

**A POLITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON RODRIGO ROA
DUTERTE'S DRUG WAR POLICY**

THESIS

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ENGLISH LETTERS DEPARTMENT

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

UIN MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG

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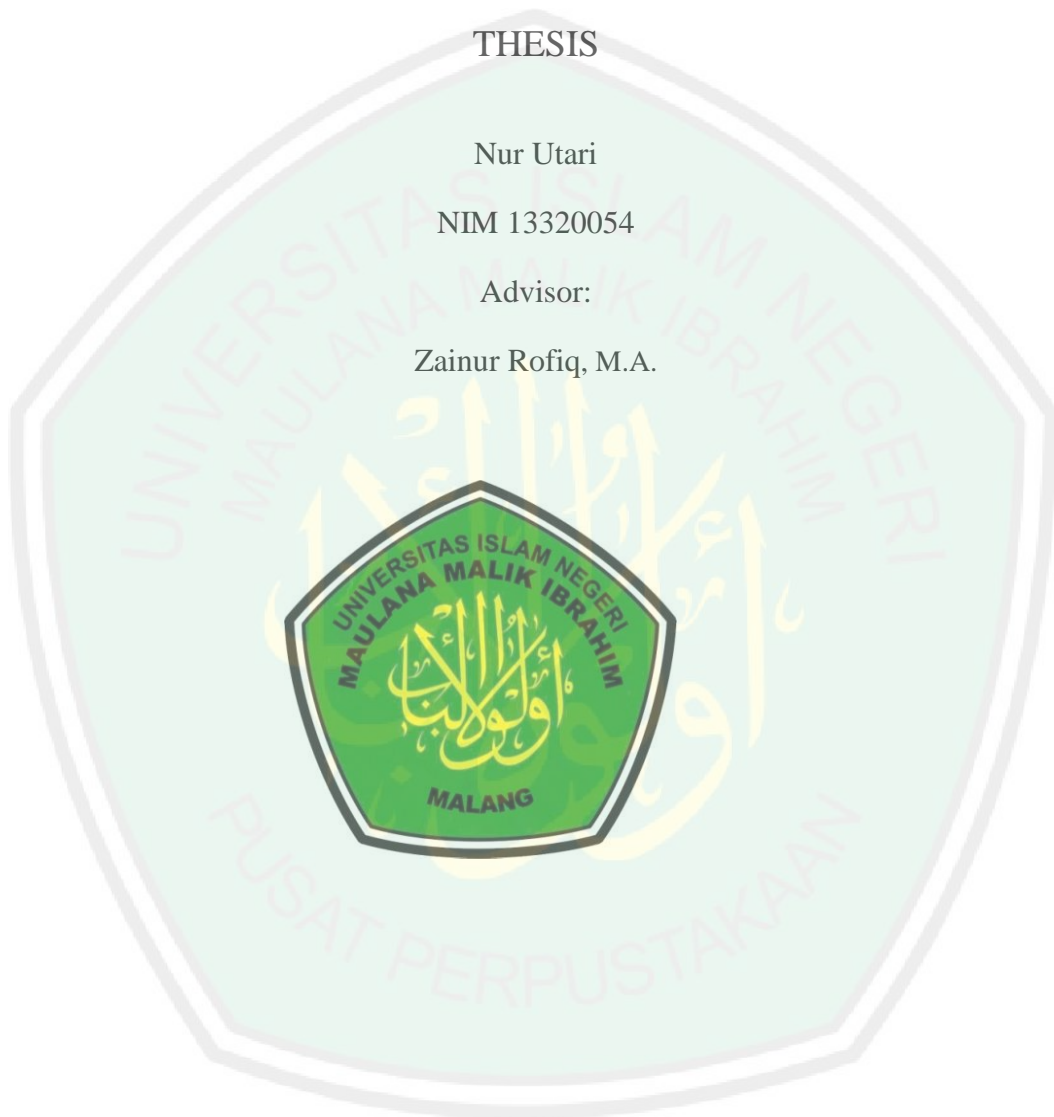
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2017

STATEMENT OF AUTHENTICITY

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Malang, November 22, 2017



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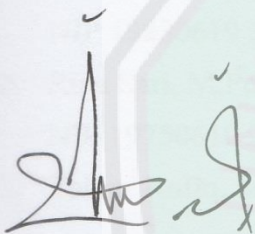
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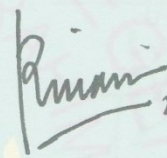
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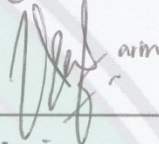
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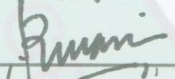
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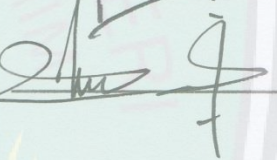
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MOTTO

The first and most important step forward success is the feeling that we can succeed.

(Nelson Boswell)



DEDICATION

This thesis is honorably dedicated to my father (Taib Ahmad), my mother (Wartin), my sister (Arumdani), my brother (Tiwa Alpapuansyah), and my best friend (Ilma Indana) who always support me no matter how difficult my problems are, and give me a lot of beneficial advice.



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I express my gratitude to the Lord of the universe, Allah SWT, for his blessing and mercy so that I can accomplish my thesis entitled **A Political Discourse Analysis on Rodrigo Roa Duterte's Drug War Policy** as the requirement for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S), and for the Prophet Muhammad SAW who always becomes a guide for me to be a better person.

I would never have been able to complete my study without the immeasurable support and love of my family, especially to my father and mother who never give up their hopes to me even though sometimes I feel so depressed to continue my hard ways. I also want to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor, Zainur Rofiq, M.A., who has guided me patiently and given me tremendous ideas so that I can solve my confusions related to my analysis well.

Lastly, I want to send my sincere thanks to my best friend, Ilma Indana and Isnaini Nugraning Wiranti who always support me since we get closer each other. They cheer me up, and give me a lot of beneficial advice.

ABSTRACT

Utari, Nur. 2017. *A Political Discourse Analysis on Rodrigo Roa Duterte's Drug War Policy*. Theses. English Letters Department. Faculty of Humanities. UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Advisor : Zainur Rofiq, M.A.

Keywords : Political discourse analysis, Microstructures, Representation.

This research is intended to analyze and to describe how Rodrigo is represented in the BBC News coverage related to his policy of war on drugs. The researcher employs microstructures analysis in covering the using of the journalist's writing strategy such as choice of words which is forming either bad or good representation of Rodrigo.

The researcher utilized two kinds of data, BBC News articles of Rodrigo's drug war and Rodrigo's interview with Aljazeera. Those data denoted how the BBC journalist applied his or her knowledge about Rodrigo to create Rodrigo representation in the society, and how Rodrigo defended himself by sending official clarification related to his controversial policy of war on drug. Due to the fact that Aljazeera do not provide the transcript of the interview, the researcher transcribes it by herself.

This research uses descriptive qualitative method. The key instrument of this research is the researcher herself. The data are analyzed by considering the way the journalist expresses his or her knowledge about Rodrigo and his policy and the way Rodrigo clarifies his representation in the society.

The finding reveal that Rodrigo inclines to be drawn in bad representation because the journalist continually represents most of Rodrigo's bad sides which may automatically emerge a kind of imputing thinking of the human rights disorder to Rodrigo and his policy of war on drug. For instance, the way the journalist always denotes the number of death toll in drug operation since it was run on July, 2016 will appear people' judgment to Rodrigo's contradictory policy which has killed more than 7.000 in less than one year of his leadership as a president of Philippines. Although Rodrigo has clarified the reasons of his action but extrajudicial killings, unlawful killings, and contravening the law of humanity are becoming a starting point to the journalist to form Rodrigo's bad representation.

The researcher suggests for the next researchers who are interested in doing research in the same field might be able to wrap their theses in more complete, critical and valid analysis, so that the readers will figure a new interesting side out in political discourse analysis.

ABSTRAK

Utari, Nur. 2017. Analisis Wacana Politik tentang Kebijakan Rodrigo Roa Duterte mengenai perang terhadap narkoba. Tesis. Departemen Sastra Inggris. Fakultas Ilmu Budaya. UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Penasihat: Zainur Rofiq, M.A.

Kata kunci: Analisis Wacana Politik, Struktur Mikro, Representasi.

