

JOKO WIDODO’S REPRESENTATION IN *THE NEW YORK TIMES* ARTICLE “INDONESIA’S LEADER FACES STUDENT PROTESTS AND CRISES HEADING INTO NEW TERM”: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

Pada umumnya, manusia dapat menarik representasi seseorang saat berkomunikasi satu dan lainnya. Salah satu media yang dapat menggambarkan representasi seseorang adalah melalui teks berita. Dalam studi ini, penulis meneliti sebuah teks berita yang diterbitkan oleh media *The New York Times* berjudul “*Indonesia’s Leader Faces Student Protests and Crises Heading into New Term*”. Teks berita tersebut membahas peristiwa demonstrasi mahasiswa terhadap pemerintah, khususnya pihak Presiden dan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (DPR) mengenai Rancangan Undang-Undang (RUU) yang dianggap meresahkan. Dengan menggunakan teori Analisis Wacana Kritis (*Critical Discourse Analysis*) yang dicetuskan oleh Teun A. van Dijk, penulis bermaksud untuk mengetahui representasi dari Presiden Republik Indonesia, Joko Widodo, melalui analisis *macrostructure*, *microstructure*, dan *superstructure*.

Hasil dari studi ini menunjukkan bahwa melalui ketiga instrumen di atas, penulis teks berita merepresentasikan Joko Widodo secara negatif. Selain itu, dapat dilihat pula bahwa penulis teks berita memiliki strategi yang cermat dalam menyelipkan representasi negatif Joko Widodo melalui paragraf-paragraf yang ditulisnya.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Whenever we socialize with one another, the people whom we interact to are supposed to have their own representation on us. According to Hall (1997), representation is “the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language”. People may judge someone’s representation through three possible ways, namely morality, sociability, and competence (Social Psych Online, 2016). Then, the concept in our mind about that person can be represented as either a positive or negative one. The topic of representation is chosen because I would like to analyse further how people can conclude someone’s representation through several possible ways.

I am interested in analysing the representation of a well-known political figure in Indonesia in a newspaper. It is generally understood that media play a big role in creating an image of a person. Hence, analyzing how media represent someone is definitely intriguing.

I decide to analyse Joko Widodo’s representation in this thesis. Joko Widodo, or whom people usually address as Jokowi, is the seventh President of Indonesia. He is currently on his second term of his presidency, and he starts his duty on 20 October 2019. I choose Jokowi as the figure in my thesis

because of some interesting things. First of all, he gains people's trust by his previous experience as a mayor of Solo. Moreover, he is very humble in front of the public, which makes people like him even more. He is also a president who is successful in improving some major things for Indonesia. However, when he is about to enter his second term, the public starts to wonder about Jokowi's role on the students' riot that happens in several big cities in Indonesia. Hence, I am interested in finding out how the media represent him at this particular moment.

Several media such as television or radio talk shows and newspaper articles reported the issue. However, in this thesis, I choose to analyse a newspaper article because it includes a lot of details that are needed to analyse Jokowi's representation further. A newspaper article can also convey a positive or negative representation by giving subtle or direct arguments regarding that person. Therefore, it is interesting to be analysed further.

We cannot deny the fact that every media has a biased perspective about something or someone. Therefore, in my opinion, when we analyse Jokowi's representation in a local newspaper, it may become too biased. Thus, I prefer to analyse Jokowi's representation in a foreign newspaper to avoid the over-preference towards Jokowi.

I choose an article in *The New York Times* to analyse. *The New York Times* is a newspaper company established in 1851 which reports issues around the world (The New York Times Company, n.d.). According to The New York Times Company (n.d.), *The New York Times* has got some rewards, including 127 Pulitzer Prizes and 57 Emmy and Oscar nominations since 2006. Regarding the Pulitzer Prizes, Watson (2019) says that *The New York Times* has won much more Pulitzer

Prizes than any other media in United States. Hence, it is obvious that this company is reputable enough to be taken as a data for my thesis analysis. The data that I would like to discuss from *The New York Times* is an article entitled “Indonesia’s Leader Faces Student Protests and Crises Heading into New Term”. This article covers what I would like to analyse, which is about the student protests happening in Indonesia that is related to Jokowi.

The analysis will be done using van Dijk’s Critical Discourse Analysis. Critical Discourse Analysis is “a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, and resisted by text in the social and political context” (van Dijk, 1993). In doing the analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis has three major parts, namely macro level analysis, meso level analysis, and micro level analysis. However, in this thesis, I will limit the analysis only on the micro level analysis, which will be divided into three parts, namely macrostructure, microstructure, and superstructure. Therefore, van Dijk’s Critical Discourse Analysis is suitable for my analysis because it critically analyses the political and social issues in Indonesia.

By doing this thesis analysis, I hope it can be beneficial for other people who are reading my thesis as it may help them think more wisely and carefully when judging an issue. I would also feel honoured if this thesis can help other people to understand this issue more and to be more critical in judging Jokowi’s representation.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In doing the analysis, the problems that I would like to discuss are:

1. How is Jokowi represented in the newspaper article in the macrostructure analysis?
2. How is Jokowi represented in the newspaper article in the microstructure analysis?
3. How is Jokowi represented in the newspaper article in the superstructure analysis?

1.3 Purpose of the Study

By doing this analysis, I would like to find out these following things:

1. to find out the representation of Jokowi in the newspaper article in the macrostructure analysis.
2. to find out representation of Jokowi in the newspaper article in the microstructure analysis.
3. to find out representation of Jokowi in the newspaper article in the superstructure analysis.

1.4 Organization of the Thesis

My thesis will be divided into five chapters. The first chapter is Introduction, which includes Background of the Study, Statement of the Problem, Purpose of the Study, and Organization of the Thesis. The second chapter discusses Literature Review. The third chapter presents Methods of Research, which contains Research Design, Data Collection Technique, Framework for Analysis, and Data

Analysis. The fourth chapter discusses the analysis of my data, Jokowi's Representation in *The New York Times* Article "Indonesia's Leader Faces Student Protests and Crises Heading into New Term": A Critical Discourse Analysis, and the fifth one is Conclusion; followed by References and Appendices.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter I would like to present the theories used for my thesis. This chapter will be divided into some parts: the theory of representation, Critical Discourse Analysis, and a review of a previous study.

2.1 Representation

Hall (1997) states that representation is “using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully to other people.” Representation may come from the production of the meaning of our concepts in our minds through the language. For example, when we mention an object, namely a lamp, the concept passes through our mental representation because of us saying the word *lamp*. Later, this word will present a concept that we can think of in real life or through our imagination.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

As stated by van Dijk (1993), Critical Discourse Analysis is “a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, and resisted by text in the social and political context.” Wodak (2001) states that the purpose of CDA is to analyse the

social inequality through a language. In CDA, the analysis will be divided into three major parts: macro level analysis, meso level analysis, and micro level analysis.

Macro level analysis studies the texts in order to “make wide-ranging claims about a certain period or a certain society” (Ifversen, 2003). In a nutshell, Fairclough (1989) states that in the macro level, the analyst will consider the intertextual relationship on text while trying to understand the wide background that may influence the text. Meso level analysis is the part that serves the transitional link between the micro and the macro levels. The meso level builds the analytical structure of the discourse (Talib & Fitzgerald, 2016). The last one, micro level analysis, according to Lyons (1981), is the study of linguistic structures of the discourse. It will look through some linguistic features and devices to the text (Fairclough, 2003).

In this thesis, I will focus on the micro level analysis. This analysis will be divided further into three major parts, namely macrostructure, microstructure, and superstructure.

2.2.1 Macrostructure

According to van Dijk (1980), macrostructure is the higher-level semantic that organizes the microstructure of a discourse. In other words, macrostructure describes the global structure of a discourse, for example, the topic, theme, or gist. Therefore, macrostructure is the global semantic information that is relative to the microstructure of discourse, cognition, and interaction.

2.2.2 Microstructure

Microstructure is “how the language use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication affect the text” (van Dijk, 1980). To analyse the microstructure, there are some tools used in my thesis: lexicalization, level of description, vagueness, counterfactuals, implication, disclaimers, number game, contrast, modality, and rhetorical question. The explanation of each tool will be provided in the following parts.

2.2.2.1 Lexicalization

According to van Dijk (2006), lexicalization is a tool used to express a concept in the specific lexical items. The words that are used by people have several choices, which depends on discourse genre, personal context, social context, and sociocultural context (van Dijk, n.d., p. 25). The example of lexicalization can be found through the use of euphemism. For instance, the phrase “Evil Empire” was often used to describe the Soviet Union during the Cold War, which indicates the negative representation of the country.

2.2.2.2 Level of Description

Level of description functions to describe several things with details, or just giving an abstract idea regarding the event (van Dijk, 2000, p. 46). Usually, the good things which are done by us will be described in more detail rather than the bad things. The same thing applies for the other, that the bad things done by the other are described in detail, while the other’s good things are described in general. For instance, when we would like to describe the violence that the police did, we

can describe it in two different ways. Firstly, we may only say “police violence” in order to make things general. Secondly, we can describe how violent the police were by giving some details. The choice depends on which side the writer stands for; whether the police or the victims of the violence.

