CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF REPORTING ON "INDONESIAN LEADER, MR. AHOK, AS THE PUBLIC FIGURE" IN THE JAKARTA POST NEWSPAPER

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Abstract

This research discusses the news reporting on Ahok's news in his gubernatorial election especially about the language used by the journalists or the editors of the English Jakarta Post newspaper which is based on Fairclough's theory (2003) of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), it views language as a powerful means through which specific ideologies, identities, and culture become dominant in a society. The data in this research are six articles entitled 'Ahok tries to win Muslim voters' hearts', 'Ahok still beatable as swing voters grow','Amien Rais steps up attacks on Ahok', 'Secretanism simmers as Jakarta election approaches', 'Anies may challenge Ahok' and 'The Profile of The Jakarta Post Newspaper'. The purposes of this study are (1) to describe the aspects of language used in reporting Ahok, (2) to describe the relationship between the discursive processes and the text in the language used, (3) to describe the situations of social, political, and cultural that backing up the language used. The analysis is elaborated with some linguistic tools of analyzing language consist of naming and describing, agency and transitivity, negating, representing other's speech, equating and contrasting, and modality.

Keywords: *Critical Discourse Analysis, Journalists'/editors' Language, Ahok's news, The Jakarta Post, English Newspaper.*

Introduction

Media has a role in informing, promoting, and building the perception of the society or even a nation toward the leader. As Obeng and Hartford (2008, p. 74) state that some major roles of the media, especially the electronic media, are to inform and interpret, and entertain. In some cases the difference between information and entertainment is blurred, hence the new term "infotainment" for programs that entertain as well as inform the public. In addition, they state that the media has been labeled as a "powerful fourth wing" of the state. Cohen & Young in Clare and Abdelhady (2015, p. 15) argue that the role of the news in shaping individual thoughts and collective perceptions about a given issue has long been understood as influential, as the mass media "provide the guiding myths which shape our conception of the world and serve as important instruments of social control".

One of media forms is the electronic newspaper. As well as other media, the electronic newspaper uses language as a tool to inform the leader's activities as the public figure. The language plays an important role in expressing, changing, and reproducing ideologies particularly. Since language operates within the social dimension, it tends to reflect and construct ideology. The ideologies are contained in social systems and institutions. To find out how these ideologies work, how they are created, changed, and reproduced, people need to investigate them by analyzing their discursive manifestations, because the discursive practices are embedded in social structures, which are mostly constructed, validated, naturalized, evaluated and legitimized in and through language i.e., discourse. The definition of the language, however, has been developed in accordance with the function not as a means of communicating only. Currently, the language has become the intermediary in the implementation of the power of ideology. Fairclough (2003, p. 2) argues that language, as an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life, therefore social analysis and research always has to take account of language.

The development of the role and definition of the language has brought an enormous influence on the study of language (linguistics). Linguistics is no longer engaged in the study of structure or grammar, however, it has evolved into inter-disciplinary studies with other fields, such as sociolinguistics, pragmatics, discourse analysis, neurolinguistics, and psycholinguistics. These inter-disciplinary studies indicate that language indeed plays a major role in all areas of public life. One of the areas which makes the use of language related to the implementation of the power of ideology as described above is media. Most forms of media production are realized into the language. Therefore, the relationship between language and the media is two things that cannot be separated. From the explanations, we can see that language builds the leader's image in media, and it leads the society to build their perception toward the leader.

In order to study the use of language in building image, we can observe through discourse analysis. From the discourse analysis brief historical overview by McCarthy (2000, p. 5-6), discourse analysis is concerned with the study of the relationship between language or text and the contexts in which it is used. In studying the language in use, the analysts apply some approaches to analyze the texts. One of these approaches is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been used as a basic discipline in education to provide answers to questions about the relationships between language, society, power, identity, ideology, politics, and culture. CDA aims at examining the dominant culture in a society to discover the mechanisms that have made that culture dominant, and to criticize of those mechanisms. The rise of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has influenced most branches and sub-branches of humanities sciences in general, and applied linguistics in particular. CDA views language as a powerful means through which

specific ideologies, identities, and culture become dominant in a society. CDA scholars believe that the choice of language interlocutors make reflects their intentions, ideology, and thought. This is an effective means for polarizing power in the society. Critical discourse analysts identify and study specific areas of injustice, inequality, racism, danger, suffering, prejudice.

Concept of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

MacMillan in Nelson et. al. (2016) states that critical discourse analysis "is concerned with 'understanding the nature of power and dominance' and how 'discourse contributes to their production'. That is, critical discourse analysis takes as its object not merely the text itself, but the ways in which a text reflects, reproduces, or challenges institutions and ideologies of power.

CDA Framework by Fairclough

Fairclough is considered to have contributed to the field of CDA most significantly. He attempts to uncover ideological and power patterns in texts in his research method of analysis. His model may be the core section of the entire field of CDA, because he was the first to create a theoretical framework, which provided guidelines for future CDA research. His belief that the language is an irreducible part of social life is the main part of his framework. The dialectic relation between language and social reality is realized through social events (texts), social practices (orders of discourse) and social structures. Fairclough in Evans (2013) distinguishes three 'dimensions' which he also calls 'stages' of CDA: 1) Description is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of the text. 2) Interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction – with seeing text as the product of a process of production, and as a resource of interpretation. 3) Explanation is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context – with the social determination of the processes of production and interpretation, and their social effects. Fairclough in Rahimi and Riasati (2011) provides a three-dimensional framework for the analysis of text and discourse:

1) The linguistic *description* of the formal properties of the text;
2) The *interpretation* of the relationship between the discursive processes/interaction and the text, where text is the end product of a process of text production and as a resource in the process of text interpretation and,
3) The *explanation* of the relationship between discourse and social and cultural reality.