Penelitian ini dimaksudkan untuk menganalisis dan menggambarkan bagaimana Rodrigo ditampilkan dalam pemberitaan BBC News terkait kebijakan perang terhadap narkoba. Peneliti menggunakan analisis mikrostruktur dalam mendeskripsikan penggunaan strategi penulisan jurnalis seperti pilihan kata-kata yang membentuk representasi Rodrigo, baik berupa representasi buruk atau baik.

Peneliti menggunakan dua jenis data, artikel BBC News tentang perang terhadap narkoba Rodrigo dan wawancara Rodrigo dengan Aljazeera. Data tersebut menunjukkan bagaimana wartawan BBC menerapkan pengetahuannya tentang Rodrigo untuk menciptakan representasi Rodrigo di masyarakat, dan bagaimana Rodrigo membela dirinya sendiri dengan memberikan klarifikasi resmi terkait kebijakan kontroversialnya mengenai perang terhadap narkoba. Karena kenyataan bahwa Aljazeera tidak menyediakan transkrip wawancara, peneliti mentranskripsikannya sendiri wawancara tersebut.

Penelitian ini menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif. Instrumen utama penelitian ini adalah peneliti sendiri. Data dianalisis dengan mempertimbangkan bagaimana jurnalis tersebut mengungkapkan pengetahuannya tentang Rodrigo dan kebijakannya dan cara Rodrigo mengklarifikasi representasinya di masyarakat.

Temuan tersebut mengungkapkan bahwa Rodrigo cenderung direpresentasikan buruk oleh BBC News.com karena wartawan tersebut secara terus-menerus menampilkan sebagian besar sisi buruk Rodrigo yang mana hal tersebut cara otomatis dapat menimbulkan semacam pemikiran yang menyimpang dari gangguan hak asasi manusia terhadap Rodrigo dan kebijakan perang terhadap narkoba. Misalnya, cara jurnalis selalu menunjukkan jumlah korban tewas dalam operasi narkoba sejak dijalankan pada bulan Juli 2016 akan memunculkan penilaian orang terhadap kebijakan kontroversial Rodrigo yang telah membunuh lebih dari 7.000 dalam waktu kurang dari satu tahun kepemimpinannya sebagai presiden Filipina Meskipun Rodrigo telah mengklarifikasi alasan tindakannya, namun pembunuhan diluar hukum, pembunuhan yang dilakukan secara illegal, dan pelanggaran hukum kemanusiaan menjadi titik awal jurnalis untuk membentuk representasi buruk Rodrigo.

Peneliti menyarankan agar peneliti selanjutnya yang tertarik untuk melakukan penelitian di bidang yang sama mungkin bisa mempresentasikan tesis mereka dengan analisis yang lebih lengkap, kritis dan valid, sehingga pembaca akan menemukan sisi menarik baru dalam analisis wacana politik.

مستخلص البحث

أوتاري، نور. 2017. تحليل الخطاب السياسي بالسياسة رودريجو روا دوتيرت عن حرب المخدرات. البحث الجامعي. قسم اللغة الإنجليزية وآدابها. كلية علوم الإنسانية والثقافة. جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية بمالانق. المشرف: زين الرازقين الماجستير.

الكلمة الرئيسية: تحليل الخطاب السياسي، الهيكل الصغير، التمثيل

يقصد هذا البحث هو تحليل و تصوير كيف عرض رودريجو روا دوتيرت Rodrigo Roa Duterte في الأخبار الذي يرتبط السياسة الحرب المخدرات. استخدمت الباحثة عن تحليل الهيكل الصغير في الإستراتيجية للكتابة، نحو في اختيار الكلمات التي تشكل وتمثيل رودريجو روا دوتيرت، إما تمثيل الحسن وتمثيل السيئة.

استخدم الباحثة نوعان من البيانات البحثها يعني بمقالة BBC News عن حرب المخدرات رودريجو روا دوتيرت و المقابلة رودريجو بالجزيرة. أما هذا البيانات تدل على كيف الصحفيين BBC News تطبيق المعرفة عن رودريجو لظهرت تمثيل رودريجو في المجتمع، وكيف الدفاع نفسه رودريجو يعطي التصنيفية الرسمية عن السياسة الخلافي عن الحرب المخدرات. و بالحقيق، لا تقدم الجزيرة المقالة المقابلة التي المذكورة، وبذلك الباحثة النفسي كتبها في المقالة.

استخدم هذا البحث بطريقة بحث الوصفي والكيفي. ولآلة البحث الرئيسة التي تطبق الباحثة هنا يعني بالملاحظ النفسي. والبيانات التحليل من هذا البحث هو نظر في كيفية الصحافيّ يعبر المعرفة عن رودريجو و كيفية تمثيل في المجتمع.

هذا مكتشف يعبر أن يميل رودريجو على صفة السيئة عند BBC News.com عن الصحافيين ظهرت من بعض جوانب السلبية من رودريجو الذي يولد الأفكار المنحرفة من الاضطرابات الحقوق الإنسان على رودريجو حولي السياسة المخدرات، على سبيل المثال يعني استراتيجية الصحافيّ يدل على عدد خسائر المات في جراحية المخدرات في شهر يولية عام 2016م، ظهر القيم من الأشخاص الأخرى عن السياسة الخلافات عند رودريجو الذي قتل أكثر من 7000 أشخاص في سنة واحدة حينما يكون رئيسة الجمهورية في بلد الفلبين، ولو كان قد أضح رودريجو عن ما عمل في الماضي لكن قتل خارج القانون و القتل غير المشروع و انتهاك قانون الإنسانية يكون مصدر للصحافي أن يعبر صفة السيئة رودريجو.

أما هذا البحث ينصح للبحوث التالية يهتم أن يعمل البحث في مجال النفسي، و يستطيع ليعبر البحث الجامعي في تحليل الجيد والصلاحى وتحليل العميق. و أتمنى الباحثة من هذا البحث ليكون القارئ يكتشف مجال الجديد في تحليل الخطابات السياسة.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

COVER PAGE	
STATEMENT OF AUTHENTICITY	i
APPROVAL SHEET	ii
LEGITIMATION SHEET	iii
MOTTO	iv
DEDICATION	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	vi
ABSTRACT	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	x
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background of the Study	1
1.2 Research Questions	6
1.3 Objectives of the Study	6
1.4 Scope and Limitation	6
1.5 Significances of the Study	7
1.6 Research Method	7
1.6.1 Research Design	8
1.6.2 Data Sources	8
1.6.3 Data Collection	9
1.6.4 Data Analysis	10
1.7 Definition of the Key Terms	10
CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE	12
2.1 Political Discourse Analysis	12
2.1.1 Political Cognition	16
2.1.1.1 Knowledge	19
2.1.1.2 Opinions and Attitudes	20
2.1.1.3 Ideologies	21
2.1.1.4 Political Cognition: Concluding Remarks	21
2.2 Teun A. Van Dijk's Model of CDA	23
2.2.1 Microstructures	23
2.2.1.1 Semantic	24
2.2.1.2 Syntaxes	25
2.2.1.3 Stylistic	25
2.2.1.4 Rhetoric	26
2.3 Role of Media	26
2.4 Previous Studies.....	28

CHAPTER III: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION.....	31
3.1 Findings	31
3.1.1 Semantic Microstructures Analysis	32
3.1.1.1 Exclusion	32
3.1.1.1.1 Passivation	32
3.1.1.1.2 Nominalization	43
3.1.1.2 Inclusion	44
3.1.1.2.1 Abstraction	44
3.1.1.2.2 Categorization	47
3.1.1.2.3 Determination	48
3.1.1.2.4 Objectivity	49
3.1.1.2.5 Association	50
3.1.1.3 Transitive	51
3.1.1.4 Intransitive	54
3.1.1.5 Disclaimer	56
3.1.1.6 Number of Game	56
3.1.1.7 Metaphor	58
3.1.1.8 Grafic	59
3.2 Discussion	71
CHAPTER IV: CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION	77
4.1 Conclusion	77
4.2 Suggestion	78
BIBLIOGRAPHY	80
APPENDIX	82

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter pervades the elaboration on background of the study, research questions, objectives of the study, scope and limitation, significances of the study, research method and definition of the key terms.