2.2.2.3 Vagueness

Vagueness, according to van Dijk (2006, p. 739), means “using vague expressions that do not have well-defined referents, or which refer to fuzzy sets”. Various types of vagueness can be implied from several categories, such as: quantifiers (‘few’, ‘a lot’), adverbs (‘very’), nouns (‘thing’), and adjectives (‘low’, ‘high’). This is an example of vagueness:

(24) **Goodness knows how much** it costs for the legal aid that those people invoke to keep challenging the decision that they are not bona fide asylum seekers (Gorman, C). (van Dijk, 2006, p. 739)

In the example, the sentence “goodness knows how much” expresses vagueness as it is not specifically stated how much it actually costs. It can be very much, or just a regular amount. Therefore, it can form the readers’ opinion that it costs so much indeed.

2.2.2.4 Counterfactuals

van Dijk (2006, p. 736) states that counterfactuals are often used to make the readers think what it feels like to be in the situation that is in the context. The

counterfactuals are also used to persuade the readers and ask for some empathy.

This is the example of a counterfactual:

I suggest that he start to think more seriously about human rights issues.

Suppose he had to flee this country because an oppressive regime had taken over. Where would he go? **Presumably** he would not want help from anyone else, because he does not believe that help should be given to anyone else (Corbyn). (van Dijk, 2006, p. 736)

In this paragraph, the words *suppose* and *presumably* may make the readers feel empathic about the situation. It does not happen exactly, as the person who states this statement may want the readers to imagine what it feels like if the character “he” has to flee the country. Therefore, it may also convince the readers.

2.2.2.5 Implication

According to van Dijk (2000, p. 74), implication is an implicit information which is conveyed to the recipients. Later on, the information would be understood “as part of their mental models of the event or action represented in discourse”. The example of implication can be found through the phrase “able-bodied males” in describing the refugees (van Dijk, 2000, p. 74). Able-bodied means that the person is “having a sound strong body” (*Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*, n.d.). Hence, the implied meaning is that the government actually does not care about the refugees. By having a strong body, it means that they are physically healthy and the government does not have to concern them that much.

2.2.2.6 Disclaimers

van Dijk (2006, p. 736) says that when someone uses disclaimers, they “briefly save face by mentioning Our positive characteristics”. However, the focus would be switched on the negative things done by Them. Here is the example:

I understand that many people want to come to Britain to work, but there is a procedure whereby people can legitimately become part of our community (Gorman). (van Dijk, 2006, p. 736)

In the example, the character “I” states a consideration towards the issue by saying “I understand”. Thus, it means that the character is being positive and it briefly saves the other’s face. Yet, in the next clause, which becomes the highlight, the character “I” rejects the idea of their becoming a part of Britain.

2.2.2.7 Number Game

As stated by van Dijk (2006, p. 738), number game is used to rise the credibility by emphasizing the objectivity. The use of number may also be beneficial to “persuasively display objectivity”. The example is listed below:

(50) It would open the floodgates again, and presumably the £200 million a year cost that was estimated when the legislation was introduced (Gorman, C). (van Dijk, 2000, p. 79)

In the paragraph, the writer specifically mentions the amount of money, which is £200 million. By stating the exact amount, it displays the objectivity so that the readers would get the same idea about the amount. It would also give credibility towards the readers as the writer states the number as it is. In this case, £200 million costs too much. Ms. Gorman, the one who says this argument, wants to convey that the budget is not enough to be paid for the refugees by the local councils. (van Dijk, 2000, p. 79)

2.2.2.8 Contrast

van Dijk (2000, p. 49) states that contrast is a tool which functions to emphasize Our positive things and also Their negative things. This tool also shows a conflicting idea between two sides. The example can be found through the sentence “We work hard, they are lazy” (van Dijk, 2000, p. 49). In the sentence, “We” is categorized as having the positive thing, while “They” is categorized as having the negative thing. Those two ideas are conflicting. However, they both show the positive and negative things about the two sides.

2.2.2.9 Modality

According to van Dijk (2000, p. 51), using modality deals with how we represent an event. For instance, when someone uses the word *necessary* in their sentence, the importance and possibility of the event is mostly higher than the word *possible*.

2.2.2.10 Rhetorical Question

As stated in Literary Devices (n.d.), when someone uses a rhetorical question, he or she already knows the answer or does not expect an answer at all. The question itself functions to emphasize the point and making the idea more powerful. The example is provided below:

"Marriage is a wonderful institution, but **who would want to live in an institution?**" (H. L. Mencken) (Nordquist, 2020)

In the example above, Mencken uses the question in order to emphasize the previous sentence, which is about "Marriage is a wonderful institution". Thus, the question asked does not demand an answer.

2.2.3 Superstructure

The schematic superstructure can be used to order some textual sentences into sequences (van Dijk, n.d.). After that, the function can be known when it is already divided into some sequences. The sequences of superstructure will be explained in the following paragraphs.

2.2.3.1 Summary

van Dijk (n.d.) states that in the summary, the writer explains the most important topics of the text. In other words, it sums up the content of the text. Hence, the summary plays a big role for the article in the interpretation. Summary will be divided into two parts, namely the headline and lead of the article.

The position of a headline in an article is at the top of the news report and it catches the attention of the readers (van Dijk, n.d.). The headline tells about the “most relevant or important information of the news report” (van Dijk, n.d.). Meanwhile, the lead will feature the fuller thematic structure of the news report (van Dijk, n.d.) and it also expresses the headline. The function of the lead is not only as a summary, but it can also be an introduction. van Dijk (n.d.) says that the lead information may provide such things as the main actors, main event, main location, and so on.

2.2.3.2 Main Event

This category provides the organization of “all information about the recent events, that gave rise to a news report” (van Dijk, n.d.). This part also features the major causes, major components, and various results of an article. The criteria for a sequence to be called the main event is that the events should have happened in one or two previous days.

2.2.3.3 Background: Context and History

Background is considered a “criterion for the quality news” (van Dijk, n.d.). The background of an article is selected or combined for the final news report. In the background, Johnson-Laird (1983) says that it is necessary for the readers to know the “representations of accumulated personal experiences and knowledge about concrete situations”. In conclusion, the background information makes the news understood more easily by updating our knowledge.

Background can be divided into two parts; present and past backgrounds. van Dijk (n.d.) states that the present background or context may tell the information about the situation where the main event takes place. On the other hand, the previous event is the information about the events that precede the main news event, and now become the causes of the main event (van Dijk, n.d.). The previous events can also be called as the circumstances. The last one is about history. According to van Dijk (n.d.), history is the past event that leads to recent situation and the events. The time may be taken from the previous months or years.

2.2.3.4 Consequences

According to van Dijk (n.d.), “the relevance and importance of events are often measured by their consequences”. It provides the information about the actions and events that follow the main events. In other words, it can also be called the cause of the main event. Consequences has one subcategory, which is called Verbal Reaction.

van Dijk (n.d.) says that Verbal Reaction gives the information by gathering and quoting statements of the participants or politicians who say something about the events. This sequence can also be a benefit for the writers because they can give political statements and evaluations without saying their own opinion. It is stated by van Dijk (1985a) that Verbal Reaction is dominantly used by writers. In conclusion, main events, backgrounds, and consequences may be combined to be called Episode, which is the main thing of a news story.

2.2.2.5 Comments

This category is not obligatory to be included in the article; however, some news stories feature Comments. In this category, van Dijk (n.d.) states that the writers may use their own opinions on what might happen next. Their opinion can be anything, not only a personal thing. There is one subcategory in Comments, which is Evaluation, in which the writers may explicitly give their opinions regarding the events.

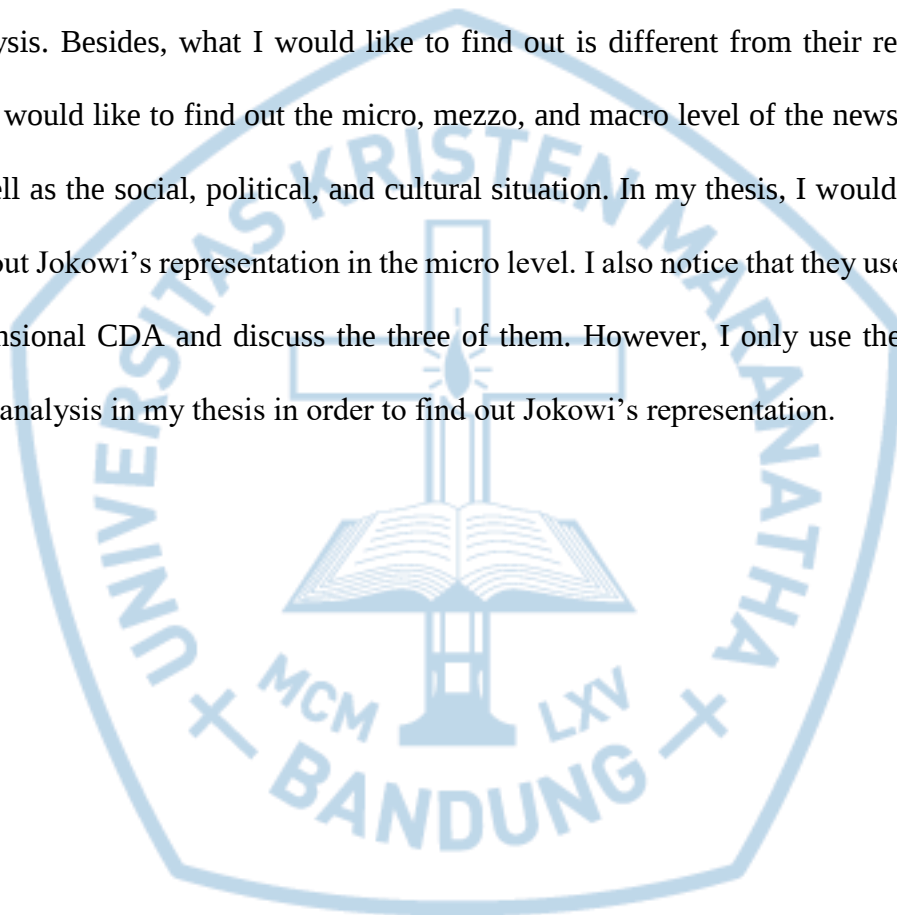
2.3 H. P. Putra and S. Triyono's "Critical Discourse Analysis on Kompas.com News: *Gerakan #2019GantiPresiden*" (2018)

In their journal article, Putra and Triyono want to analyse a newspaper article published by Kompas.com entitled "Gerakan #2019GantiPresiden di Antara Ambiguitas Hukum dan Syahwat Politik". They use Critical Discourse Analysis which is proposed by Norman Fairclough, focusing on the micro-structural, mezzo-structural, and macro-structural analysis. The writers want to describe the micro, mezzo, and macro-structural analysis and the social, political, and cultural situations based on the linguistic aspects in the newspaper article.