Fairclough's analysis has gone beyond the "whatness" of the text description towards the "how" and "whyness" of the text interpretation and explanation. There are certain underlying assumptions behind certain selections of discourse. These assumptions are never value-free and innocent; rather they are ideologically driven and motivated. By studying the forms of the language, we can discover the social processes and also the specific ideology embedded in them. This leads to the exploration of power relations that exist in the society or community. He believes in a "hidden agenda" (Fairclough in Rahimi and Riasati, 2011).

Methodology

The method which is applied in this research is qualitative method. Creswell (2010, p. 4) defines that qualitative research is the methods of exploring and understanding the *meaning* individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. In order to analyze the text in the news reporting, this research applies Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in which Fairclough in Nelson et. al. (2016) argues that the CDA is the methodology used in analyzing the media items. CDA is the methodological approach for detecting the biased and manipulative language, and it can be used as a powerful device for deconstructing the texts to come up with their intended ideologies. As Wodak and Meyer (2001, p. 121) states that critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a method which can be used in social scientific research, referring to necessarily selective aspects of a particular object of research: how language distinctively figures in the new capitalism.

Source of Data

The sources of data in this research are the news of Ahok, selected from The Jakarta Post electronic newspaper consists of 6 articles which is specified into the gubernatorial election matter. These articles are chosen because they present the problems that I analyze in this research.

Technique of Collecting Data

The technique of collecting the data in this research is obtained through:
Documentation

The data are taken from the electronic newspapers, the Jakarta Post Newspaper which consists of 6 articles entitled 'Ahok tries to win Muslim voters' hearts', 'Ahok still beatable as swing voters grow','Amien Rais steps up attacks on Ahok', 'Secretanism simmers as Jakarta election approaches', 'Anies may challenge Ahok' and 'The Profile of The Jakarta Post Newspaper', specified into the Jakarta gubernatorial election.

Technique of Analyzing Data

On this stage, the researcher identifies the data taken from the Jakarta Post newspaper, then classifies them based on the problems in this research by applying Fairclough's framework of three-dimensional analysis, the next step is the researcher interprets and describes the data by observing the language that is used in reporting the news considering some aspects of linguistics based on Jeffries's in Evans (2013) tools of analyzing the text. The features can be seen as follows:
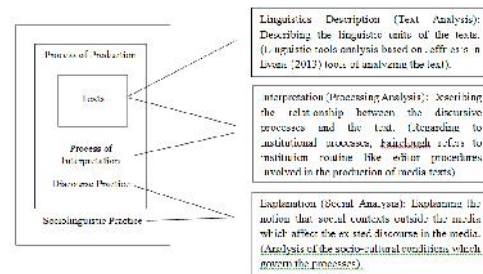

Figure 1. Fairclough's framework of processing analyzing the data.(Fairclough in Longman, 1997)

The descriptions of the analysis based on Fairclough's framework of three-dimensional analysis are as follow:

1) Linguistics description (Text Analysis): It is the dimensional analysis of the text which covers the linguistic analysis. On this stage, the researcher describes the linguistic units of the texts. (Linguistic tools analysis based on Jeffries's in Evans (2013) tools of analyzing the text).

2) Interpretation (Processing Analysis): it is the dimensional analysis of the interpretation of the discourse and text production processes. In this dimension, interpretation done on discourse processing including the institutional character which refers to institution routine like editor procedures involved in the production of media text. The processes in this case are the object which is produced and received. On this stage, the researcher describes the relationship between the discursive processes and the text. (Regarding to institutional processes, Fairclough refers to institution routine like editor procedures involved in the production of media texts).

3) Explanation (Social Analysis): it is the dimensional analysis of the explanation of the relationship between the discourse processes and the social processes. This dimension is a macro-level analysis based on the notion that social context outside the media affect the existed discourse in media. The dimension covers the socio-historical conditions which govern the processes. The journalist is not a field or a sterile space, but also determined by factors outside the media itself. On this stage, the researcher describes the notion that social contexts outside the media which affect the existed discourse in the media. (Analysis of the socio-cultural conditions which govern the processes).

Discussions

Linguistics Description (Text Analysis)

Naming and Describing: Sought in the ways in which speakers and writers refer to particular referents. These can be things or people in the world around us (Evans, 2013). In this point, there are some uses of nouns, pronouns, and certain way in order to refer Ahok:

1) Earlier, *Ahok* admitted … *The incumbent*, who has secured backing from the Hanura Party, the Golkar Party and the Nasdem Party, appears to be approaching the PDI-P as well in an effort to smoothen his way to victory.

2) During his speech, *Amien* told attendees to vote for any candidate but Ahok … "God willing *we* can win. What matters the most is that any figure would be better than *that one [Ahok]*," he told the crowd.