1.1 Background of the Study

Language, in simple term, is a human beings' tool of communication. Human beings need language to express themselves, to communicate with others, to know everything in the world, et cetera. Relying on Aristotle's view, Aristotle conveys that human language is a kind of man-made arbitrary symbol in which the meaning of this symbol is not from the voice itself, but established by convention among human beings. Barker (2004, p. 106) stated that "language is important to an understanding of culture for two central and related reasons: first, language is the privileged medium in which cultural meanings are formed and communicated; and second, language is the primary means and medium through which we form knowledge about ourselves and the social world".

Due to the fact that language is an inseparable thing of humans' social life, many researchers examine the gist of language especially when it is used in a lot of kinds of scientific issues. To further the analysis of a particular discourse, some pioneers in the field present critical paradigm called critical discourse analysis in order to make reader or researcher more critical in analyzing and describing a particular issue. Critical discourse analysis is a study that address to social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (Van Dijk, 2001).

The term "critical" in CDA can be interpreted as an attempt to describe, interpret, and explain the relationship between the form and the function of language (Rogers, 2004). The aims of critical discourse analysis itself in Foucault's view are to examine the discursive

formations that are produced in a text, the discursive strategies that are associated and the effect of discourse production (Eriyanto, 2001). On the contrary with another approaches in discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis does not principally propose to contribute to a specific discipline, paradigm, school or discourse theory. Nonetheless, it is primarily fascinated and motivated by pressing social issues, which aspires to better understand through discourse analysis.

Moreover, critical discourse analysis also requires concentrating on the discursive strategies that legitimize control, or otherwise naturalize the social order, and especially inequality (Fairclough, 1985). To get an understanding of critical discourse analysis, we should understand the nature of social power and dominance because those are the imperative presupposition of critical discourse analysis. Power, especially the social power of groups or institutions is the central notion in most critical work on discourse (Van Dijk, 2001). When we talk about power, it means that we indirectly talk about control. Power, in term of control over public discourse and communication, is an important “symbolic” resource, as is the case for knowledge and information (van Dijk, 1996). In the social power groups or institutions, people will have more or less power if they are able to control the acts and minds of members of other groups. On the other hand, members of more powerful social groups and institutions, especially their leaders, have more or less limited access to manage one or more types of public discourse (Van Dijk, 2001). Therefore, those groups who control most influential discourse also have more chances to control the minds and actions of others.

Power is a central concept in critical discourse analysis (Rogers, 2011). In doing research in critical discourse analysis, we will deal with any aspect of power, domination, and social inequality that exist in political and social sphere. Political discourse, for instance, is another area of discourse analysis that pervades a broad range of subject matter and delineates on a wide range of analytic method (Wilson, 2001). Based on Van Dijk’s

explanation in his article of *what is political discourse analysis*, he asserts that political discourse analysis deals with the reproduction of political power, power abuse or domination. Further, political discourse deals with the discursive conditions and consequences of social and political inequality those results from such domination (Fairclough 1995; van Dijk 1993b). This approach appeals me to be critical in employing this research by taking Rodrigo Duterte as the subject of this research which has more power in dominating people.

The terms of power and domination, then, can be analyzed and described deeply not only with critical discourse analysis and political discourse, but also micro level of analysis. Micro level analysis or microstructures analysis describe about local meaning of a text which can be analyzed by observing both the choosing and the using of words in a text used to convey a particular meaning on the journalist's minds. Therefore, microanalysis also can be used to analyze the meaning that the journalist desires to emphasize, so that we may know the reasons of journalist in applying a particular word or phrase in transferring his or her opinion about an event.

This research, then, investigates and describes the policy of Philippines' President, Rodrigo Duterte, about drug war presented in BBC News coverage and Duterte's interview with Aljazeera by using microstructures analysis. Drug war is a political term he made to insist his decline to drugs by ceasing any kinds of drugs access in Philippines. He maintains the policy in order to extirpate the circulation of drugs which have destroyed people life entire the world. The main reason to select Rodrigo's policy is twofold: first, it emerges a controversial result in the society so that the media, especially BBC News, can take an enormous benefit by creating their own power to form Rodrigo's representation which might bolster Rodrigo and his hard policy, vice versa. Second, the existence of power practice in Rodrigo's policy might appear certain thoughts in the readers' minds so that there will be

such a fight of discourse that will lead people to a particular way of thinking either they will judge Rodrigo in a good or a bad way.

Since he became Philippines' president on June 30, 2016, police had killed more than seven thousand drug suspects in drugs operations. Consequently, Duterte's policy derives a lot of protests from citizens, whom are not belong to his supporter, and some office-holder such as Barack Obama for that is considered as human rights contravention. However, Duterte still remains his policy of drug war. As we can see, Duterte employs his power to dominate the others. The term of power is defined here as an action that limits the others to achieve his or her particular goals. Therefore, the significance of this research is to provide wide insights of the politico-linguistic representation that is observable on Duterte's news coverage.

Some studies on political discourse analysis have been done by a number of people for academic purposes, such as Moustafa's research (2015) entitled 'Linguistic gender identity construction in political discourse. A corpus-assisted analysis of the primary speeches of Barrack Obama and Hillary Clinton'. The researcher found that both Obama and Hillary have different interest in political affairs so that it establish their political identities and gender identities, for instance, Obama tends to be more focus on foreign policy, whereas Clinton inclines her concern on domestic policy. Another example, Obama inclines to be focus on racial, ethnical and religious issues, yet Clinton herself only put more attention to women's issues. Hence, the researcher discovered that either Obama or Clinton comes to different notions of gender-related functionalizing words of profession, male fitness and gender representations depend on the way the use language to convey people and the topical interest they have.

Susanto (2014), on his entitle 'a critical discourse analysis of power domination on Barack Obama's speech about military action to Syria'. He founded that Obama uses his

power as a president of America because of twofold; (1) to dominate and control the other power. (2) to gain legitimacy from the International community on his policy to take military action Syria. Then, to eliminate several obstacles and opposition of his policy, Obama used his power domination to handle that issue. To show Obama's power domination, he uses some strategies such as defining situation, number game, evidentially, hyperbole, self-positive representative, negative other representation, consensus, empathy, national self-glorification, and polarization; us and them dichotomy.

There are also some studies have been done in micro level of analysis such as Ningrum (2014), entitle 'inclusion strategies in The Jakarta Post crime news on the women issues'. In her analysis, she described that the journalist tended to advocate women as the victims by using some strategies such as genericisation, specification, assimilation, indetermination, determination, nomination, categorization (functionalization and identification), personalization, and objectification. Moreover, The Jakarta Post's journalist also inclines to relate the women's part of life such as family in order to attract the readers' interest for that may stimulate the readers' concern to the victims. Thus, the using of inclusion strategies in The Jakarta Post is intentionally applied to reveal another fact of the victims so that it may assist the journalist to advocate the women who are often marginalized in the news coverage.

Fitrianingsih (2015), entitle 'semantic change in the official words on Facebook'. She found that there were some semantic change in official words on Facebook such as metaphor, metonymy, and generalization. Semantic change itself happened because there were many motivations involved semantic change such as historical causes, psychological causes, language-internal and social causes used by Facebook inventor. Thus, she concluded that Facebooker may become easier in applying Facebook because of those factors in semantic change.

The present research, therefore, in short term, is quite related to Susanto (2014) and Moustafa (2015) in examining the existence of power and domination in political contexts, although the present researcher has different subject, object, and media with them. The present researcher employs Rodrigo Roa Duterte as a new Philippines president coming with his controversial policy of war on drugs which has paralyzed the drugs users and dealers in execution of killings. BBC News.com also has an important role in this research, then. In addition, she also analyzes the local meaning such what Ningrum (2014) & Fitrianiingsih (2015) have done and the representation of the subject in the news coverage. Another thing that make this study is different from the previous ones is the researcher desires to not only provide the way BBC's journalist create Rodrigo's representation, but also the way Rodrigo defense himself officially to clear off his bad report in media coverage.

1.2 Research Questions

This research is aimed to answer the following questions:

1. What are semantic microstructures that tend to be associated with Duterte's drug war policy?
2. How is the representation of Duterte in the media coverage related to his policy of drug war?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

In relation to the problem aforementioned, the objectives of this study are as follows:

1. To find out semantic microstructures on Duterte's drug war policy.
2. To describe the representation of Duterte in the media coverage.