They explain that through the micro-structural analysis, Kompas.com uses dictions that describe the occurrence of the conflict through the words *igniting*, *rejecting*, *insulting*, and *threatening*. Moreover, Kompas.com uses the cause and effect sentences which can be related to the movement of *#2019GantiPresiden*. Thirdly, Kompas.com uses direct quotations in order to present reputable source who is an expert in that field. From their mezzo-structural analysis, Kompas.com is quite objective as it presents reliable and actual news to the readers. Lastly, the

macro-structural analysis finds out that the phenomenon *#2019GantiPresiden* can threaten Jokowi when he wants to run again for his second presidential term.

In my opinion, what my thesis conveys has a common point with what Putra and Triyono discuss. We both use the same type of data, which is the newspaper article. However, they use Critical Discourse Analysis by Norman Fairclough as the theory while I use the theory by van Dijk (1993) about Critical Discourse Analysis. Besides, what I would like to find out is different from their research. They would like to find out the micro, mezzo, and macro level of the news article as well as the social, political, and cultural situation. In my thesis, I would like to find out Jokowi's representation in the micro level. I also notice that they use three-dimensional CDA and discuss the three of them. However, I only use the micro level analysis in my thesis in order to find out Jokowi's representation.



CHAPTER THREE

METHODS OF RESEARCH

In this chapter, I would like to present the methods used to analyse the newspaper article *Indonesia's Leader Faces Student Protests and Crises Heading into New Term*. This chapter will be divided into four parts: Research Design, Data Collection Technique, Framework for Analysis, and Data Analysis.

3.1 Research Design

In doing my analysis, I use a qualitative research method. According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994), qualitative research focuses on “interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter” (p. 2). Koh (2000) adds that the researcher’s understanding is the main point of the qualitative research. Hence, it is suitable for my thesis because I also find out the representation of Jokowi by observing and interpreting the data.

Another method that is used is a descriptive research method. Manuel and Medel (1976) say that a descriptive method “involves the description, recording, analysis, and interpretation of the present nature, composition or processes of phenomena.” The focus of the research is on the person’s or group’s behavior. It fits my analysis as it also focuses on describing the representation of Jokowi.

3.2 Data Collection Technique

I collect the data by using the library research method. According to Elmer E. Rasmuson Library (n.d.), library research has a wide range of sources that are relevant, such as books, newspapers, people (experts), Internet sources, and many others. Therefore, it can be used for my analysis as I use different types of sources; from newspapers, articles, journals, and internet sources. When I would like to find out about the issue that actually happened or the tools that I want to use in my analysis, I can easily find it via articles, books, and Internet sources.

3.3 Framework for Analysis

To do my analysis in finding out the representation of Jokowi in *The New York Times* article entitled “Indonesia’s Leader Faces Student Protests and Crises Heading into New Term”, there are some steps that I use. First of all, I need to know the meaning of representation itself to understand the concept better. The concept that I use is based on Hall’s (1997) theory regarding representation. Then, I do the analysis using Critical Discourse Analysis by van Dijk to find out the representation of Jokowi.

3.4 Data Analysis

The analysis will cover the micro level by dividing it into three major parts: macrostructure, microstructure, and superstructure. In this chapter, I would like to give a sample analysis of microstructure, specifically about the lexicalization part. The data is stated below:

(17) Mr. Joko **surprised** many of his supporters by backing the legislation that would undermine the commission by creating an advisory body to supervise its activities.

In this paragraph, the writer states that his supporters are surprised because Jokowi is backing the legislation that undermines the commission. The commission referred to is the Corruption Eradication Commission. There are some words which indicate that they have negative meanings. *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary* (n.d.) states that *surprised* is “feeling or showing surprise because of something unexpected”.

Through the meaning of the word, it can be inferred that Jokowi has done an unexpected thing, which is supporting the legislation that weakens the Corruption Eradication Commission. In the context, the legislation is represented negatively, as they want to weaken the commission which has a positive representation and it may increase the possibility of corruption. In a nutshell, through the lexicalization, Jokowi is represented negatively.

CHAPTER FOUR

JOKO WIDODO’S REPRESENTATION IN *THE NEW YORK TIMES* ARTICLE “INDONESIA’S LEADER FACES STUDENT PROTESTS AND CRISES HEADING INTO NEW TERM”: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I would like to present the findings and discussion based on Jokowi’s representation in *The New York Times* article entitled “*Indonesia’s Leader Faces Students Protests and Crises Heading into New Term*” using van Dijk’s Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The analysis of this chapter will further be divided into three parts, which are the macrostructure, microstructure, and superstructure.

4.1 Macrostructure

In the macrostructure analysis, the global topic of the article is included in the headline and the lead. The headline of the article is “Indonesia’s Leader Faces Student Protests and Crises Heading into New Term”. Through the headline of the news, it can be seen that who is referred to by “Indonesia’s leader” is made vague, as it is not explicitly stated in the headline. When someone states something in an explicit way, it means that the person just states something as the way it is

(kletische.com, n.d.). However, we can presume that the character of “Indonesia’s leader” will be explained in the content of the article.

Secondly, the phrase *student protests and crises*, which is mentioned in the headline is not clear, either. The exact situation from the event is not explained clearly. The readers do not know what causes the event to happen. Moreover, the details of the event are not mentioned in the headline, either. Therefore, when something is not clearly stated, it is assumed that the writer may want to raise the readers’ curiosity about the content of the article itself.

Based on some information which is not clearly stated in the headline, it is expected that there will be this following information provided in the article:

1. Who is the Indonesia’s leader that faces student protests and crises?
2. What causes the student protests and crises?

The lead of the news article is “Indonesia’s president, Joko Widodo, preparing for his second term, faces a sudden loss of public support amid mounting crises, including student protests, burning forests and deadly violence in distant Papua province.” In the lead of the news article, it can be seen that the first question from the headline is answered. It is mentioned that the “Indonesia’s leader” facing the student protests and crises is Joko Widodo, the President of Indonesia.

The other question specifically asks about the details of student protests and the cause of the event. Yet, in the lead, there is no further explanation about this question. The lead focuses more on the crises that Jokowi faces when he heads into his new presidential term. It is stated in the lead that the crises are student protests, burning forests, and deadly violence in distant Papua province.

Based on the information in the headline and the lead of the article, we can draw the global topic of the article. In my opinion, the global topic of the article is about Jokowi having a big problem when facing his second term. The word *crises* means “a moment of risk or stress” (*Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*, n.d.). Hence, Jokowi is facing a moment of risk in his new presidential term and it indicates some problems that he is facing. It is obvious that the word *crises* has a negative meaning and it affects the conclusion of the global topic. Therefore, in the macrostructure analysis, it is concluded that Jokowi is represented negatively.

4.2 Microstructure

In the microstructure analysis, I would like to find out the representation of Jokowi by using some linguistic tools. The first data is taken from paragraph (1). This data is analysed using a tool named **lexicalization**. Lexicalization is “a tool used to express a concept in the specific lexical items” (van Dijk, 2006) which can be used to state the negative representation of the opponent. The data is listed below:

- (1) Indonesia’s president, Joko Widodo, preparing for his second term, faces a sudden loss of public support amid mounting crises, including student protests, burning forests and deadly violence in distant Papua province.

Paragraph (1) shows that there are some words related to Jokowi that have negative meanings. The word *sudden*, as stated in *Merriam-Webster Online*

Dictionary (n.d.), means “happening or coming unexpectedly”. From the word, it cannot be known yet whether it is a negative or positive thing. However, when it is combined with the word *loss*, which means “the act of losing possession” (*Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*, n.d.), it is clear that Jokowi loses something unexpectedly, which in this case is the public support. Since Jokowi loses something positive in this context, it can be seen that Jokowi is represented negatively.

The second data is taken from paragraph (2):

(2) Mr. Joko won re-election handily in April, defeating his main rival by 11 percentage points. But even before his scheduled inauguration next month, his handling of a controversial corruption bill threatens to undermine his second-term agenda.

In data (2) above, the writer uses **disclaimers**. van Dijk (2000) says that a disclaimer is a tool “to briefly save face by mentioning Our positive characteristics”. However, the focus is actually on the negative thing stated by the person.