In data 1, the use of noun 'the incumbent' is categorized into concrete noun. This type of noun can be seen, touched by our senses. The word 'incumbent' has the meaning as a person who is occupying the current position in the government. 'The incumbent' has the connotation meaning as Ahok has a power to win the election. In data 2, there is the use of pronoun. H. and Smith (2014, p. 62) defines that pronoun is the word which is used to replace noun in the sentence. The function of pronoun is to avoid the repetition words in the sentence or paragraph. In data 3, the pronoun 'we' refers to Amien and the attendees, whereas, the pronoun 'that one' refers to Ahok. The pronoun 'we' is classified into personal pronoun-nominative case in which the personal pronoun stands as the subject in the sentence. Whereas, 'that one' is classified into indefinite pronoun-person of things in which it refers to persons, things or animals, for example, somebody, anyone, that one, etc. (H. and Smith, 2014). The pronoun 'we' is particularly powerful in bringing the readers 'onside' with the speaker. While 'that one', brings the connotation as 'the enemy'. These have the inclusive effects to the readers. The pronouns 'we' and 'that one' create the opposite construction which has the strong connotation as conflict (Evans, 2013).

Deal with naming and describing, there are some specific ways in stating Ahok's name in which the editors or journalists put quotation marks in the middle of his name. This particular way in stating the leader's name is not only in stating Ahok's name, but also in stating Risma's and Jokowi's name:

3) Jakarta Governor *Basuki "Ahok" Tjahaja Purnama*, who has secured the backing of three political parties …

4) … deputy governor Djarot Saiful Hidayat versus Surabaya Mayor *Tri "Risma" Rismaharini* and businessman Sandiaga Uno as well as Ahok-Djarot versus Sandiaga and Islamic preacher Yusuf Mansur.

5) Last week he was seen in a car with PDI-P chairwoman Megawati Soekarnoputri, President *Joko "Jokowi" Widodo* …

In data 3 to data 5, the three leaders' middle names are stated in quotation marks although there are some other leaders' names such as Djarot Saiful Hidayat, Megawati Soekarnoputri, Sandiaga Uno, and Yusuf Mansur in the sentences. The names in the quotation marks inform about the leaders' nicknames. When a person is called by his/her nickname, it means he is known well or very close to others. This use of quotation marks also indicates that the editors or journalists merely highlight certain persons as the focus in the news. Kosur (2013) argues that the use of quotation marks around words and phrases to indicate a special sense of use. In addition, stating or calling someone by his/her nickname is a less formal way. The less formal way in which these three leaders are referred to could make the reader feel closer to the leaders.

Agency and Transitivity: Look in detail at the way processes are described, taking as its object of study the predicate, and the way in which this element allows a speaker/writer to present a

process in different ways. When analyzing transitivity, and its possible significance, the first thing to do is to work out which 'category' of verb, or process, is being used (Evans, 2013). These points are divided into:

Material Action Processes

These processes describe something that is being done, consist of three parts: 'the actor' who acts out the process, 'the action' that the actor performs, and a' goal', i.e. the person or thing that is acted upon (Evans, 2013). In this point, there are different uses of verb:

6) Ahok *tries to win* Muslim voters' hearts
7) Amien Rais *steps up* attacks on Ahok.

In data 6, the use of infinitive with to 'tries to win' in the news headline deals with committing a purpose. H. and Smith (2014, p. 151) argue that generally, the 'infinitives with to' are used in order to commit a reason, a cause, or a purpose, and also are used as the complement which position after the adjectives or nouns. The sentence is presented in Simple Present Tense which means that the activity is still doing. The word 'try' has the meaning as make an attempt to do or get something (Oxford, 2015). Therefore, the sentence 'Ahok tries to win Muslim voters' heart' has the connotation as an effort of winning the Muslim voters' hearts. Whereas in data 7, the verb 'steps' in the news headline is the transitive verb which still requires an object. According to Thomson and Martinet (1986, p. 347), the words 'steps up' are categorized into phrasal verb in which it has the meanings as increase rate of; increase speed of (this usually refers to industrial production). Based on the descriptions, the words 'steps up' in the news headline deals with increasing rate of. The sentence 'Amien steps up attacks on Ahok' has the connotation as increasing the attacks on Ahok.

Verbalization Processes

Verbalization processes are very similar to material action processes, only differing that they describe a verbal action. Verbalization processes are divided into three parts: the sayer, the process (the explaining), and the verbiage, or what was said (Evans, 2013).

8) Ahok *said* his appointment of Nusron, a Golkar politician and former chairman of NU's youth movement GP Ansor, was based on the fact that they were already good friends.

In data 8, the verb 'said' in the sentence is classified into irregular verb. Based on the Oxford (2015, p. 391), the word 'said' has the meaning as speak or tell something to somebody; give an oppinion of something. The sentence 'Ahok said his appointment of Nusron … was based on the fact that they were already good friends' has the connotation as informing Ahok's intention of appointing Nusron.

Mental Processes

Mental processes refer to internal processes in minds. Three types are also consisted: cognition processes, perception processes, and reaction processes (Evans, 2013).

9) Earlier, Ahok *admitted* that his electability had dropped slightly after his decision to run on a party ticket.

The verb 'admitted' in data 9 deals with the cognition processes. This verb is classified into regular verb in which it will have changing based on the normal rules, by adding –ed or –d on verb 1, therefore it becomes a verb 2 or past tense and verb 3 or past participle (H. and Smith, 2014). Based on Oxford Online Dictionary (2016), the word 'admit' is confessing something to be true or to be the case. Therefore, the sentence 'Ahok admitted that his electability had dropped slightly after his decision to run on a party ticket' has the connotation as confessing that his decision to run on a party ticket had dropped his electability.