1.4 Scope and Limitation

This study focuses on Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) proposed by Paul Chilton which describes about the existances of political power, power abuse or domination in the political contexts. To make this reseach manageable and avoid broading discussion, it has

limitation. It is limited to describe political power and domination in Rodrigo Duterte's speech of drug war policy coverage by BBC News. To get reliable and actual data, the researcher select some articles of Duterte's drug war policy that have been published by BBC News for a few months since he was inaugurated as the new president of Philippines on June 30, 2016. The selected articles were published since June 30, 2016 till February 01, 2017. The researcher, then, utilized online BBC News to make the data more credible. Furthermore, the researcher investigates the way journalists represent Rodrigo in the media coverage, either they incline to be neutral, marginalize, or get rid of a/some groups.

1.5 Significances of the Study

The significances of this research cover both theoretically and practically contributions. The findings of this research are theoretically expected to give contribution to the development of science, especially in the areas of linguistics such as in the field of political discourse analysis developed by Paul Chilton theory and Van Dijk regarding the theory of microstructures.

Practically, the researcher hopes that the result of this research can give contribution not only to the next researcher, but also to English Letters Department students. The researcher believes that English Letters Department student may have understanding about how to analyze and to describe a text properly by looking at microstructures analysis and the way that is represented. The students are also hoped to become more critical in understanding a political text and the way it is produced. In Addition, the researcher also hopes that the next researchers are able to use and apply the theory of political discourse analysis in facing social issues that taking place around us. Equally important, this research also offers a new understanding about one of Van Dijk's model of CDA, *microstructures*.

1.6 Research Method

This part of research provided a detailed description of research design, data sources, research instrument, data collection, data analysis and review of the research method.

1.6.1 Research Design

This research utilized qualitative research. This research dealt with qualitative research because the researcher came to describe the reality of the data without involving any statistical method. This qualitative research was conducted to identify and to investigate the representation of Duterte in the media coverage related to his policy of war on drugs by using the theory of Van Dijk's microstructures and Chilton's political discourse.

1.6.2 Data Sources

This research focused on the analysis of Rodrigo's drug war policy. The analysis employed two kinds of source; the transcript of Rodrigo's interview with Aljazeera and the news articles of Rodrigo's drug war policy. Those data were downloaded from internet. Those objects were selected because they indicate the power practice in any kinds of Rodrigo's coverage especially in BBC News.com. The power practice could be known from the way the journalist and Rodrigo were attempting to denote their own beliefs and opinions about war on drug through their statements, so that those might lead the readers' minds either to align themselves with the journalist or Rodrigo to construct such a representation to Rodrigo and his policy of war on drug.

The existence of power practice was being a part of political discourse analysis proposed by Paul Chilton. The researcher took the data of Rodrigo's interview from YouTube with the link <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EqvCk16LebU> and the data of news articles from BBC News.com with the links <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-37162323>, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-37172002>,

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-37295787>, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-37548695>, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-38311655>, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-38793008>, and <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-38823938>.

The researcher herself was intentionally using two data because she desired to provide not only how Rodrigo was represented in the discourse, but also how Rodrigo created his own representation that may be used to defense himself in the bad judgment in the society. In the light of data sources, the researcher analyzed and described local meaning in Rodrigo's interview and media coverage by using Van Dijk's approaches.

1.6.3 Data Collection

The researcher had several steps to collect the data. Firstly, the researcher read the BBC News articles and watched Rodrigo's interview with Aljazeera for several times in order to focus on power practice constructed by the journalist and Rodrigo in creating such a representation in the society related to the policy of war on drug. Then, the researcher focused on the strategies the journalist and Rodrigo used to convey their own beliefs and opinions about policy of war on drug, so that the researcher could get better understanding about what elements that may lead Rodrigo to either bad or good representation, or how those were represented. At least, the researcher analyzed power practice in the local meaning, and representation formed by the journalist and Rodrigo.

Secondly, the researcher transcribed Rodrigo's interview in the form of script because Aljazeera did not provide the transcript of the interview. She did transcription by listening to the video of interview for many times to get the valid words and sentences. Moreover, she grouped those data, BBC News articles and the transcript of Rodrigo's interview; into some excerpts contained in micro analysis which were listed based on each datum. The excerpts of the news articles were listed based on the sequence of the

published date. In addition, the excerpts of the transcript of Rodrigo's interviewed were listed based on the data interview, so that those might denote the parts of Rodrigo's self-representation related to his controversial war on drug.

Thirdly, the researcher provided texts in bold form referred to the data mentioned, and italicized word meant as the data discussed or analysis of the related data. Finally, she concluded the result of the analysis.

1.6.4 Data Analysis

The data analysis was done by following some procedures as follows; first, the researcher identified the information on the data of Rodrigo's interview taken from YouTube. Due to the fact that Rodrigo, in his interview, was not only talking about his policy of war on drug, but also the problems of Philippines' military relationship with other countries, the researcher was cutting off the data of transcription since only a half of interview talked about war on drug. Second, the researcher identified and classified both the transcript and the news articles based on the categorization of some strategies in micro level and the reasons of the using of those strategies, so that she would find how the journalist created a representation of Rodrigo and how Rodrigo also used his strategy to construct his own representation in the society. Those data were analyzed by using the theory of political discourse analysis and semantic microstructures. The last step, the researcher started to draw conclusion according to the research questions.

1.7 Definition of the Key Terms

The definition of the key terms was used to specify the definition of some points in this research, I provided the key terms as follows:

1. Discourse: Human's language use, either in the form of speech or writing.

2. Critical discourse analysis: a study that address to social power abuse, dominance, and inequality that are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context.
3. Political discourse analysis: a study that examines the reproduction of political power, power abuse or domination through political discourse involving the various form of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance.
4. Microstructures: The local meaning of a text which can be observed from the choice of word, sentence and the language style used in a text.
5. BBC News: British's mass media that provide and broadcast international information on television and radio programs.



CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter pervades the theory of political discourse analysis (PDA) (Paul Chilton and Norman & Isabela Fairclough), Van Dijk's model of CDA, role of media, and previous study. The elaborated explanations are described as follows:

2.1 Political Discourse Analysis

Political discourse analysis is a study that both focuses on political discourse and critical enterprise. PDA, in the spirit of contemporary approaches of critical discourse analysis (CDA), is known as critical-political discourse analysis because it examines the reproduction of political power, power abuse or domination through political discourse involving the various forms of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance (Van Dijk: what is critical discourse analysis?). Domination is such the outcome from an analysis that explores the discursive conditions and consequences of social and political inequality. Therefore, political discourse analysis is understood as the analysis of political discourse from a critical perspective in which the perspective focuses on the reproduction and contestation of political power through political discourse.

Before coming to the more knowledge about political discourse analysis, we, firstly, must know what politics is and what political discourse analysts looking for. Politics is considered as a struggle for power, between them who seek to assert and preserve their power and them who seek to resist it (Chilton, 2004). On the other hand, politics can be considered as cooperation, practices and institutions that a society has for settling fights of interest over money, influence, liberty, and so forth. Politics itself includes reconciling differences through discussion and persuasion.

In Chilton's theory of political discourse, he proposes two orientations in political views as follows: at micro level, he regards that this point are focused on conflicts of interest, struggles for dominance and efforts at cooperation between individuals, genders, and social groups of various kinds. Whereas, at macro level, he regards that focuses on political institutions of the state in which deals with the way to resolve conflicts of interests and to assert the power of a dominant individual or group. Micro-level is involved in kinds of linguistics action called discourse. Equally, macro-level also has the same position such micro have but it has specific characteristic for example parliamentary debates, broadcast interviews, and constitutions and laws (high specific type).

In the political domain, Hague et al cited Miller (1991: 390) that political process typically includes persuasion and bargaining. It is because communication is considered as the central of politics so that the politicians should do persuasion and bargaining in order to achieve decision-making, as Norman & Isabela's view of the nature of politics. That line of reasoning can be employed as guide to the need to explain how use of language can produce the effects of authority, legitimacy, consensus, and so on that are acknowledged as being intrinsic to politics. Paul cited Hague et al (1998: 14) stated that "persuasion and bargaining are being authoritative-a process that includes force or the threat of force". However, politics only just exists if decisions are achieved solely by violence but force or its threat is central to the execution of collective decisions.