In paragraph (2), it is said that Jokowi won the re-election in April, making him the President of Indonesia for the second time. He also won by 11 percentage points to Prabowo Subianto, his competitor. These two facts are positive things about Jokowi. However, what becomes a more prominent message is in the following sentence, “...his handling of a controversial corruption bill threatens to undermine his second-term agenda.”

Thus, the first sentence is used to save Jokowi's face by stating the positive thing about him. However, the writer wants to convey that the actual idea of the whole paragraph is in the second sentence. The controversial corruption bill which was approved by him as well as its effects becomes the main focus of the idea that also becomes the focus of the paragraph. As we know, the controversial corruption bill is a negative thing as Jokowi is considered to have approved to weaken the authority of Corruption Eradication Commission. Hence, Jokowi is represented negatively.

The third data is taken from paragraph (3). I would like to analyse the data using the **lexicalization** tool. The data is presented below:

(3) The president's popular support began falling, political analysts said, when he approved passage of legislation this month to strip the respected Corruption Eradication Commission of key powers, including the authority to wiretap public officials suspected of wrongdoing.

In paragraph (3), the writer states that the president's popular support dropped when he decided to approve *RUU KPK* that weakens the authority of Corruption Eradication Commission. As stated in *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary* (n.d.), the word *strip* means "to divest of honors, privileges, or functions". Meanwhile, the word *wiretap* means "to tap a telephone or telegraph wire or cellular signal in order to get information".

Through these two words, the writer may want to convey that Jokowi's popular support started to drop when he approved the passage made by the legislation to divest the function of Corruption Eradication Commission from its power. The commission also loses its authority to tap a telephone to the public officials whenever they are suspected to do wrong things related to corruption. Those two sentences may be concluded as a negative thing as Jokowi surprisingly approved the passage that may weaken the commission's authority. Thus, in a nutshell, Jokowi has a negative representation.

In paragraph (4), I would like to analyse the data using the **implication** tool. Implication is used to convey an implicit meaning, which is understood "by recipients from shared knowledge or attitudes" (van Dijk, 2000, p. 74). The data is written below:

(4) Student protesters have called on Mr. Joko to revoke the measure and restore the commission's power by issuing an emergency decree, but he said on Monday that he would not.

Paragraph (4) talks about the student protesters who wanted Jokowi to revoke the measure and restore the authority of the commission by releasing *Perppu*, the law that is made by a president to change the *RUU* due to the urgency of situation in the society. However, Jokowi insisted that he would not release the emergency decree.

Through this paragraph, it might also imply that Jokowi is not considerate enough as a president since he should at least have considered his own citizens'

voice. Indonesia is a democratic country whose citizens have the rights to speak up to the government. As a good president, Jokowi should have listened to the citizens' voice. However, Jokowi ignored the citizens' rights and still continued to approve the law made by the legislation. Therefore, in this paragraph, Jokowi is represented negatively.

The next data is taken from paragraph (5):

(5) "The revision of the law on corruption was the blunder that made the public very angry with him," said Djayadi Hanan, executive director of the Indonesia Survey Institute, an independent polling group.

In the data, the tool which is used to analyse is called **vagueness**. As van Dijk (2006, p. 739) has stated, vagueness means "using vague expressions that do not have well-defined referents".

In this argument, Djayadi Hanan describes that the public is very angry with Jokowi because of the revision of the law on corruption. This argument shows that Hanan convinces the public by using a vague word, which is *very*. It can be inferred that the word *very* is something subjective. There is no clear referent about how angry the public was with Jokowi, either. Yet, it creates an impression that Jokowi has done a terrible thing. Therefore, it can be concluded that the representation of Jokowi is negative.

In paragraph (6), the tools that I am going to use is the **lexicalization** and **implication** tools. The data is written below:

(6) Thousands of angry students staged protests in major cities this week over the corruption law and other legislation, including a far-reaching overhaul of the criminal code, that are seen as benefiting the elite while depriving ordinary people of important rights.

In the data, it is elaborated that there were thousands of students who protested in several cities regarding the *RUU KPK* and also other bills. It also includes the criminal code that benefits the elite more than ordinary people.

From the paragraph, there is a word that contains a negative meaning, which is *depriving*. According to *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary* (n.d.), *deprive* means “to take something away from”. Hence, in the paragraph, it means that the criminal code made by the legislation takes ordinary people’s important rights. Instead, it benefits the elite.

The paragraph also includes an implied meaning. It can be seen through the sentence “...including a far-reaching overhaul of the criminal code, that are seen as benefiting the elite while depriving ordinary people of important rights.” Thus, from the sentence, it might imply that the legislation takes side more to the elites rather than the ordinary people. As a government, it is understood that they should have considered all people’s rights, especially when making criminal code for all the citizens. It is quite unfair if the government takes only one side. Moreover, Jokowi also approves of the criminal code that actually applies injustice towards his citizens. Hence, in this paragraph, Jokowi has a negative representation.

The next data of my analysis is taken from paragraph (7):

(7) In Jakarta, the Indonesian capital, a crowd estimated at more than 10,000 protested outside the Parliament building on Tuesday, blocking traffic, pulling down fencing and torching a police post. The protests continued into Wednesday.

In this paragraph, I use the **level of description** tool. According to van Dijk (2000), it is a tool of how we input information about an event. The information about the bad things done by others would be more detailed than the positive things, and vice versa.

Paragraph (7) presents an explanation about the student protests in a detailed way. In this paragraph, the writer explains how the students protested: they blocked the traffic, pulled down fencing, and torched a police post. Moreover, it is known from the news article that the student protests took two days, Tuesday and Wednesday. Thus, it can be seen that the writer puts a lot of details in the event. The detailed explanation of how the students protested actually indicates that it is quite serious. Regardless of the fact that the actions are not specifically directed to Jokowi, these events actually happened because Jokowi decided to approve of the law made by the House of Representatives. Therefore, through this paragraph, it can be concluded that Jokowi's representation is negative.

In paragraph (8), I use the **level of description** tool to analyse the representation of Jokowi. The data is listed below:

(8) The police fired tear gas and water cannons to prevent demonstrators from entering the compound. Officials said dozens were arrested and 265 protesters and 39 police officers were injured.

This paragraph shows some details in describing the event. In my opinion, the writer puts detailed and specific pieces of information about the people that are affected by the event. It can be seen that there were dozens of protesters being arrested. Not only this, but there were also 265 protesters and 39 police officers who were injured.

From the details about the number of participants that are affected by the event, it is obvious that the protests were serious until it gained such a number of victims. Although Jokowi is not mentioned in the paragraph, it all leads into Jokowi's decision regarding *RUU KUHP* and *RUU KPK* which were approved of by him. The student protests and the victims would not happen in real life if only Jokowi considers to release the *Perppu*. In this paragraph, the writer puts a lot of negative things intentionally in the paragraph in order to draw a negative representation of Jokowi. Hence, through this paragraph, Jokowi is represented negatively.

In this data analysis taken from paragraph (9), I use the **level of description** tool. The data is written below:

(9) The students' list of demands has grown beyond the corruption bill, including ending the burning of Indonesia's rainforests and punishing corporations responsible for forest fires; halting military action in Papua

and freeing political prisoners; and rejecting legislation that would give companies greater power over natural resources, ban sex outside marriage and limit freedom of expression.

In paragraph (9) above, the writer explains further the demands made by the students to Jokowi which are not limited to corruption bill only. The writer also specifies the other things that are related to the students' demands, such as the burning of Indonesia's rainforests, terminating military action in Papua, disallowing sex before marriage, and limiting the freedom of expression. All of the things stated in the paragraph are related to negative things that are connected with not only Jokowi but also the House of Representatives of Indonesia. The House of Representatives has a negative representation because they are the one that makes the *RUU KUHP* and *RUU KPK*. Jokowi as the president of Indonesia could have made *Perppu*. Still, he does not do anything to prevent the law making or the student protests. Therefore, through the level of specificity, Jokowi is represented negatively.

In paragraph (10), I would like to analyse the data by using two linguistic tools, which are **number game** and **implication**. van Dijk (2006) says that number game is a tool that gives more credibility to the readers through the number stated. By stating the exact number, it may "persuasively display objectivity". The paragraph is listed below:

(10) Nearly 2,000 fires continued to burn out of control in Indonesia's forests on Wednesday, causing respiratory problems for nearly a million

people. Many of the fires were set illegally by palm oil plantations and other companies to clear land for more planting, the authorities say.

In paragraph (10), the writer states the exact number of fires that burned out of control in Indonesia's forests, which is 2,000 fires. The number itself indicates that the burning forests are quite extreme. Thus, by stating the number of the fires, it is proved that the event is quite credible to the readers. They might think that the 2,000 fires were the result of Jokowi's incapability in handling such incidents. It is obvious to say that the readers might think negatively about Jokowi due to the 2,000 fires in the forests.

In the paragraph, the fires were also said to burn out of control. Therefore, it may lead the readers to infer that Jokowi is unable to handle the event. It all happens because Jokowi does not have strict rules that prohibit the palm oil plantation and paper product companies to set fire illegally. If only Jokowi considers to observe the rules more during his first term, this event might not have happened. Therefore, through this paragraph, it can be concluded that Jokowi has a negative representation.

Paragraph (11) is analysed using two linguistic tools, which are **lexicalization** and **modality**. van Dijk (2000, p. 51) states that modality represents an event through the certainty of the modal words chosen. This is the data about paragraph (11):

(11) Critics contend that lax enforcement against palm oil and paper products companies during Mr. Joko's first term has encouraged the

continued burning of the rainforests, a significant contributor to the greenhouse gases that cause climate change.