10) According to a survey … 50 per cent of the 646 respondents in an SMRC survey said they *disagreed* or *strongly disagreed* with the notion that a non-Muslim could not lead a Muslim community … 41 per cent of the respondents said they *agreed* or *strongly agreed* with the notion.

The verbs 'disagreed with… strongly disagreed with' and 'agreed with … strongly disagreed with' in the sentence in data 10 deals with the reaction processes. These verbs are classified into transitive verbs in which they still require the objects. They can also be used in infinitive with to. Based on Oxford Online Dictionary (2016), the word 'disagreed with' is having or expressing a different opinion. Whereas, the words 'strongly disagreed with' have the meaning as not to quite deal with something. On the other hand, the word 'agreed with' has the meaning as having the same opinion about something; concur, whereas, 'strongly agreed with' as quite deal with something. The words 'disagree with…strongly disagreed with' and 'agreed with…strongly agreed with' are the reaction of the notion that a non-Muslim could not lead a Muslim community.

Relational Processes

These processes simply report the relationship between a carrier and an attribute. There are three different types: intensive processes, possessive processes, and circumstantial processes (Evans, 2013). In this point, there are several uses of possessive and circumstantial processes:

11) "Because [if given to *Ahok's rivals*], votes from the Muslim community could become the biggest obstacle for him."
12) … the political parties that have thrown their support behind him must reconsider, unless they want to be *Ahok's victims*," Andreas said on Saturday.
13) Meanwhile, the Gerindra Party, *the main opponent of Ahok*, also seeks to win over Muslim voters by, among other things, forming a coalition with the Islamic-based Prosperous Justice Party (PKS).

In data 11, the possessive form 'apostrophe -s' can be seen in the words *Ahok's rivals*. In this case, 'Ahok' is singular, whereas, 'rivals' is plural which describe that Ahok is alone (singular), and he has more than one rival (plural). The word 'rival' is classified into noun in which it has the meaning as a person or thing competing with another for the same objective or for superiority in the same field of activity (Oxford Online Dictionary, 2016). The words 'Ahok's rivals' have the connotation as Ahok's

competitors. In data 12, the possessive form 'apostrophe -s' is in *Ahok's victims*. In this case, 'Ahok' is singular and 'victims' is plural. The word 'victim' is classified into noun in which it has the meaning as a person harmed, injured, or killed as a result of a crime, accident, or other event or action (Oxford Online Dictionary, 2016). Therefore, the words 'Ahok's victims' have connotation as persons who have been injured by Ahok or persons who are violated. In data 13, the possessive form 'of' is in '*the main opponent of Ahok*'. Based on the Wordpress (2012), the possessive form 'of' is also used to refer to a person's and animal's belonging. The words 'the main opponent' are classified into noun in which they have the meaning as someone who competes with or opposes another in a contest, game, or argument or a person who disagrees with or resists a proposal or practice (Oxford Online Dictionary, 2016). The words 'the main opponent' refers to 'Gerindra Party'. The words 'the main opponent of Ahok have the connotation as 'the one and only opponent'.

Deal with circumstantial processes, there are some uses of the adverb of time and place as in the data below:

14) Meanwhile, besides wooing Muslim voters, Ahok is also trying hard to enlist support from the PDI-P. *Last week* he was seen in a car with PDI-P chairwoman Megawati Soekarnoputri, President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo, Megawati's daughter Puan Maharani and the party's secretary-general Hasto Kristyanto on the way to the closing ceremony of Golkar's national meeting.

In data 14, the word 'last week' is the adverb of time. H. and Smith (2014, p. 250) argue that the adverb of time is used to describe when an event occurs. The adverb 'last week' is classified into adverb of definite time in which it is generally used to refer to certain time. This type can be placed in the beginning of a sentence or in the end. In this case, the adverb 'last week' is used as the evidence of fact which support the statement 'Ahok is also trying hard to enlist support from the PDI-P'.

Negating: Negation refers to a particular way in which language reflects human cognition's view of the world. A negative particle can be added to the verb phrase (Evans, 2013).

15) Amien reportedly told the congregants to vote for a gubernatorial candidate "who *does not have* a penchant for evictions, who *does not serve* the interests of capitalists".

The negative sentence in data 15 stands as the subordinate clauses. The subordinate clause is the dependent clause which cannot stand alone without a main clause. This clause will result a complete meaning if it is stated with the main clause (H. and Smith, 2014). The sentences are classified into verbal negative sentences. H. and Smith (2014, p. 316) argue that the verbal negative sentence or negation sentence is formed by adding the auxiliary do, does, or did before the predicate or verb. The negative forms are presented in simple present tense. The simple present tense is used to express the habitual action. This tense does not tell whether

or not the action is being performed at the moment of speaking (Thomson and Martinet, 1986). The auxiliary 'does' is used to form the negative form for the singular subject 'a gubernatorial candidate'. In addition, the noun 'penchant', usually in singular, has the meaning as a strong or habitual liking for something or tendency to do something (Oxford Online Dictionary, 2016). Whereas the verb 'serve' has the meaning as provide an area or group of people with something needed (Oxford, 2015). Therefore, the sentence 'who *does not have* a penchant for evictions, who *does not serve* the interests of capitalists' have connotation as a bad person who has a penchant for evictions, who serves the interests of capitalists.

