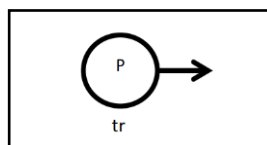

Figure 2. Absolute intransitive

Another form of agentless passive is used in the transitive verbs 'accused' and 'appointed' which should indicate that it evokes two participants in the action chain. However, in the two instances (11 & 12) below, it is not clear who is the agent of the action of accusing and pointing. Figure 2 in the method section has clearly illustrated it. (11) <u>Prabowo also has been accused</u> of engineering the May 1998 riots in Jakarta and several other large cities, allegedly in an attempt to urge the Soeharto regime to declare martial law. [*2023 text*]. (12) In March 1998, <u>Prabowo was appointed as Kostrad commander</u>, a position previously held by Soeharto, his former father-in-law. [*2023 text*].

Following this, using the Halliday & Matthiessen (1999:246) framework, 'killing', 'massacre', 'atrocities' are part of the transitive verb that is nominalized. There is a link between 'killing' and 'people kill things' (5) and (6), 'massacre' and 'people murder a number of things' (7), 'insubordination/disregard' and people defy things. In this case, there is an interesting pattern that when the agent is not expressed, the nominalization requires a determiner. The nominalization below: (13) Until last week, the killings had never been recognized in the official history books. Human rights groups said more than 500,000 PKI members, sympathizers and their family members were slain. Tens of thousands of others were sent to do hard labor on a penitentiary remote island in Maluku. [*2023 text*]. (14) The other 11 cases involve the killing of alleged criminals in the 1980s in Jakarta and other big cities, a military attack on an Islamic boarding school in Lampung in the 1990s, the kidnapping and disappearance of students and activists in the late 1990s and several killings in Aceh and Papua, two areas where the military has faced armed insurgencies. [*2023 text*]. (15) The decision to recognize the massacre and 11 other past tragedies as gross human rights violations follows the recommendation of a presidential commission created to look at nonjudicial resolutions for the 12 selected cases. [*2023 text*]. (16) Not included on the list are the atrocities committed during Indonesia's brutal military occupation of East Timor in 1975-1999. [*2023 text*]. (17) A group of human rights campaigners has said that Prabowo Subianto is not a suitable candidate to run for the office of Indonesian president due to his alleged involvement in past human rights violations, including the forced disappearances of 13 pro-democracy activists in 1997-1998.

A minimum degree of mystification can be observed in nominalizations where the **agent is not expressed** as a genitive or modifier within the same noun phrase (18), but where it is mentioned in another part (previous) of the same sentence (*): (*) The military, whose fingerprints are visible on almost all these 12 cases, has been unusually quiet about Jokowi's admission and expression of regret. [*2023 text*]. (18) The other 11 cases involve the killing of alleged criminals in the 1980s in Jakarta and other big cities, a military attack on an Islamic boarding school in Lampung in the 1990s, the kidnapping and disappearance of students and activists in the late 1990s and several killings in Aceh and Papua, two areas where the military has faced armed insurgencies. [*2023 text*]

3. Patient-based mystification

Examples (19) below realize a patient-based mystification due the referential vagueness of 'cases', which does not explicitly identify activists or civil society in general as the sole victims of the violence, leaving open the possibility that the former army general, which refers to Prabowo, was also among the violators as it mentioned on the co-text (*). From the excerpts below, it is also known that there is a combination within the passive form and the impersonal 'cases'. (*) One of the highlights of Tuesday's debate, particularly regarding where each candidate stands on human rights, saw Ganjar ask Prabowo whether he had strategies to resolve 12 past gross human rights violations. [*2023 text*]. (19) The former Army general responded that some of the cases had been solved in 2009 by Mahfud MD, who is now running as Ganjar's VP candidate. [*2023 text*].