Paragraph (11) talks about the argument from the critics. They say that the burning of the rainforests continued due to Jokowi's "...lax enforcement against palm oil and paper products companies". It is also said that it became the contributor to the greenhouse gases. *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary* (n.d.) states that *lax* means "deficient in firmness: not stringent". Thus, through the meaning of that word, the critics wanted to convey that the enforcement against palm oil and paper product companies in Jokowi's first term is deficient in firmness. Because of that, it has encouraged the burning of the rainforests that becomes the significant contributor to the greenhouses. It also leads to the climate change, which is caused by the gases in the greenhouses that trap the heat.

In terms of modality, Eggins (2004, p. 172) says that there are two meanings in modality, namely probability and usuality. In the paragraph, the writer uses the word *contend*, which according to *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary* (n.d.), means "maintain, assert". Thus, in modality it is clear that *contend* is included in probability, which "expresses judgements as to the likelihood or probability of something happening or being" (Eggins, 2004, p. 173). The probability of the word *contend* is high due to the certainty that it expresses through the meaning of the word. This means that the critics actually insist on the argument that contains a negative thing about Jokowi. Hence, due to Jokowi's inability to be firm to the palm oil and paper product companies and the result that it causes, Jokowi's representation is negative.

In paragraphs (16) and (17), I use the **contrast** tool. Contrast, according to van Dijk (2000, p. 49), is a tool to show the positive thing about Us and emphasize the negative thing about Them. The data is written below:

(16) Until now, the Corruption Eradication Commission has operated with unusual autonomy and has had considerable success in bringing down corrupt politicians.

(17) Mr. Joko surprised many of his supporters by backing the legislation that would undermine the commission by creating an advisory body to supervise its activities.

In paragraph (16), the writer states that the Corruption Eradication Commission has brought success and cut down some corrupt politicians by having an unusual autonomy. Through the words *unusual autonomy*, it can be known that Corruption Eradication Commission is an independent commission. Thus, in this paragraph, the writer focuses on emphasizing the positive thing about Us, which is Jokowi. In this situation, he is considered to be Us as he supported the commission that has brought down the corrupt politicians.

Yet, in paragraph (17), the writer states a contradictory argument from the previous paragraph. The statement "...undermine the commission by creating an advisory body to supervise its activities" is proved to be a contrast. It can be seen through the words *creating an advisory body*, which means that the commission would not run independently anymore as the activities were supervised by an advisory body made by the legislation. Thus, Jokowi's position as Us here changes

as he supports the legislation that has done such a negative thing. He becomes part of Them.

When someone uses the contrast tool, the second idea is more prominent. In paragraph (17), it is obvious that the writer mentions a negative thing about Jokowi that supports the bad legislation. Thus, from the contrast tool, Jokowi is proved to have a negative representation.

The next data is analysed using the **lexicalization** tool. The data is presented below:

(17) Mr. Joko surprised many of his supporters by backing the legislation that would undermine the commission by creating an advisory body to supervise its activities.

This paragraph states that Jokowi "...surprised his supporters by backing the legislation...". According to *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary* (n.d.), the word *surprise* means "the feeling caused by something unexpected or unusual". The word *backing*, as stated in *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary* (n.d.), means "support, aid". Lastly, the word *undermine* means "to subvert or weaken insidiously or secretly" (*Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*, n.d.). Through the meanings of the three words, it can be concluded that Jokowi has done something unexpectedly because he supports the legislation that weakens the Corruption Eradication Commission. In this context the legislation is seen negatively as they want to weaken the commission. It is an unwanted thing because it may increase corruption.

However, Jokowi surprises people by supporting the legislation's decision. Hence, in this paragraph, Jokowi's representation is negative.

In paragraph (18), I choose to analyse the data using the **implication** tool. The data is presented below:

(18) The commission's independence would also be undermined by a requirement that it hire its staff from among civil servants rather than from outside government.

In paragraph (18), it is explicitly stated that the commission's independence might be weakened if the staff is hired from civil servants. Hence, it also means that the opportunity to work in the Corruption Eradication Commission would be less opened than before. The point about hiring the staff from civil servants is actually included in *RUU KPK*, which was made by the legislation (detikNews, 2019).

In Indonesia, it is known that most of the civil servants are believed to be corrupt. It can be understood through the news article written by Jufriansyah (2020) that contains an argument by Wana Alamsyah, one of the researchers in Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW). Through his argument, he says that in 2019, there were 231 civil servants among 580 other suspects who did corruption back then.

From the background information that is included in the two paragraphs above, it can be concluded that the legislation has a negative representation. They still insisted on hiring the workers from the civil servants who are known as corruptors. Even though the legislation is already bad, Jokowi still approves of the

idea made by the legislation. Thus, in this paragraph, it can be inferred that Jokowi has a negative representation.

In paragraph (20), I use the **lexicalization** and **rhetorical question** tools in order to analyse the data. The data is presented below:

(20) The question for the president, Mr. Djayadi said, was whether the benefit to his powerful allies of gutting the corruption commission outweighed the loss of public support it was creating as he begins his second five-year term.

In *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary* (n.d.), it is stated that *gutting* means “to destroy the essential power or effectiveness of”. Then, the word *outweighed* means “to exceed in weight, value, or importance” (*Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*, n.d.). From the meaning of the two words, it can be interpreted that Jokowi thinks of taking on the beneficial side, which is his powerful allies that destroy the essential power of corruption commission. The powerful allies, in this case, means the House of Representatives Indonesia. The thing actually exceeds the value and importance of his public support that he tries to build when he steps into his new term. As we know, the essential power of corruption commission is to weaken the corruption rate in Indonesia. Therefore, if the corruption commission is destroyed, the corruption rate may get higher than before. Jokowi still takes side on these allies that do such negative thing rather than his public support, which is more important.

In Mr. Djayadi's argument, he also questions Jokowi "...whether the benefit to his powerful allies of gutting the corruption commission outweighed the loss of public support...". The sentence in this paragraph uses a **rhetorical question**, which is a question that has an obvious answer (Literary Devices, n.d.). The function of a rhetorical question is to make the idea more powerful and persuade the readers. Therefore, the question stated by Mr. Djayadi actually persuades the readers to believe that Jokowi's powerful allies are more beneficial than his public support. Thus, through this paragraph, Jokowi is seen negatively.

The next data presented uses a **counterfactual** tool. A counterfactual, as stated by van Dijk (2006, p. 736), is used to persuade the readers and ask for their empathy by wondering what it feels like to be in the situation stated in an argument. The data is listed below:

(21) "Maybe losing some trust of the public is not a big issue for Jokowi," he said, using the president's nickname. "If he is thinking that public support is no longer important to him, he can continue with this corruption law."

This is an argument presented by Djayadi Hanan, who states that it is alright to continue with the corruption law if Jokowi thinks that it is not a big issue for him to lose the public support. In this argument, Hanan uses the words *maybe* and *if*, which indicates that the event does not really happen. However, the use of those words indicates that Hanan wants the reader to feel empathic about him and draws

an opinion that Jokowi does not need the public support. Therefore, in this paragraph, Jokowi is represented negatively.

The next data is taken from paragraph (23). The data is listed below:

(23) Several bills that were under consideration by Parliament would give businesses greater control over land, mining and other natural resources.

One bill privatizing water supplies has already passed.

Paragraph (23) talks about *RUU SDA* and *Minerba*, which were also revised by the Parliament. Yet, the bills which were revised might be beneficial for all businesses. In the paragraph above, I use the **implication** tool in order to analyse the data.

Through the paragraph, it is known that the Parliament has already passed the *RUU SDA*. Budiono, as cited in *tirto.id* (2019), states that one of the water bills might be beneficial for all water product companies since the control regarding water supplies would not be strict. Moreover, *Jatam (Jaringan Advokasi Tambang)*, as cited in *Media Indonesia* (2019) also states that *RUU Minerba* is exploitative. Previously, before the bills were revised, there was a bill contained in Article 165 that controls the companies which exploit mining rules made by the government. However, the bill is not listed anymore in *RUU Minerba* made by the legislation. Although there is no given fact that *RUU Minerba* is released, Jokowi says that he and the Parliament postponed the discussion regarding the bills (Simorangkir, 2019).

The paragraph above implies that the Parliament is leaning towards the companies. They have negative representation because the Parliament is willing to spoil the companies more in order to let them invest more. Thus, the economic growth in Indonesia might improve. Jokowi, in this context, would agree to the Parliament's decision regarding *RUU SDA* and *Minerba* as it would improve the economic growth, which becomes his vision during his second presidential term. Laoly (as stated in CNBC Indonesia, 2019) states that Jokowi and the Parliament have agreed to release *RUU SDA*. Therefore, it can be said that Jokowi has a negative representation as he approves a negative thing in order to achieve his goal.

The next data is analysed using the **implication** tool. The data is listed below:

(24) The broad revision of the criminal code would have enacted numerous proposals favored by hard-line Islamists, such as banning sex outside marriage, effectively banning gay and lesbian relations.

In the paragraph, the writer states the criminal code that would favor the hard-line Islamists: banning sex outside marriage and effectively banning gay and lesbian relations. The writer puts an implicit meaning hidden behind the phrase *hard-line Islamists*. In my opinion, it might imply that the legislation who revised the criminal code is leaning towards a favored religion, which is Islam. We all know that Indonesia is a diverse country with many religions. As a government, they should be more general with issues related to religions. However, the legislation,

with the approval of Jokowi, makes a measure that favors hard-line Islamists. Therefore, in my opinion, Jokowi is represented negatively.