Representing Other's Speech: It looks at how a speaker or writer presents the speech or thought of other people. The representing other's speech deals with the use of direct and indirect speech (Evans, 2013). This point deals with the speech presentation in which it distinguishes the direct speech (DS) in which it is seen as the norm, as it provides a verbatim account of what was said, and indirect speech (IS) in which it expresses what was said in the words of the narrator:

16) *Ahok said his appointment of Nusron, a Golkar politician and former chairman of NU's youth movement GP Ansor, was based on the fact that they were already good friends.*

17) *"The sky's the limit for Ahok's arrogance. He is very arrogant. But in history, no arrogant people have ever won. Let's join forces to fight him. Do not allow this dajjal to win [the election]," Amien said as quoted by Kompas.*

18) *Let's join forces to fight him …" Amien said ...*

19) *During his speech, Amien told attendees to vote for any candidate but Ahok … "God willing we can win. What matters the most is that any figure would be better than that one [Ahok]," he told the crowd.*

The sentence in data 16 is presented in indirect speech in which it deals with stating someone's or the speaker's words or sentences by rearranging or paraphrasing his words into the writer's or narrator's words in the same meaning. One of the indirect speech characteristics is, there is no quotation mark used in the sentence. Whereas, the sentences in data 17 to data 19, they are presented in direct speech. The direct speech deals with stating the speaker's words or sentences without rearranging or paraphrasing any of his words. Some characteristics of direct speech are generally, the reporting verb and reporting word are separated by the punctuation comma (,); the reported words are stated in quotation marks. From these descriptions, it shows that the lack of using the direct speech in reporting Ahok's words as in data 16, may serve as the evidence of the press's treatment. Whereas, employing the direct speech as in data 17 to data 19 have the powerful effect which implies that the speech presented is a verbatim account of what someone has actually said. Sometimes it is abused. The words 'do not allow' as in data 17 is

categorized into prohibition. It has the connotation as the prohibition for not allowing Ahok to win. In his speech Amien also tends to use the words 'this dajjal' rather than using the pronoun 'him' in order to refer to Ahok. It shows about Amien's strike opposition toward Ahok. In data 18, the word 'let' is classified into 'invitation'. It has the connotation as an invitation to join forces or to unite' in one's group (Amien and the attendees), to against another one (Ahok). In data 19, Amien uses the pronoun 'we' in order to refer to him and the attendees, whereas, he uses the pronoun 'that one' in order to refer to Ahok. The pronoun 'we' is particularly powerful in bringing the readers 'onside' with the speaker. While 'that one', brings the connotation as 'the enemy'. These bring inclusive effects to the readers. The pronouns 'we' and 'that one' create the opposite construction which have strong connotation as conflict. These will give a space to the readers to judge or to build their views.

Equating and Contrasting: The way in which the language allows us to equate and contrast is through synonyms and antonyms (Evans, 2013).

Equating

The equivalence is not only expressed through synonymy, but also in a number of other ways. One is apposition, whereby two noun phrases are used where one would be grammatically sufficient, with each referring to the same thing (Evans, 2013).

20) … *Ahok* in a sermon delivered at a mosque in North Jakarta … Undeterred by the MUI's warning, on Sunday Amien upped the ante *by calling him the dajjal* (Antichrist).

21) Former Jakarta deputy governor Prijanto also spoke at the gathering, denouncing *Ahok as a psychopath.*

22) Some Islamic groups have tried out various schemes to prevent the re-election of the clear frontrunner, Jakarta Governor *Basuki "Ahok" Tjahaja Purnama*, whom they refer to *as a kafir (non-believer)*, including calling on Muslim voters to join together in an alliance to oppose him.

In data 20, there is the equivalence in the news reporting in which Ahok is equated with 'the Dajjal' by triggering with the words 'by calling him'. In addition, the word 'Dajjal' is used together with the word 'Antichrist' which is put in parentheses. The parentheses or round brackets are used to enclose incidental or extra information such as a passing comment, a minor example or addition, or a brief explanation. Therefore, the word 'Antichrist' stands as the extra or additional information of the word 'Dajjal', meanwhile, these words have different perceptions. Based on Islamic perception, 'Dajjal' means 'Imposter', one who conceals the truth with falsehood, a "falsifier", one who deceives, deludes, beguiles, circumvents, is very deceitful or a "great deceiver". Thus, according to this meaning, the Dajjal would mean a great falsifier who would cover the whole Earth with conceit and delusion and infidelity or with his beguiled adherents as tar covers the body. This equivalence of 'Dajjal' with 'Antichrist' can give the reader space to build their view toward the issue in the news. In data 21, the equating is also found in the speech reporting in which Jakarta deputy governor Prijanto spoke that Ahok is a psycopath'. Based on the Oxford (2015, p. 355) the word 'psychopath' has the meaning as person suffering from a severe mental illness that causes them to behave violently. Whereas, based on the online dictionary, the full definition of 'psychopath' is a mentally ill or unstable person; especially, a person affected with antisocial personality disorder. This equivalence made by the speaker directs the readers to perceive about Ahok's personality. The sentence has connotation as Ahok is suffering from a severe mental illness that causes him to behave violently. In data 22, the equivalence in the news reporting in which the 'Jakarta Governor Basuki "Ahok" Tjahaja Purnama' is equated with the word 'a kafir' by triggering with the conjunction 'as'. In addition, the word 'kafir' is used together with the word 'non-believer' which is put in parentheses. As have been described previously, the parentheses or round brackets are used to enclose incidental or extra information such as a passing comment, a minor example or addition, or a brief explanation. From this descriptions, the word 'non-believer' stands as the extra or additional information of the word 'kafir'. The word kafir has different perception in thesociety. Therefore, this additional information as stated in parentheses can give the reader space to build their view toward the issue in the news.