Similarly, excerpt (20) below indicates that nominalization occurs in a transitive verb 'violator'. Referring to Merriam-Webster dictionary (2002), violator means 'people violate thing(s)'. Without the need for co-text, it is clearly stated in (18) that Prabowo Subianto is an agent of the action. However, this sentence **leaves a patient** and did not find it mentioned anywhere in the text or in the next sentence (*). (20) Second, Prabowo Subianto, Jokowi's contender, is allegedly a human rights <u>violator</u>, although no charges have been leveled against him. (*) It would be difficult to imagine Prabowo as a president who would enforce human rights laws.

The following is a form of nominalization 'insubordination' and 'disregard' where the agent is realized through the use of the pronoun 'his' (referring to Prabowo) but leaves the patient and the impact. (24) In July 1998, ABRI formed an Officers Ethics Council (DKP) to investigate Prabowo. The DKP eventually decided to dishonorably discharge <u>Prabowo</u> due to a number of actions he carried out, which the council deemed demonstrated <u>his</u> <u>insubordination</u> and <u>disregard</u> for the military code. [*2023 text*]

4. Agent and patient-based mystification

The unnominalized forms of the intransitive verbs 'fall' and 'collapse' profile with the source-path-goal schema. It theoretically **leaves both the agent** in the events and their **impact on the patient**, focusing primarily on the path phase of the event-frame and more especially on the second portion of that phase. (21) he has been linked to at least three gross human rights violations that occurred <u>before</u> the <u>fall</u> of president Soeharto. (22) He served with ABRI for 28 years <u>before</u> he was dishonorably discharged following the <u>collapse</u> of Soeharto's New Order regime in 1998.

The connector 'before' found in the clause (21 & 22) shows that the action happened in a temporal sequence. It also can be justified that the relationship only happened between the agent and the process. The model of this pattern can be seen in Figure 3.
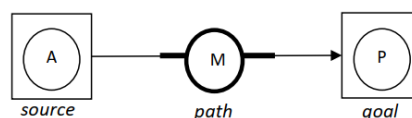

Figure 3. Path profiling

CONCLUSION

In this paper, the potential mystification of patient and agent in The Jakarta Post news articles in 2014 and 2023 have been explored, focusing on nominalization and passives. Based on the analysis above, this paper suggests some results to my research questions: What tends to be mystified in The Jakarta Post articles? How do nominalization and passives mystify agents and patients? The results suggest that the agent is the most potential mystified in articles for 2014 and 2023. Agents are potentially mystified by nominalizations such as 'killing, kidnapping, death, disappearance, massacre, and atrocities.' According to Billig (2008), the dismissing agency in nominalization means that the writer tries to reduce the information.

Besides, reifying verbs to nouns indicates the existence of such entities. It can also be argued that "processes and qualities assume the status of things: impersonal, inanimate, capable of being amassed and counted like capital, paraded like possessions" (Fowler, 1991:80) in Billig (2008:786). Second, the patient is potentially mystified by its impact, for example, insubordination, violators, and cases; the last one is being mystified due to the impersonality of the patient.

The limitation of this study is that several metaphors found in this study have not been explained, for example, the use of the word "fall" to describe the end of a president's leadership period or "collapse" to describe the period of government. Future research into mystification could focus on: first, whether readers reading for gist are likely to be able to recover the identities of the missing or backgrounded agents. The agency is not considered potentially mystified if readers are likely to infer such information automatically. The reader response study should be carried out since mystification is actually an effect in reader's minds. This paper has only assessed the potential of a text to be mystificatory. Second, research can be conducted on the linguistic structure combined with the visual experience (multimodal mystification) or the metaphor used. Metaphor is defined as "a mapping across two conceptual domains that are distinct from each other but can be connected by a set of correspondences that show that they are metaphorically alike" Semino & Demjén (2016:76). The broader implications of this study are, by exploring mystification, it is possible to identify how specific media constructs agents and patients through issues. For The Jakarta Post itself, the agent is likely to be mystified.

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