In the next data, I am going to analyse it using the **implication** tool. The data is listed below:

(25) It would also have curtailed free expression by strengthening blasphemy and treason laws and prohibiting insulting the president, the vice president, the government or state agencies.

Paragraph (25) talks about the things that may have affected Indonesians after the measure is released. It might decrease the freedom expression by strengthening the rules related to blasphemy and treason, also the things related with insulting the government. These things might imply that the citizens would not have the same rights to speak up their opinions. In a democratic country, the freedom of expression is one of the rights that is gifted to the citizens (Lembaga Studi & Advokasi Masyarakat, 2014). Hence, the government should have been open to the citizens' opinions. However, it feels like the government rejected to be open about issues related with sensitive topics.

Moreover, the rules are also beneficial to the government, including Jokowi. From my own perspective, if the citizens would like to criticize the performance regarding the government, they could simply categorize it into “insulting” them. It might imply that they would not be open to hear critics from the citizens. The rules, which were made by the legislation, were approved of by Jokowi with consent. Thus, in the end, Jokowi is represented negatively in this paragraph.

In the next data, I use the **implication** tool in order to analyse the data. The data is listed below:

(26) Mr. Joko called on Parliament last week not to pass the measure before its five-year session ends on Monday, but it is likely to be reintroduced once the new Parliament is seated.

In paragraph (26), it is stated that Jokowi asked the Parliament not to release the bill before their period ends on Monday. Yet, it may be released later in the new Parliament's period. The implied meaning in the paragraph is related to Jokowi's authority. In the second clause, the writer states that the Parliament in the new period might still release the measure. Thus, from this paragraph, it might mean that the Parliament, with the approval of Jokowi, would still release the measure sooner or later. As the Parliament would retire in a few days, they just postponed the release and it would be released in the new Parliament era. Hence, in this paragraph, it can be inferred that Jokowi's representation is negative.

In paragraph (28), I would like to analyse the data using the **lexicalization** tool. The data is written below:

(28) "As a citizen who looks at the government from the outside, I feel that Jokowi has compromised too much with the New Order generals, with the political parties, with the political oligarchs in this country," he said. "I am very disappointed."

In this paragraph, Jokowi is said to have compromised with the New Order generals. According to *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary* (n.d.), *compromised* is “exposed to suspicion or discredit: revealed as or suspected of being disreputable, untrustworthy, etc.” Moreover, the New Order is the era when Suharto, the second president of Indonesia, ruled Indonesia. The New Order is believed to be the era full of corruption, nepotism, and collusion; followed by the crisis in 1997 – 1998 (Indonesia Investments, n.d.). In this context Jokowi is suspected of being disreputable as he is said to be close with the generals who ruled in Suharto’s era, with the political parties, and the political oligarchs in this country. Hence, Jokowi in this paragraph is represented negatively.

In paragraph (29), I analyse the data using the **implication** tool. The data is listed below:

(29) Dodi Ambardi, a professor of political science at the same university, said Mr. Joko might be willing to compromise on corruption eradication and intrusions in people’s private lives for the sake of achieving his top priority: stimulating economic growth.

Paragraph (29) talks about Jokowi who compromises on corruption eradication and intrudes people’s private lives as he wants to stimulate the economic growth. This paragraph might imply that Jokowi only focuses on what he wants to achieve. He is willing to do anything that might improve the economic growth, which is to compromise on *RUU KPK* and *RUU KUHP*. Moreover, Moeldoko (bisnis.tempo.co, 2019), Jokowi’s Chief of Staff of Presidency states that the

commission might weaken the possibility of investors to invest their business in Indonesia. Thus, if there are no investors that want to invest, the economic growth might even get lower and Jokowi cannot achieve his top priority. If he chooses to compromise on *RUU KPK*, the commission may be weakened. Thus, if the commission's authority is not as strong as it was, the corruptors will feel free to corrupt.

Surprisingly, he also compromises on *RUU KUHP* that may intrude people's private affairs. Still, he insisted on achieving his priority and abandoning the side effects of his compromising. Therefore, in this paragraph, Jokowi is seen negatively.

In the last data, I use the **implication** tool to analyse it. The data is written below:

(30) Mr. Joko, he noted, was barred from running for a third term and might have concluded that popular support at this moment was not crucial and that winning the support of members of Parliament and local officials — all of whom feared the power of the corruption commission — might be more important in enacting his policies.

Paragraph (30) still talks about Dodi's opinion regarding the issue. Dodi says that since Jokowi will not be able to step up for the third time as a president, Jokowi might think that it is more important to enact his policies to the public rather than winning the public support. From the paragraph, the sentence "...all of whom feared the power of the corruption commission..." might become the highlight that

can be interpreted in the paragraph below. From the meaning, it can be inferred that they are corrupt officials.

It is known that the main power of the commission is to eradicate the number of corruption cases in Indonesia. Thus, it might be inferred that there are a lot of Parliament members and local officials who have done or enjoy doing corruption. They are in fear because the commission might reveal more corruption cases, especially the cases done by the Parliament members and local officials. It is supported through the argument by Agus Rahardjo, the Chief of Corruption Eradication Commission. Rahardjo says in CNBC Indonesia (2019) that until June 2019, corruption is mostly done by the Parliament members. From around 1,000 cases, it is said that there were 255 corruption cases done by them. In addition, Haboddin (n.d.) also states that corruption has become a lifestyle for the local officials as the corruption cases have spread to all provinces in Indonesia.

From the proofs above, it can be known that the Parliament members and local officials have negative representation since they have committed a lot of corruption cases. Jokowi, in this case, chooses to support the Parliament and local officials, despite their negativity. In other words, Jokowi is also represented negatively as he chooses to support people which can be categorized as corruptors.

4.3 Superstructure

The superstructure of the article will be divided into this following table:

Para.		Schematic Category
	Indonesia's Leader Faces Student Protests and Crises Heading Into New Term	Headline
(1)	Indonesia's president, Joko Widodo, preparing for his second term, faces a sudden loss of public support amid mounting crises, including student protests, burning forests and deadly violence in distant Papua province.	Lead
(2)	Mr. Joko won re-election handily in April, defeating his main rival by 11 percentage points. But even before his scheduled inauguration next month, his handling of a controversial corruption bill threatens to undermine his second-term agenda.	Background
(3)	The president's popular support began falling, political analysts said, when he approved passage of legislation this month to strip the respected Corruption Eradication Commission	Consequences: Verbal reaction

	of key powers, including the authority to wiretap public officials suspected of wrongdoing.	
(4)	Student protesters have called on Mr. Joko to revoke the measure and restore the commission's power by issuing an emergency decree, but he said on Monday that he would not.	• Background • Consequences: Verbal reaction
(5)	"The revision of the law on corruption was the blunder that made the public very angry with him," said Djayadi Hanan, executive director of the Indonesia Survey Institute, an independent polling group. "He has to start by winning back the public trust and the only way to do that is to repeal the law."	Consequences: Verbal reaction
(6)	Thousands of angry students staged protests in major cities this week over the corruption law and other legislation, including a far-reaching overhaul of the criminal code, that are seen as benefiting the elite while	Main event

	depriving ordinary people of important rights.	
(7)	In Jakarta, the Indonesian capital, a crowd estimated at more than 10,000 protested outside the Parliament building on Tuesday, blocking traffic, pulling down fencing and torching a police post. The protests continued into Wednesday.	Main event
(8)	The police fired tear gas and water cannons to prevent demonstrators from entering the compound. Officials said dozens were arrested and 265 protesters and 39 police officers were injured.	• Main event • Consequences: Verbal reaction
(9)	The students' list of demands has grown beyond the corruption bill, including ending the burning of Indonesia's rainforests and punishing corporations responsible for forest fires; halting military action in Papua and freeing political prisoners; and rejecting legislation that would give	Main event

	companies greater power over natural resources, ban sex outside marriage and limit freedom of expression.	
(10)	Nearly 2,000 fires continued to burn out of control in Indonesia's forests on Wednesday, causing respiratory problems for nearly a million people. Many of the fires were set illegally by palm oil plantations and other companies to clear land for more planting, the authorities say.	• Main Event • Consequences: Verbal reaction
(11)	Critics contend that lax enforcement against palm oil and paper products companies during Mr. Joko's first term has encouraged the continued burning of the rainforests, a significant contributor to the greenhouse gases that cause climate change.	Consequences: Verbal reaction
(12)	In Papua, Indonesia's easternmost province, at least 32 people died on Monday in antigovernment protests.	• Main event • Consequences: Verbal reaction

	Many victims died in buildings that were set on fire, the authorities said.	
(13)	Papua, which makes up the western half of the island of New Guinea, was annexed by Indonesia in the 1960s and has been the scene of a low-level war of independence ever since.	Background
(14)	Most of Monday's victims were nonindigenous Papuan people, the police said. Indonesian officials blamed the deaths on activists who sought to attract international attention to their struggle for independence during this week's United Nations General Assembly session in New York.	• Consequences: Verbal reaction • Background
(15)	Mr. Joko, a former furniture manufacturer and Jakarta governor, has long cast himself as a man of the people, and he campaigned on a promise to crack down on widespread corruption.	Background