Contrasting

There are various ways in creating opposition through language. One of the general categories of opposition tends to be realized by particular syntactic triggers (Evans, 2013). In this research, there are the use of conjunctions in contrasting as follow:

23) Ahok said his appointment of Nusron, a Golkar politician and former chairman of NU's youth movement GP Ansor, was based on the fact that they were already good friends. *But* many will see the choice of Nusron, the current head of the Agency for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, as a strategic move to win over Muslim voters.

24) During his speech, Amien told attendees to vote for any candidate *but* Ahok…

In data 23, the contrasting can be seen from the conjunction 'but' in the sentence. the conjunction 'but' is classified into adversative conjunction in which it is used to state the contrastive purpose between a statement with another statement (H. and Smith, 2014). The adversative conjunction 'but' is used as the contrastive to the sentences 'Ahok said his appointment of Nusron, a Golkar politician and former chairman of NU's youth movement GP Ansor, was based on the fact that they were already good friends'. This conjunction 'but' in the sentence 'but many will see the choice of Nusron … as a strategic move to win over Muslim voters' have the connotation as 'denying about Ahok's intention of appointing Nusron that they are good friends'. In data 24, the contrastive can be seen from the use of 'but' in the sentence. In this case, the word 'but' is categorized into preposition because there is the noun 'Ahok' after 'but'. As have been described above that the preposition such as 'but' is used

before noun or pronoun in order to connect the noun or pronoun with another words in the sentence (H. and Smith, 2014). The preposition 'but' as in 'Amien told attendees to vote for any candidate *but* Ahok' has the connotation the 'exception' that the attendees can vote for any candidate except Ahok.

Modality: It is the aspect of language that allows the hypothesizing. The modality in this point consists of modal auxiliaries, lexical verbs, modal adjectives and adverbs, conditional structures (Evans, 2013).

Modal Auxiliary

Modal auxiliary is added to a verb to express the speaker's or writer's level of commitment to the proposition of the sentence, for example how true they believe the statement is or how desirable or necessary they think it is. By looking at different modal auxiliaries, we can see the range of different meanings that modality makes possible (Evans, 2013). There are several data deal with modal auxiliary 'will' as described below:

25) But many *will* see the choice of Nusron, the current head of the Agency for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, as a strategic move to win over Muslim voters.

26) According to a survey by Jakarta-based Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting (SMRC), 50 per cent of the 646 respondents in an SMRC survey said they disagreed or strongly disagreed with the notion that a non-Muslim *could not* lead a Muslim community ...

27) … Risma, who wears a hijab, *would* attract Muslim voters, who are traditionally reluctant to vote for the nationalist PDI-P.

28) Anies *may* challenge Ahok.

In data 25, The modal auxiliary 'will' is used with the verb 'see'. The auxiliary 'will' is used to state the activity or event that will happen in the future (H. and Smith, 2014). The verb 'see' is the verb 1 which categorized into irregular verb which has the meaning as become aware of something by using the eyes (Oxford, 2015). Therefore, the auxiliary with verb 'will see' in the sentence has the connotation as 'perceive'. In data 26, the modal auxiliary is in negative form 'could not' which is used to state the incapability of doing something with a condition or requirement which probably does not exist. The negative auxiliary 'could not' is used with the verb 'lead' in which it has the meaning as go with of in front of a person to show the way (Oxford, 2015). Therefore, the auxiliary with verb 'could not lead' have the connotation as cannot be the leader of Muslim community. The modal auxiliary 'would' in data 27 is used for describing the result of something imagined, whereas, the verb 'attract' has the meaning as get somebody's attention or interest (Oxford, 2015). Therefore, the auxiliary with the verb 'would attract' have the connotation as the possibility of getting people's attention. In data 28, the auxiliary 'may' is used with the verb 'challenge'. The auxiliary 'may' is used to state the possibility of something to happen (H. and Smith, 2013). Whereas, based on the Oxford (2015, p. 66), the verb 'challenge' has the meaning as invite somebody to take part in a fight, game, etc.

The auxiliary with the verb 'may challenge' have the meaning as th possibility of challenging.

Lexical Verbs

Lexical verbs such as believe, think, and know can be used by the speakers or writers to express their commitment to a proposition. Whereas, other verbs such as want and need express the speakers' or writers' desire that something should be the case (Evans, 2013).

29) Hours after the Ahok-Djarot Saiful Hidayat pair registered at the Jakarta General Elections Commission (KPUD Jakarta), leaders of political parties that *do not want to see* Ahok extend his term in the capital scrambled to find a candidate with a reasonable chance of defeating the incumbent.