From that brief explanation, Paul has directly indicated how the nature of politics is that can be used to begin the analysis on political discourse. Like Norman & Isabela's statement that we should work from a coherent view of the nature of politics if we want to get the central questions on the analysis of political discourse. In addition, that way, according to political discourse analysts, will lead us to the end up of the views of politics in which the questions of representation is central. On the other side, that way is opposed to Norman &

Isabela's approach because they believe that that is the way to achieve the question of decision-making and action which will be in the harmony of argumentation theory as their approach.

Analysis of political discourse sometimes draw a confusion in others thought because they are not sure how to determine whether their data is the real data of political discourse or not. However, Norman & Isabela are in the line of thinking with Van Dijk who stated that if we want to know what political discourse examines about, we, firstly, should know who the actors or authors, i.e. politicians are. It is because political discourse will examine more about the text and the talk of professional politicians such as president, prime minister, member of government, and so forth in local, national or international levels. Therefore, the contexts that are talking about something outside the characterization of political discourse are not political.

Political context or usually called institutional context is the proper matter for us to observe how the actors, in the context, are able to exert their agency and how it empower them to act on the world that has an effect on matters of common business (Fairclough, 2012). The answers can bring us over to the mental representation of the actors, then. Just like Merelman statement, 1986 cited on Van Dijk post that "our knowledge and opinions about politicians, parties or presidents are largely acquired, charged, and confirmed by various forms of text and talk during our socialization" (Van Dijk, 2002). The mental representation of the actors is discussing in depth on Van Dijk's review, *political cognition*.

In doing the analysis of political discourse, it is better for us not only to engage with political discourse itself, but also political cognition for it will lead us to the answer of how the micro and macro levels look manifest themselves at the same time. Van Dijk proposed three levels and dimensions of political domain such base, intermediate and top level. The

base level comprises of individual political actors, as well as their beliefs, discourse and other interactions in political situations. The intermediate level formed part of the base level which consists of political groups and institutions, as well as their shared representations, collective discourse, relations and interactions. And the top level, that in development is based on the intermediate level, formed by political systems, and their abstract representation, orders of discourse, and socio-political, cultural and historical processes.

Those can later utilize to show how the micro and the macro levels are able to manifest each other. For example, when a politician addresses his or her speech in parliament speaks, he or she indirectly expresses his or her personal political beliefs in a unique way and in a unique context. At the same time, that person delivers her or his speech as a Member of Parliament or Congress, as a member of a party and so on. Consequently, that person is possibly 'doing' opposition against another party or against government and denoting the attitudes or ideologies of the own group. As a result, by doing that, he or she is enacting a system of parliamentary democracy, remaking the discourse order of democracy and democratic ideologies, and suspecting a historical variable Common Ground of cultural knowledge, norms and values, spread of by all other groups of the same culture (Van Dijk, 2002).

The three levels aforementioned indicate that discourse and politics can be connected to basically two ways: (1) political processes and structures are formed by situated events, interactions and discourses of political actors in political contexts at a socio-political level of description. (2) Sharing political representations are connected to individual representations of these discourses, interactions and contexts at a socio-cognitive level of description. For instance, a biased text about immigrants may capture from personal beliefs about immigrants and these beliefs in development may be connected to the shared racist attitudes or ideologies of a larger group. Hence, political cognition provided as the indispensable theoretical

interface between the personal and the collective dimensions of politics and political discourse.

2.1.1 Political Cognition

The study of political cognition deals with various aspects of political information processing. It is because it basically focuses on the acquisition, uses and structures of mental representations about political situations, events, actors, and groups (Van Dijk, 2002). Van Dijk, in this domain, is essentially employing mental models that provide as the necessary connect between socially shared political cognition and personal beliefs of the actors, and the cognitive basis of political discourse and political action. Thus, Van Dijk mental models in political cognition may interface the political macrostructures of shared representations of groups and institutions with the political microstructures of the activities of political actors.

In Van Dijk review on Paul & Christina' book (2002), he demonstrates a brief summary of theoretical framework utilized to study the relations between political discourse and political cognition as follows:

1. Cognitive processes and representations are considered as relative to an abstract mental structure called "memory".
2. Executing the information using Short Term Memory (STM) and Long Term Memory (LTM).
3. A further information execution done by Episodic Memory (the personal information) and Semantic Memory (the nature of information).
4. Organizing information in LTM in various types of mental representations.
5. Forming knowledge, note that what may be 'knowledge' for one group (period or culture) may be deemed mere 'beliefs' or 'opinions' by other groups.

6. Forming groups' attitudes, ideologies, norms and values with the knowledge.
7. Organizing the attitudes and ideologies referring to the characteristic schemas.
8. Constituted the 'architecture' of Social Memory by a Common Ground of socio-cultural beliefs.
9. Offering personal experience and knowledge, as represented in people Episodic Memory.
10. Models are the personal representation of such an event and subjective.
11. Models form the cognitive basis of all individual discourse and interaction.
12. Models integrate new information, fragments of earlier experiences, and instantiations of more general personal information.
13. Models may constitute the basis of experiential social and political learning.

Those are actually going to be familiar with psychology matter but that would lead us to the answer of how the political discourse can quite relate to political cognition. Due to the fact that the literature on political cognition does focus on knowledge, attitudes and ideologies, as well as their schematic organization and processing, it almost ignores the theory of mental models which however is quite generally accepted in the psychology of text processing, for example (Van Dijk, 2002).

In the process of discourse production, we presume that the writers or the speakers will commonly start from their personal mental model of an event or situation. This representation, then, arranges the subjective beliefs of the speaker about such a situation (see. e.g. pp. 13). As the readers, of course, we may whether receive his or her representation or construct other alternatives models of the situation depending on our own personal knowledge of the current situation as well as on socially shared, group knowledge and evaluations. That model show us how conformity of political attitudes and ideologies are

utilized in the construction of an individual model or representation of the current situation, and how some of that model information is intentionally choosing to be expressed in parliamentary speech, therefore.

The writers, in producing social representation, must know what information involve in their discourses. It is because they must have to know something about the current communicative situation of their text or talk involving the presumed beliefs of their recipients. In addition in Van Dijk (2002), they also must have knowledge on what occasion they are speaking, so that they might evaluate whether the expression of their beliefs is appropriate in the current social situation (cf. Fussell and Krauss 1992). Then by doing that, the writers can later define such a context and affect the ways of the readers' understanding and evaluating them and so on.

To see how the way the writers represent their understanding about an event in a discourse, Van Dijk proposed 'context model' to observe and to prove how important the social situation and its interpretation are for discourse and communication. Van Dijk cited on Chilton & Christina (2002) stated that "context models typically control not only what is being said but also especially how it is said". It means that the writers control what relevant information of event models involved in the semantic representation of a text and how are such meanings being in charge variably arranged in syntactic structures, lexical items, and phonological or graphical expressions.

Context models are considered as relevant equipment for an explicit analysis of political discourse genres. The genre is defined here as a political discourse that may well be contextual rather than textual. Van Dijk cited on Chilton & Christina (2002) stated that "the element of the context of political text and talk are the overall domain and definition of the situation, the setting, circumstances, participant roles, aims, opinions and emotions".

Hence, we may temporarily judge that political discourse genres are basically defined by their functions in the political process, as represented by the categories of the political context models (Van Dijk, 2002). In other words, Van Dijk cited on Chilton & Christina (2002) declared that “whatever a politician says is by definition a form of a political discourse and whatever anybody says with a political aim (e.g. decision-making, policies) is also a form of political discourse”.

Those are the models of political actors forming in the writers’ episodic memory. In order to produce or understand political discourse and action, we finally have to talk about the socially shared dimension of political cognition. We have presumed that social memory is formed by knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, values and norms (see pp. 14). Nonetheless, we may need the structure of general political representations to understand the structures of political discourse. It is because we must know how the political attitudes and ideologies are represented, what the role of political values and norms is in such representations, how such structures may affect the content and the structures of both events models and contexts models, and how finally they may emerge in political discourse.

2.1.1.1 Knowledge

To get further understanding about political cognition, we might have to be introduced with ‘knowledge’ in which it may be often misunderstood or misperception by others. There are two types of knowledge viz. knowledge shared by a specific group and general cultural knowledge shared across different groups throughout society or the others (Van Dijk, 2002). Those are constructed by Van Dijk to distinguish ‘knowledge’ in the approach of political cognition and ‘knowledge’ in the philosophical and psychological approaches. Something considered as a ‘factual’ belief in the society that is commonly undisputed, uncontroversial and taken for granted called as knowledge in society. However,

that factual belief is not definite as ‘true’ in specific groups. In other words, there are factual beliefs that are only received as ‘true’ by particular social groups, such as scientists, experts, professionals, member of specific religions, member of a party or any other kind of group (Van Dijk, 2002). That is called ‘knowledge’ within the group itself so that knowledge outside the group called ‘belief’ or ‘opinion’.