(16)	Until now, the Corruption Eradication Commission has operated with unusual autonomy and has had considerable success in bringing down corrupt politicians.	Background
(17)	Mr. Joko surprised many of his supporters by backing the legislation that would undermine the commission by creating an advisory body to supervise its activities.	Main event
(18)	The commission's independence would also be undermined by a requirement that it hire its staff from among civil servants rather than from outside government.	Main event
(19)	Although the bill passed Parliament with Mr. Joko's approval, he has the power to repeal it by issuing an emergency declaration. Continuing street protests could give him the pretext he needed if he were to change his mind.	Main event

(20)	The question for the president, Mr. Djayadi said, was whether the benefit to his powerful allies of gutting the corruption commission outweighed the loss of public support it was creating as he begins his second five-year term.	Consequences: Verbal reaction
(21)	“Maybe losing some trust of the public is not a big issue for Jokowi,” he said, using the president’s nickname. “If he is thinking that public support is no longer important to him, he can continue with this corruption law.”	Consequences: Verbal reaction
(22)	Andreas Harsono, senior Indonesia researcher for Human Rights Watch, said the corruption measure was just one part of a three-pronged effort by the outgoing Parliament to benefit Indonesia’s oligarchs.	Consequences: Verbal reaction
(23)	Several bills that were under consideration by Parliament would give businesses greater control over	Main event

	land, mining and other natural resources. One bill privatizing water supplies has already passed.	
(24)	The broad revision of the criminal code would have enacted numerous proposals favoured by hard-line Islamists, such as banning sex outside marriage, effectively banning gay and lesbian relations.	Main event
(25)	It would also have curtailed free expression by strengthening blasphemy and treason laws and prohibiting insulting the president, the vice president, the government or state agencies.	Main event
(26)	Mr. Joko called on Parliament last week not to pass the measure before its five-year session ends on Monday, but it is likely to be reintroduced once the new Parliament is seated.	Background
(27)	Obed Kresna Widyapratistha, a student at Gadjah Mada University in the city of Yogyakarta, said he had	Consequences: Verbal reaction

	joined in protests there in part because of his opposition to the crime bill and its intrusion into private affairs. He also said Mr. Joko was too closely aligned with political elites and generals who served under the former dictator Suharto in the era known as the New Order.	
(28)	“As a citizen who looks at the government from the outside, I feel that Jokowi has compromised too much with the New Order generals, with the political parties, with the political oligarchs in this country,” he said. “I am very disappointed.”	Consequences: Verbal reaction
(29)	Dodi Ambardi, a professor of political science at the same university, said Mr. Joko might be willing to compromise on corruption eradication and intrusions in people’s private lives for the sake of achieving his top priority: stimulating economic growth.	Consequences: Verbal reaction

(30)	Mr. Joko, he noted, was barred from running for a third term and might have concluded that popular support at this moment was not crucial and that winning the support of members of Parliament and local officials — all of whom feared the power of the corruption commission — might be more important in enacting his policies.	Consequences: Verbal reaction
(31)	“This is the second term of Jokowi and he will not run again,” Mr. Dodi said. “Electoral support is not needed. Running the government effectively and efficiently is more important for Jokowi.”	Consequences: Verbal reaction

Table 1. The Superstructure of the News Article

In Table 1 above, it is clear that in total there are 35 data of schematic categories excluding the headline and lead. Through the news schemata of the superstructure analysis, it can be seen that the verbal reaction category dominates the whole article. It is proved that 16 out of 35 data in the superstructure, which is 45.7%, is a verbal reaction. Moreover, the second most dominant is main event,

which has 34.3% percentage (12 out of 35 data); followed by background with 20% percentage (7 out of 35 data).

Verbal reaction is a category that contains some information based on the immediate participants' comment regarding the main event (van Dijk, 1998). The analysis of verbal reaction in this article will be explained further in terms of the sources in the following table.

No.	Sources	Utterances	Jokowi's representa tion
1.	Political analysts	The president's popular support began falling, political analysts said, when he approved passage of legislation this month to strip the respected Corruption Eradication Commission of key powers, including the authority to wiretap public officials suspected of wrongdoing.	Negative
2.	Joko Widodo	Student protesters have called on Mr. Joko to revoke the measure and restore the commission's power by issuing an emergency decree, but he said on Monday that he would not.	Negative

3.	Djayadi Hanan	• “The revision of the law on corruption was the blunder that made the public very angry with him,” • “He has to start by winning back the public trust and the only way to do that is to repeal the law.” • The question for the president, Mr. Djayadi said, was whether the benefit to his powerful allies of gutting the corruption commission outweighed the loss of public support it was creating as he begins his second five-year term. • “Maybe losing some trust of the public is not a big issue for Jokowi,” he said, using the president’s nickname. “If he is thinking that public support is no longer important to him, he can continue with this corruption law.”	Negative
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4.	Officials	Officials said dozens were arrested and 265 protesters and 39 police officers were injured.	Negative
5.	Critics	Critics contend that lax enforcement against palm oil and paper products companies during Mr. Joko's first term has encouraged the continued burning of the rainforests, a significant contributor to the greenhouse gases that cause climate change.	Negative
6.	The authorities	• Many victims died in buildings that were set on fire, the authorities said • Nearly 2,000 fires continued to burn out of control in Indonesia's forests on Wednesday, causing respiratory problems for nearly a million people. Many of the fires were set illegally by palm oil plantations and other companies to clear land for more planting, the authorities say.	Negative

7.	The police	Most of Monday's victims were nonindigenous Papuan people, the police said	Negative
8.	Andreas Harsono	Andreas Harsono, senior Indonesia researcher for Human Rights Watch, said the corruption measure was just one part of a three-pronged effort by the outgoing Parliament to benefit Indonesia's oligarchs.	Negative
9.	Obed Kresna Widyapratistha	Obed Kresna Widyapratistha, a student at Gadjah Mada University in the city of Yogyakarta, said he had joined in protests there in part because of his opposition to the crime bill and its intrusion into private affairs. He also said Mr. Joko was too closely aligned with political elites and generals who served under the former dictator Suharto in the era known as the New Order.	Negative

		• “As a citizen who looks at the government from the outside, I feel that Jokowi has compromised too much with the New Order generals, with the political parties, with the political oligarchs in this country,” he said. “I am very disappointed.”	
10.	Dodi Ambardi	• Dodi Ambardi, a professor of political science at the same university, said Mr. Joko might be willing to compromise on corruption eradication and intrusions in people’s private lives for the sake of achieving his top priority: stimulating economic growth. • Mr. Joko, he noted, was barred from running for a third term and might have concluded that popular support at this moment was not crucial and that winning the support of members of Parliament	Negative

		and local officials — all of whom feared the power of the corruption commission — might be more important in enacting his policies. • “This is the second term of Jokowi and he will not run again,” Mr. Dodi said. “Electoral support is not needed. Running the government effectively and efficiently is more important for Jokowi.”	
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Table 2. The Sources of the Verbal Reaction

In the table, it can be seen that there are ten sources from the verbal reaction; political analysts, Jokowi, Djayadi Hanan (the executive director of the Indonesia Survey Institute), officials, critics, the authorities, the police, Andreas Harsono (a senior Indonesian researcher for Human Rights Watch and a human rights activist), Obed Kresna Widyapratistha (a student at Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta), and Dodi Ambardi (a professor of political science at Gadjah Mada University and the director of Indonesia Survey Institute). Some of the previously-mentioned sources are proved to be reliable, while some others are unreliable. The sources are said to be reliable based on the clarity of the sources and whether they are the experts that are skilled in the issue. Meanwhile, the sources can be regarded as

unreliable if they are unclear sources, the opponents of Jokowi in the matter being discussed, or Jokowi himself.

In this text the reliable sources are political analysts, Djayadi Hanan, officials, critics, the authorities, the police, Andreas Harsono, and Dodi Ambardi. There are only two unreliable sources, namely Obed Kresna Widyapratistha and Jokowi. Obed is considered unreliable as he is among the protesters. He becomes Jokowi's opponent and the opinion of an opponent is not reliable as it is obvious that he says bad things about Jokowi. Besides, Jokowi is also unreliable as he is the one that is being talked about in this text. Thus, their comments may be subjective in this context.

Consequently, I would explain further the statements given only by the reliable sources. First of all, in the text the reliable sources consist of political analysts, officials, critics, the authorities, and the police. It is known that generally speaking, these figures are reliable.

In this text the arguments conveyed by those figures indicate negative things about Jokowi. Firstly, the political analysts say that Jokowi's support from the public is declining as he approved the law made by the House of Representatives. The officials also say that a lot of the protestors were arrested and injured, which indicates the side effect of the student protests towards Jokowi. Thirdly, the critics talk about the issue of the burning of the rainforests due to the lax enforcement for palm oil and paper companies in Jokowi's first term. The topic of the victims and fires that are also directed to Jokowi is also being discussed by the authorities, and the issue of victims in Papua is being talked by the police. Hence, the public who

read the arguments of those figures can trust them. In a nutshell, Jokowi's representation is proved negative through their arguments.