In data 29, the verb 'want' is categorized into lexical verb. The word 'want' expresses the speakers' or writers' desire that something should be the case (Evans, 2013). This lexical verb 'want' is used with the negative form 'do not' with the to-infinitive 'to see'. The words 'do not want to see' have the connotation as the desire of dislike.

Modal Adjectives and Adverbs

The modal adjectives such as possible and certain, and the adverbs such as probably and definitely make it is clear that what is being stated is a hypothesis and not an assertion of fact (Evans, 2013). There is the use of modal adjective described in data below:

30) Renowned Muslim scholar Anies Baswedan, once an ally of President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo before his ouster from the Cabinet in July, has emerged as a *possible* rival to Jakarta Governor Basuki "Ahok" Tjahaja Purnama in the 2017 gubernatorial election.

The word 'possible' in data 30 is categorized into modal adjective. The modal adjective 'possible' makes it is clear that what is being stated is a hypothesis and not an assertion of fact (Evans, 2013). The adjective 'possible' is used to with the noun 'rival'. Based on Oxford (2015, p. 382), the noun 'rival' is the person, company or thing that competes with another in business, etc. The words 'possible rival' have the connotation as the person who is possible to compete in the election.

Interpretations (Processing Analysis)

This point is the interpretation of the relationship between discourse and text production process as Fairclough's second dimensional framework. In this dimension analysis, interpretation done on discourse processing which includes aspects of production, deployment, and the use of text. Some of these aspects have more institutional character, while others are the processes of usage and deployment of discourse. Regarding to institutional processes, Fairclough refers to institution routine like editor procedures involved in the production of media texts (Mayasari et. al, 2013).

The series production of texts in Jakarta Post is the institutional series involving journalists, editors, even the owners of capital, etc. In order to decribe the institutional processes like the editors' procedures involved in the production of media texts, I describe the brief profile of The Jakarta Post

English news establishment. The Jakarta Post is the brainchild of the Information Minister Ali Murtopo and the politician Jusuf Wanandi. Murtopo is the Indonesian general and political figure during the first half of General Suharto's New Order regime. He joined Hisbullah when he was teenager. During the Indonesian National Revolution, he became the company Commander in Ahmad Yani's Banteng Raiders, an elite group of soldiers formed to chase away the remnants of the Darul Islam movement, the organization which commits that Indonesia has to be governed under the Islamic rules. Whereas Jusuf Wanandi, is a Chinese-Indonesian politician and educator. He was born with the name Liem Bian Kie who has been for a number of years on the board of the main Jakarta daily The Jakarta Post, and from time to time, he contributes articles to the newspaper. Wanandi had a political career in Golongan Karya (Golkar Party) and held the position as the vice general secretary.

The main reason The Jakarta Post is established because both of them disappoint at the perceived bias against Indonesia in foreign news sources. In order to ensure credibility, they agree to convince a group of competing newspapers to back the nascent paper. These groups are the Golkar which backs up the Suara Karya, the Catholic which owns the Kompas, the Protestant which owns the Sinar Harapan, and the weekly Tempo. After founding PT Bina Media Tenggara to back the paper, Wanandi spent several months contacting influential figures at the targeted newspapers. To receive their cooperation, Kompas requested a 25 percent share in the newspaper, for which it would handle the daily business operations, such as printing, circulation, and advertising. Tempo offered to assist with management in return for a 15 percent share, while Sabam Siagian of Sinar Harapan was hired as the first chief editor, for which Sinar Harapan received stock. The establishment of the paper was further aided by incoming Information Minister Harmoko, who received 5 percent interest for his role in acquiring a license. From these explanations, it shows that the Jakarta Post newspaper is able to influence public opinion widely especially in leading the readers to build their view toward a case. It is because the Jakarta Post newspaper is supported by credible persons. (quoted from the Profile of the Jakarta Post Newspaper.com)

The text productions in the Jakarta Post newspaper have considered the aspects of production. The noun '*the incumbent*' which the journalists or the editors use in order to refer *Ahok* is done to adjust with the context of election. In case of deployment, the journalists or editors use specific way in stating three leaders' names such as Ahok, Risma, and Jokowi. They use quotation marks especially in stating these leaders' full names: *Basuki "Ahok" Tjahaja Purnama*, *Tri "Risma" Rismaharini,* and *Joko "Jokowi" Widodo.* Whereas, other leaders' full names such as Djarot Saiful Hidayat, Anies Baswedan, Sandiaga Uno, Megawati Soekarnoputri, Amien Rais, and some others are not stated in quotation marks, even though those three leaders' names are stated together with others' names.

The use of quotation marks in these three leaders' names indicates that the journalists or editors merely highlight the leaders as the focus in their news. As we know that these three leaders are holding the main positions in the government. Ahok holds the position as the Jakarta governor, Risma holds the position as the Surabaya mayor, and Jokowi as the president of Indonesia. The use of possessive form 'apostrophe –s' as in *Ahok's rivals* and the possessive form 'of' as in *the main opponent of Ahok* that the journalists or the editors state, give different focuses on the readers. When the journalists or editors use the possessive 'apostrophe –s' as in *Ahok's rivals,* it leads the readers to focus on Ahok as the subject in the news. Whereas, when they use the possessive form 'of' as in *the main opponent of Ahok*, it leads the readers to focus on the main opponent as the subject in the news. The use of adverb of time such as *last week* or the adverb of place such as *Istiqlal Grand Mosque in Central Jakarta* are potential to support the journalists' or the editors' statements in reporting the fact about the events occuring and as the evidence which help them to inform the readers about the factual data.