Most of political knowledge is group knowledge that is often going to be viewed as ‘mere political opinion’ by opposing groups (Van Dijk, 2002). For instance, knowledge of feminists about male dominance in society might be refused by a number of men. Socially shared knowledge of specific groups or complete cultures requires being applicable in many situations so that requires being general and abstract. Therefore, Van Dijk’s work in distinguish the term of knowledge, in this sense, not only to form difference between cultural and group knowledge but also between social and personal knowledge.

2.1.1.2 Opinions and Attitudes

People’ knowledge, either cultural or group and social or personal is actually emerging a belief of what we called ‘factual’ because persons, groups and whole cultures hold them to be true according to their respective truth criteria. However, in the society or social memory, the belief is not pretty sure to deal as a truth for it will present its basis of evaluative criteria (e.g. good vs. bad, etc.), called opinions. Thus, what may be a factual belief of one group may be an evaluative belief or opinion for another.

Sharing social opinions may be arranged in larger structures, for which we provide the traditional term attitude. The topic of immigration in shared group attitude usually comprise of more than one opinion, for instance. Moreover, Van Dijk’s framework attitudes are primarily social and associated with group so that individuals may have personal opinions but only share in attitudes as members of such groups. Therefore, Van Dijk (2002)

stated that opinions in personal mental models may be formed on the basis of shared social attitudes of groups.

2.1.1.3 Ideologies

Ideologies here are the last destination of social representations in which knowledge and attitudes in social representation shared by a group might be arranged by underlying ideologies. Ideologies are by definition general and abstract for they must relate to a lot of different attitudes in different social domains (Van Dijk, 2002). In addition, social learning from experience (models) or direct indoctrination is extensively needed in the level of abstraction and complex control of social cognition (Van Dijk, 2002). Thus, ideologies are acquired relatively late in development and not in the same detailed way by all group members.

The way people organized their behavior in their everyday lives denotes that they do have their ideologies (Milburn, 1987 cited on Chilton & Christina, 2002) because classical work on political ideologies (Converse, 1964 cited on Chilton & Christina, 2002) as well as some directions in contemporary social psychology (Billig 1991a, 1991b cited on Chilton & Christina 2002) demonstrates that people have social attitudes, thus, people have no stable ideologies. Personal ideological variations shows in surveys and (other) discourse, can simply be described in terms of persona; opinions as embodied by models of events (personal experiences) and context, and for individuals are members of different social groups, each with their own attitudes and ideologies (Krosnick and Milburn, 1990 cited on Chilton & Christina, 2002).

2.1.1.4 Political Cognition: Concluding Remarks

Based on the aforementioned theoretical analysis and descriptions of the example, we can conclude that those are helping researchers or readers to understand and

explain what political discourse is about so that those may be able to support us in examining the underlying political cognition of participants in political communication, then.

2.2 Teun A. Van Dijk's Model of CDA

Text is a kind of discursive practice which describe about how people are represented in a discourse. Text has literally hidden messages that the writers did not want to show it implicitly to the reader. In addition, Mills claimed text is linguistic communication either spoken or written proclaimed simply as a message coded in its auditory or visual medium (Darma, 2014). To know that, Van Dijk, then, creates a theory that investigates hidden messages in a text that is influenced by the writer's cognition. Van Dijk's theory is, then, called as social cognition. In the approach of social cognition, Van Dijk views a text more than just a form of discourse practice but it is a form of knowledge that critically explain us about why a text is produced in a certain point of view. He also argue that a text comprise several structures in which those support each other. To get deep understanding about how to analyze a text, Van Dijk, then, proposes three level of discourse structure such macrostructure, superstructure and microstructure. Those stand with different goal in analyzing a text. It can be seen from the schema of Van Dijk's discourse analysis model (Eriyanto, 2001).

DISCOURSE STRUCTURE	THINGS WHICH ARE OBSERVED	ELEMENT
Macrostructures	Thematic The topic or theme that is covered in the text	Topic
Superstructures	Schematic How a part of a text is	Schematic

	schemed in the whole part of a text.	
Microstructures	Semantic The meaning that desires to be emphasized in a text.	Setting, detail, aim, prejudice, and nominalization.
	Syntaxes How the form and organization of the sentence is formed.	Sentence form, coherence, and pronoun.
	Stylistic How the diction is used in news article.	Lexicon.
	Rhetoric How and in what way the tendency is done.	Graphic, metaphor, expression.

Nonetheless, the researcher inclines only microstructures analysis.

2.2.1 Microstructures

Microstructure is the last level in Van Dijk's model of CDA which analyze the local meaning of a text. Local meaning basically deals with some the terms such as semantic which analyze the meaning that desires to be emphasized in a text, syntaxes which investigate how the form and organization of the sentence is formed, stylistic which examine how the diction is used in news article and the last is rhetoric which analyze how and in what way the tendency in a text is done. The existence of microstructures can be separated from macrostructures that analyze about the global meaning. It is because it principally has a main

role in determining the processing of microstructures because the topic and the theme that the writer made will give an effect in the content of a text. Thus, topic or theme of a text will bring a historical background of an event to the writer to draw a real line, later, in the content of a text.

2.2.1.1 Semantic

The writer begins his or her interpretation by arranging the setting of an event. Setting is the starting point for writer to determine which way he or she wants to go to form the views of the reader. In addition, setting is commonly put in the beginning of the content before coming to the real purpose of the writer. He or she did the strategy because he or she wants to influence and to give a logical impression to the reader that his or her statement is reasonable (Eriyanto, 2001). Hence, the setting of a text constitutes a beneficial element because it can break what the exact goal that the journalist or the writer wants to convey about.

The content of a text is not only defined as the core of an event that is represented by the writer, but also as a tool for him or her to impact reader's cognition. It can be seen from the way he or she draws a good or bad representation of a/some groups. In the process of forming a representation of a/some groups, the writer can provide either detail or sketchy information to support his or her interpretation. As a result, good or bad representation is a form of necessary for the writer in presenting a text. Moreover, detail or sketchy information in a text can determine the position of the writer and the organization in the social judgment. It means that while providing the content of a text, the writer should ponder the benefit that he or she can get from his or her interpretation of an event. Thus, social judgment is a reflection of the writer's interpretation in a text.

2.2.1.2 Syntaxes

In syntaxes aspect, the writer is demanded to have a good sense in constructing sentence or paragraph. Good sense is here defined as an ability to recognize a good text through the way the writer present a text. A text can be considered as a good text if the writer can apply coherence and pronoun in proper way. The goal of applying coherence form is to intertwine a word to another words or a sentence to another sentences. In the other side, pronoun itself is used to notice the usage of first, second, and third person.

The instrument of syntaxes aspect is not only on coherence and pronoun, but also on a form of sentence. The writer, sometimes, employs passive form in a sentence to clarify a position of somebody is as an object. Conversely, the writer utilizes active form in a sentence in order to denote the position of someone in an event is as a subject. For instance, police shot the students or the students are shot by the police. Those are syntactically correct, but those variant of topic indicate its prominent level in which one of them can be focussed on spesific words, phrase, i.e the relative clause immediately affect the meaning of the whole context. Therefore, syntaxes aspect is the description of the writer's knowledge in organizing a sentence.

2.2.1.3 Stylistic

Stylistic aspect is a part of a text that indicates the writer's ability in the usage of choice of words. The main topic of a text can be understandable and can make a sense only if the writer uses the right words in describing something. For example, the killing of Trisakti student can be presented with the words "killing", "accident" or "slaughter". Those can be used by the journalist based on his or her choice of words. Therefore, the writer should have rich vocabulary to describe something properly.

2.2.1.4 Rhetoric

Rhetoric is the writer's aspect in emphasizing and expressing something in a text. For instance, while presenting news, the writer employs either bold, italic or underline to make a stress of an event. Stressing is needed to be done if the word contains important meaning. The using of bold, italic, underline and so forth is called graphic. Graphic not only can be recognized from the using of bold form in a sentence, but also from the usage of a picture, or table in a text. In a text, the writer, sometimes, uses metaphor expression to describe an event in a creative way. By applying metaphor in a text, the writer implicitly indicates the readers about the real meaning of a text. Hence, the using of graphic and metaphor expression in a text can quite help the writer to send the hidden message to the readers.