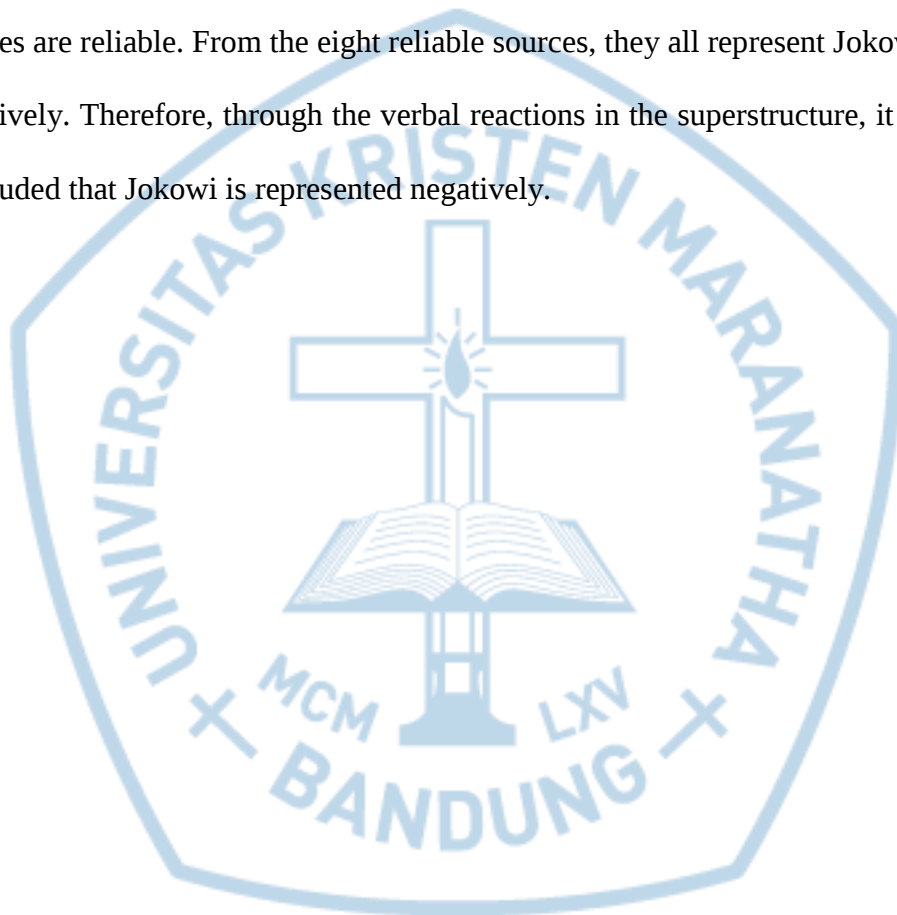
Another source, Dodi Ambardi, is also considered a reliable source. Dodi Ambardi is a professor of political science at Gadjah Mada University. Aside from being a professor, according to UGM Press (n.d.), he is also the director of Indonesia Survey Institute. Dodi states that Jokowi may approve of the eradication of the commission because of his priority, which is to stimulate Indonesia's economic growth. Besides, he thinks that Jokowi prefers to win the support of Parliament and officials rather than the public's support. Instead, Dodi suggests that Jokowi should run the government effectively and efficiently. Thus, it can be said that Jokowi is represented negatively.

The next source is Djayadi Hanan, who is an executive director of Indonesia Survey Institute. Indonesia Survey Institute is an "independent, non-participant, and not affiliated with any political parties or elites" (Lembaga Survei Indonesia, n.d.). He is a very clear source and very reputable, as he is an expert in the issue that is being discussed in the news article. He gives statements regarding the revision of the law which makes the public very angry, the importance of public support, and the powerful allies who Jokowi has that cut off the corruption commission. Through this source's comments, the writer wants to portray Jokowi negatively.

Lastly, Andreas Harsono is also a reliable source. He is a senior Indonesian researcher for Human Rights Watch and he is a human rights activist. He specifically states that the corruption law may benefit Indonesia's oligarchs later. According to *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary* (n.d.), *oligarch* means "a member or supporter of an oligarchy". Meanwhile, *oligarchy* itself means

“government by a small and privileged group for corrupt or selfish purposes” (Encyclopaedia Britannica, n.d.). If it is seen through the choice of the word *oligarchs*, it is quite obvious that Andreas Harsono states something negative about Jokowi.

From all the sources, it can be seen that 2 out of 10 (20%) sources are unreliable because he is an opponent of Jokowi. Meanwhile, 8 out of 10 (80%) sources are reliable. From the eight reliable sources, they all represent Jokowi negatively. Therefore, through the verbal reactions in the superstructure, it can be concluded that Jokowi is represented negatively.



CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I would like to present my conclusions based on my analysis in the previous chapter. This chapter also includes personal comments, limitation of the thesis, as well as suggestions for other researchers.

Firstly, through the macrostructure analysis, I find that the writer of the article displays vagueness in the headline. The headline of the article is “Indonesia’s Leader Faces Student Protests and Crises Heading into New Term”. In the headline, the words *Indonesia’s leader* and *student protests and crises* are vague. Even though the headline is made vague, the writer uses the lead to elaborate the headline more. Clearly, it is a quite smart strategy for the writer since the readers usually gain interest to read news articles by looking at the headline. From my perspective, the headline of the article is vague yet impactful; giving a sense of curiosity for the readers. It proves that the writer tends to gain the attention of the readers towards the article. After catching the readers’ interest, the lead, which explains more about the headline, is used as a tool to state more about the negative representation of Jokowi. In the macrostructure analysis, I also find that the global topic of the article is about Jokowi having a problem when facing his second term. Therefore, from the macrostructure analysis, we can see clearly which side the writer is on.

In this case, the writer chooses to represent Jokowi negatively even from the beginning of the article. As the readers, we may get the idea that through the headline and the lead, this whole article actually discusses the negativity of Jokowi.

Secondly, through the microstructure analysis, there are ten linguistic tools which are used to display Jokowi's negativity. I find that the most dominant tool that is used is implication. This tool appears in 10 out of 23 data, with the percentage of 43.4%. As stated by van Dijk (2000), this tool states the hidden meaning behind something. Since the writer mostly uses the implication tool, it can be assumed that the writer wants to state about Jokowi's negative representation in a subtle way. Most probably, this is due to the fact that Jokowi is a president. Hence, people definitely have to be much more careful in giving statements about him in a mass media. In a way, the implication tool that is used is a smart move for the writer as he can state Jokowi's negative points in an indirect way. Thus, I think the writer successfully accomplishes his goal to present Jokowi's negativity without being too obvious.

Nevertheless, in my opinion, becoming the most dominant tool does not necessarily mean it is also an effective tool for the readers. The implication tool relies strongly on the hidden meaning. Therefore, it is better to have the readers that share the same background knowledge as the writer. In this case, it cannot be said that all the readers are capable of understanding the hidden meaning. Some of them might not catch the point behind the arguments stated by the writer if they do not have the same background knowledge.

Moreover, through the ten tools used in the microstructure analysis, I also find that besides implication, there are six other tools used by the writer that require

further analysis before getting the right intended speaker meaning. These six other tools are disclaimers, counterfactual, vagueness, contrast, rhetorical question, and modality. In my opinion, these tools do not present things in an obvious way. The readers need to understand and analyse the meaning behind the tools used. However, through the other three tools, namely lexicalization, number game, and level of description, the readers may be able to get the idea of Jokowi's representation more directly. For example, by using lexicalization, it will be much easier for the readers to understand the negative representation by knowing the meaning of the words used in the arguments. Hence, considering that the tools containing implicit meanings are more dominant than those having the explicit meaning, I am confirmed that the writer intends to play safely in giving a negative presentation of Jokowi.

Thirdly, in the superstructure analysis, I find that the most dominant schematic category used in the article is verbal reaction. It is proved that this category appears in 16 out of 35 data in the superstructure, with the percentage of 45.7%. Furthermore, all of the arguments stated by the sources in this article are 100% negative. Thus, I assume that, again, the writer wants to be safe by putting the sources' negative arguments, and not his own personal comments. It has been known earlier that since the beginning of the article, the writer has revealed Jokowi's negative representation. In the superstructure analysis, by stating the negative arguments quoted from the sources, the readers might think that the ones who give negative representation towards Jokowi are these sources. The writer, in this case, cannot be held responsible as he only states his sources' opinions. This is

a great strategy since he chooses to portray Jokowi negatively by quoting other people's opinions.

Moreover, there are ten sources who state their arguments in the verbal reaction category. I find that eight of them are reliable sources, while only two of them are unreliable sources. When someone quotes reliable sources' arguments, logically speaking, the arguments are seen to be more believable and credible. In the article, the reliable sources give negative arguments regarding Jokowi. The writer uses those arguments to show Jokowi's negative representation. In this way, the writer can indirectly convince the readers that Jokowi indeed has a negative representation through the arguments made by the reliable sources.

Another interesting thing to notice is that this article does not include comment category in the superstructure analysis. The category is not obligatory, but in this category a writer can give his or her personal opinions regarding the events in the news article. By not using the comment category in this article, I think the writer does not want to blatantly give negative opinions about Jokowi. Hence, I assume that the writer consistently plays safe in conveying Jokowi's representation.

Through the macrostructure, microstructure, and superstructure analyses, I can conclude that Jokowi is consistently represented negatively. By using van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis in the analysis, I learn that each writer has their own strategies to portray someone positively or negatively. It all can be described in many ways, for example by using the linguistic tools that are available.

It is also clear that this analysis is not complete due to time constraints. As the time is limited, there are tools that are not analysed yet. Yet, this can be an opportunity for other researchers to continue the research and complete the analysis.

Besides, I suggest that other researchers who would like to conduct this analysis should find a good news article because this is very crucial in this kind of analysis. In my opinion, news articles that contain critical arguments are more beneficial to be analysed. In addition, it is much better to search for the related topic that is discussed in the news articles. Thus, the researchers may gain more insights and background knowledge regarding the topic.



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