Deal with considering the main purpose of the founding fathers in establishing the Jakarta Post, we can see that the lack of using the direct speech in reporting Ahok's words as described previously in which it may serve as the evidence of the press's treatment, is seen as the effort of avoiding the bias perception especially toward Ahok's movement. Whereas, the use of direct quotations (direct speech) in presenting most of the speakers' words as their attitudes, can lead to the opposition, because it serves the readers to build their choice in which attitudes they agree or disagree with.

However, in reporting the news, the journalists or editors need to consider the use of some words in order to give the additional information in the news, unless these words are potential to create conflict and controversy. By stating Ahok's minority identity as in the sentence 'Ahok's double minority identity — he is a Christian and of Chinese descent', and describing Risma's appearance as in the sentence 'Risma, who wears a hijab, would attract Muslim voters' indicate the existence of racism in the Jakarta gubernatorial election. In addition, the word such as 'Antichrist' which is used to give an extra information to the word 'dajjal' and the words such as 'non-believer' which is used to give the extra information to the word 'kafir', can give the reader space to build their view toward the issue in the news because these words have different interpretations or perceptions.

Explanation (Social Analysis)

This point is the discussion about the relationship among the situation of social, politic, and culture which backing up the use of language in reporting the news as Fairclough's (2003) third dimensional framework. This dimensional framework is focused on the explanation of the relationship between discourse and social cultural reality. The social, political, and cultural situation that occurs during reporting the news cannot be separated from the contexts which build the news.

Related to the social and political situations which the texts are produced, media in Indonesia such as the Jakarta Post newspaper mostly writes about Ahok's news. Ahok becomes the trending topic because of his controversial outspoken style and his position as the incumbent in the Jakarta gubernatorial election. His re-election has revealed the pro and contra in the society such as the survey which is made in order to find out the result whether a non Muslim cannot lead the Muslim community or not, the notions of some Islamic groups toward his re-election, the bitter racially attacks made by some persons who disagree with his re-election, etc. These points of view have become the subjects which are discussed in the media especially the Jakarta Post.

The news reported also reveal the presents issues which probably contain the issues of racism. The words such as 'Risma, who wears a hijab, would attract Muslim voters' and 'the notion that a non-Muslim could not lead a Muslim community' appear as the statements of comparison to the words 'Ahok's double minority identity — he is a Christian and of Chinese descent'. These words describe the fact of the social matters occuring in the Jakarta gubernatorial election.

Related to the culture in which the texts are produced, the journalists or editors report about the events occurring in Indonesia which are written in English. Meanwhile, in English the people use to mention names by their last names, for example: 'Obama' for 'Barack Obama', 'Trump' for 'Donald Trump', etc. Whereas, in Indonesia the people mention names by their first names, as can be seen from the data in this research, for example: 'Amien' for Amien Rais, 'Sandiaga' for Sandiaga Uno. It shows that the way of mentioning or stating the people's names is affected by the culture in which the texts are produced.

Conclusion

After conducting the research, the researcher draws the conclusion that by applying Fairclough's (2003) three dimensional frameworks, and elaborated it with some tools of analyzing language represents in analyzing the whole aspects in the language used by the journalists or editors in their news especially in uncovering the hidden agenda or ideology exist in the language used. The aspects of language play important role in the news reporting. The use of pronouns such as 'we', 'us', 'him' are potential in creating the conflict. The way of journalists or editors give the additional information toward some words such as 'the dajjal (Antichrist)', 'a kafir (non-believer)' are potential in leading the readers to build their interpretation toward the issue, the words such as 'Risma, who wears a hijab, would attract Muslim voters', 'the notion that a non-Muslim could not lead a Muslim community' and 'Ahok's double minority identity — he is a Christian and of Chinese descent' are potential to reveal the racism, the controversy, the reality of the social matters occuring in the Jakarta gubernatorial election. The use of direct speech is seen as the speakers' attitudes in which it is potential to lead the readers to behave on one side.

The social, political, and cultural situations also affect the news reporting. It can be seen from the journalists' or editors' way of reporting the events occurring in Indonesia especially the English news, they mention the persons' names by their first names, such as 'Amien' for Amien Rais, 'Sandiaga' for Sandiaga Uno. Whereas, in English people mention the persons' names by their last name such as 'Trump' for Donald Trump. It shows that the way of mentioning or stating the people's names is affected by the culture in which the texts are produced.

Suggestion

There are a lot of things can be observed from the newspaper related to the Discourse Analysis field. However, this research is limited into the language used by the editors or the writers in reporting Ahok as the leader in the Jakarta Post newspaper. Therefore, it will be more interesting for the next researchers who are interested in studying the Discourse Analysis to conduct the similar research that is focused on Ahok's utterances or other Indonesian leaders' utterances by applying the Critical Discourse Analysis and some set of tools in analyzing the language or the utterances. It is important for the further researchers to search more references in order to support their researches. In addition, this CDA and the tools of analyzing language can be applied on other subjects or fields which require critical analysis or critical comprehension such as Critical Reading subject, Literature subject especially the analysis of literary works: Prose Analysis, Drama Analysis, and Poetry Analysis.

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