2.3 Role of Media

The development of media, theoretically, may not be separated from the term of power. It is because media not only a tool of presenting news, values, et cetera. but also an institution that form the audiences' opinions. Nevertheless, it also can develop as a press group for ideas or opinions. Althusser views media as a means of legitimating because it constructs the pursuance of the audiences to dominant groups, then (Sobur, 2012). On the other hand, Gramsci considers media not only as a means of legitimating but also as a space in which any kinds of ideologies are represented. Because of the difference of media's view, both Althusser and Gramsci agree that mass media literarily is not a particular thing that is free and independent but it associates with social fact. Hence, media can be considered as a kind of consensus that exists for presenting the particular interest of a social group and is a mirror and reflection of the society.

Mass media is, practically, often claimed as a determination variable because it determines the process of the alteration of culture and social, and politics (Sobur, 2012). Karl Deutsch, on the context of mass media as an information institution, proclaims that media is the nerves of government. It is because someone who has the access to media is whom can rule the society. As the consequent, non-dominant groups will be marginalized as long as they have no access to the media. Therefore, media do play an important role in the development of culture and social, and politics.

Because of the development era, a lot of people compete to create something new in technology industry in order to facilitate others to be easier to keep in touch with technology. As we can see, today we have not only offline mass media but also online mass media in which it is quite helping people in knowing the world. Besides, people also have an easier time to get information through online mass media. Online media is identical with internet system that people can reach in any information by using an application on his or her smart phone, computer, or tablet. Thus, internet is an alternative system that people incline to use to help them in getting faster information.

There are many online mass media that can be access by people from every country such as BBC News, CNN News, Aljazeera, daily mail, New York Times, kompas.com, and so forth. People can either access past or recent news without waiting for the printed newspaper spread out. Al-Hejin (2015) asserts that in online mass media, BBC News website has arguably become one of the most widely read and influential news sources in the world (Barnett, 2011; BBC Global, 2007; BBC Governors, 2004: 43–45; BBC History, 2007; Hinde, 2005; Thurman, 2007: 289). Thus, the researcher employ this research by using the role of BBC News in providing Duterte’s news related to drug war policy.

2.4 Previous Studies

Moustafa (2015) entitled 'Linguistic gender identity construction in political discourse. A corpus-assisted analysis of the primary speeches of Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton'. The researcher found that both Obama and Hillary had different interest in political affairs so that it established their political identities and gender identities, for instance, Obama tended to be more focus on foreign policy, whereas Clinton inclines her concern on domestic policy. Another example, Obama inclined to be focus on racial, ethnical and religious issues, yet Clinton herself only put more attention to women's issues. Hence, the researcher discovered that either Obama or Clinton comes to different notions of gender-related functionalizing words of profession, male fitness and gender representations depended on the way the use language to convey people and the topical interest they have.

Al-Shabibani (2014) entitled 'the first elections in the New Iraq in 2005: A critical discourse analysis'. He found that macro and micro semantics reflected the dichotomy between the in-group and out-group stance towards New Iraq whereby positive self-representation and negative other-representation were explicitly and implicitly denoted respectively in the text of the news story.

Susanto (2014), on his entitle 'a critical discourse analysis of power domination on Barack Obama's speech about military action to Syria'. He founded that Obama uses his power as a president of America because of twofold; (1) to dominate and control the other power. (2) to gain legitimacy from the International community on his policy to take military action Syria. Then, to eliminate several obstacles and opposition of his policy, Obama used his power domination to handle that issue. To show Obama's power domination, he uses some strategies such as defining situation, number game, evidentiality, hyperbole, self-positive representative, negative other representation, consensus, empathy, national self-glorification, and polarization; us and them dichotomy.

There are also some studies have been done in micro level of analysis such as Ningrum (2014), entitle 'inclusion strategies in The Jakarta Post crime news on the women issues'. In her analysis, she described that the journalist tended to advocate women as the victims by using some strategies such as genericisation, specification, assimilation, indetermination, determination, nomination, categorization (functionalization and identification), personalization, and objectification. Moreover, The Jakarta Post's journalist also inclines to relate the women's part of life such as family in order to attract the readers' interest for that may stimulate the readers' concern to the victims. Thus, the using of inclusion strategies in The Jakarta Post is intentionally applied to reveal another fact of the victims so that it may assist the journalist to advocate the women who are often marginalized in the news coverage.

Fitrianingsih (2015), entitle 'semantic change in the official words on Facebook'. She found that there were some semantic change in official words on Facebook such as metaphor, metonymy, and generalization. Semantic change itself happened because there were many motivations involved semantic change such as historical causes, psychological causes, language-internal and social causes used by Facebook inventor. Thus, she concluded that Facebooker may become easier in applying Facebook because of those factors in semantic change.

Based on the research of Moustafa (2015) and Susanto (2014) both of them discovered the same goal in conducting their study are to find and to prove the existence of power and domination in political contexts. Susanto, in this sense, inclined to describe that Obama employs his power when addressing his speech in order to dominate and control the other power and to gain legitimacy from the International community on his policy to take action Syria. While Moustafa, in this sense, focused on proving the way Barack Obama and Hillary employed their own power and domination on their passion in the domain of politics.

Nevertheless, they utilized different media in providing their data and supporting their arguments. Susanto used some strategy such as defining situation, number game, evidentiality, hyperbole, self-positive representative, negative other representation, consensus, empathy, national self-glorification, and polarization to discover Obama's power practice in his speech, Moustafa utilized corpus in providing Obama's and Clinton's speeches and in examining the data.

Ningrum (2014), and Fitrianingsih (2015) had conducted their researches on focusing on the role of semantic microstructures in social contexts. However, they had different subject on their studies. Ningrum used news articles of The Jakarta Post in which she investigated the using of inclusion strategy in its news coverage about women that tend to be marginalized by media. And Fitrianingsih utilized Facebook as her subject to examine and to describe semantic change occurred in the way the users used their social media.

The present research, therefore, in short term, is quite related to Susanto (2014) and Moustafa (2015) in examining and describing the existence of power and domination in political contexts, although the present researcher has different subject, object, and media with them. Based on the suggestions on their research, they regard the next researcher to detect how identities are constructed to be used in other Political Discourse such as in media discourse. In addition, the present researcher also analyzes the local meaning such what Ningrum (2014) & Fitrianingsih (2015) have done. Both of them also hoped that the next researcher may be able to explore more about semantic change and other micro strategies in social contexts. Thus, the present researcher attempts to do their suggestions by using Rodrigo's controversial policy of war on drugs which has paralyzed the drugs users and dealers in execution of killings as the subject and object, and describing how Rodrigo's representation created by the media. BBC News.com also has an important role in this research, then.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the result of the study that deals with the identification of semantic macrostructures of Rodrigo's war on drugs in the BBC News coverage. Due to the fact that there are some parts that will produce the same analysis, the researcher only describe it once to avoid the repetitions of analysis.

3.1 Findings

After analyzing the data of BBC News articles and transcript of Rodrigo's interview with Aljazeera, the researcher decided to stress firstly that she had two kinds of data in which both of them were related each other in finding and describing a particular representation of Rodrigo in news coverage. The first data were signed by coding *article 1, 2, 3* and so on as like what had been classified in the table on appendix, and described firstly in the first part of findings. While, the second data were marked by coding data utterance number 1, 2, 3 and so on in the second table on appendix, and described right after the description of the first data. Furthermore, the researcher considered to divide the analyses into two different tables. It was because she desired to denote how microstructures element in Rodrigo's interview and BBC news coverage took their parts in appearing such a representation about Rodrigo related to his policy of war on drug.

The following descriptions of findings were described based on research questions. The researcher here describes firstly about semantic microstructures that tend to be associated with Duterte's drug war policy through micro level analyses such as exclusion, inclusion, and so on. And the descriptions of the answer of Duterte's representation in the media coverage related to his policy of war on drug directly reflect in the explanation of the answer of the first question. Thus, one analysis is conducted to answer two questions at the same time.

3.1.1 Semantic Microstructures Analysis

After listing the data above, the researcher explained them by connecting the excerpts with the theories, so that those might produce academically answers and reasons.

3.1.1.1 Exclusion

Exclusion is included in microstructures element which describe about how an actor or a group is taken outside of a discourse. There are three kinds of exclusions, yet the researcher just employs two of them because they are involved in the journalist's statements.

3.1.1.1.1 Passivation

Leeuwen's passivation strategy inclines to hide the subject of an action, and focus on the object so that the readers will be more concerned with and attracted to the object than the subject, and then that tend to drag the readers down to the uncritical way of thinking for the readers' minds have been under the control of the conditions of the object not to who the subject/s is/are (Eriyanto, 2001).

In the data, the journalist utilized passivation strategy in article 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, and 7. There are some excerpts in article 1 involved in passivation such as: first, in the excerpt "... his father was beaten up in front of them". "They were later taken to a police station and allegedly killed there". As we can see, the journalist is applying passivation strategy in which he or she does not mention the subject of killings. The journalist here has probably intended to hide the subject because he or she wants to set the readers' minds out of the conditions of the killing victims. The journalist's action here may be judged as his or her way to exploit the victims to get the readers' interest and not to defend the rights of victims. It is because the readers will be concerned to the way the victims were treated.

Then, they will automatically have sympathy to them. However, the journalist here is not actually hiding the subject at all for the journalist has denoted the

location (of police station) where it is obviously showing who the subject would be that the journalist does not mention. That may appear another anger feeling in the readers' thought, then. Although, the journalist does not mention explicitly about the subject of killings but his or her choice of word may immediately demonstrate the subject so that the journalist, at the same time, may be able to both get the readers' sympathy and get the police in bad representation, therefore.

Second, the using of passivation strategy is detected in the excerpt "the two police officers accused claimed an attempt had been made to grab one of their guns, but this was refuted by the Philippines Commission on Human Rights. It said they had been badly injured and were shot three times. The two officers have been charged with murder." In line with micro analysis, the journalist employs Leeuwen's exclusion, passive form, to draw and control the readers' sympathy to the victims. The journalist focuses his or her restating information on the condition of the victims and eludes to represent the subject of the violation. It is because the journalist believes that providing a grievous condition of the victims is more attractive the readers' interest than showing who the subject of violation is and why the subject commit that violence.

Additionally, the usage of passivation itself signalizes that the journalist is standing up for the witness so that he or she is more pay attention to the condition of the victims. But, that journalist's action can be considered as an action or strategy to get rid of the police which has involved in doing violence to the drugs suspects. Thus, the usage of passive form in the news coverage, out of Leeuwen's perspective, may denote the journalist's real thought in which he or she may be intentionally commit that to raise the readers' sympathy to the victims and to drag the police down to bad representation at the same time.

Third, the statement of “... a total of 1,916 deaths had been recorded during the crackdown, 756 of which were during police operations” denotes that the journalist also utilizes passivation strategy in which he or she attempts to put the readers’ attention to the fate of those victims. Clarifying a number of deaths in passive form might be aimed to make sure that Rodrigo’s crackdown is no longer in line with the law of humanity for he has succeeded in shooting down a lot of people as soon as that was legalized and run. Therefore, BBC journalist inclines to employ number of game and passivation in the same time in order to present a sense of marginalization to Rodrigo’s policy and the way he handled the increase of death rate.

Fourth, the journalist’s restatement included in passivation is “... 300 police officers were suspected to be involved in the drugs trade, warning that they would be charged and removed from their positions if found guilty”. In line with micro structures, the warning of the police director-general is restated in the form of passive sentence by the journalist not to get the readers’ sympathy but to denote “what a shame they are, they have desecrated the police dignity as a wise and firm figure in the society, one of problem solver institutions and protectors of the country, and so forth”. In addition, the journalist also provides number of suspected police officers in his or her statement.

As we know, Leeuwen has stated that the usage of passivation is intend to appear a sense of sympathy to the victims because the media or the journalist intentionally hide or disappear the main subject of violence in a text, and passivation, according to Leeuwen, tend to make the readers become less critical (Eriyanto, 2001). However, BBC journalist here is not intend to get the readers’ sympathy of the police drug suspect for he or she is focusing on reforming the readers’ critical thought about “how it could be”, “shame on the police”, “why they can easily commit to drug trade

when it is obviously breaking the law of the country and rule on the police domain”, and so on.

Last, the using of passive form is in the excerpt “... 1,000 people were killed with no legal process”. Passivation strategy is utilized to shift the readers’ attention to the victims so that they will be more sympathy to the condition of the victims than curious about whom the subjects are that commit the killings to a number of people with no legal process. That strategy is in the line with Leeuwen’s perspective about passivation strategy. Therefore, by combining those strategies, the journalist desires to be more dramatizing the condition of the victims in one side and be more drawing a marginalization about the subject in the other side.

In article 2, there are also some statements included in passivation as follows: first, “She described how it began when her husband was commissioned to kill a debtor by a policeman - one who was also a drug pusher”. That statement is clearly formed in the form of passivation. In the line with Leeuwen’s perspective about passivation, he has insisted that the usage of passive sentence in the news coverage may be employed to hide or not to present the main actor of an action. Additionally, most of media or journalist is more interested in presenting the conditions of the victims than the actor because they desire to form and control the readers’ way of thinking about an event and attract the readers to keep reading the news.

Nonetheless, passivation strategy used by the journalist here is quite different with Leeuwen’ perspective in which the journalist keeps presenting the main actor obviously based on his or her status and story behind. As we can see, the journalist here attempts to get the readers’ interest in Maria’s husband firstly by

emerging sympathy statement in their minds such as “looking for a job nowadays is quite difficult especially for them whom are not coming from rich and educated family” or maybe “how poor they are, they should do everything to fulfill their needs”. Those statements may come to the readers’ minds as long as the journalist wraps it in a proper passivation strategy.

Secondly, the journalist is extremely straightforward to represent the actor behind of Maria’s husband job. “By a policeman-one who was also a drug pusher”, that statement has obviously proved that hide the actor in passivation cannot always be interesting the readers’ interest for the actor is still the main subject that should be presented in a news coverage in order to avoid misunderstanding and provide a new shocking fact. Therefore, the journalist in this sense is keeping on representing the actor because he or she desires to get rid of the police explicitly by providing the fact that the police was one of drugs pushers. That fact is also explicitly stated to influence the readers’ minds about who the real country protector figures are that they should lean on to solve the problems in the society if the police are also committing a crime.

Second, “... five police generals, he says, are kingpins of the business. But it is those at the lowest levels of the trade who are targeted by the death squads.”

In this journalist’s passivation strategy, he or she demonstrates that though Rodrigo has uncovered the police involvement in drugs trade but the death squads only target the lowest levels of trade to be killed. Then, that may make the readers’ questioning why the kingpins are not involving in the death squads target. That readers’ logical thinking might indirectly show their disappointment to Rodrigo and the system because it is running not for solving the problems but add a new problem. The citizens might send their criticism to Rodrigo and the others member of government for they cannot wisely and bravely give a sentence to the entire member of governments and

five police general that have been proven to be involving in that infraction. Thus, the journalist here is trying to draw out the readers' critical thinking about what has been decided by government related to the target of killings later on.

Third, the using of passive form in the journalist's restatement is in the excerpt "Nearly all those whose bloodied bodies are discovered every night in the slums of Manila ..." The journalist here is utilizing Leeuwen's passivation and categorization strategy. Passivation strategy can be recognized by seeing the way the journalist changes the form of sentence into passive form. Like the previous analysis, the journalist uses passivation strategy to get the readers' attention and sympathy because he or she presents the conditions of died victims that were lying out on their blood every night in the slums of Manila. That grievous condition may be able to attract the readers' interest for they might think "how pity they are, drugs has succeeded in bringing them in a bad situation".

In article 3, there are three journalist's statements involved in passivation strategy. First, the excerpt "Hundreds of alleged dealers have been killed in the Philippines ..." is obviously denoting the using of passive form. The journalist utilizes passivation strategy is here to shift the readers' attention to the victims and emerge their sense of humanity, sympathy. That excerpt is actually going to present another make sense analysis if the analysis is connected with what we called abstraction strategy which is outside consideration of passivation strategy. But, that will be explained more in abstraction strategy.

Second, "Mr. Duterte, nicknamed "The Punisher", has been condemned by the United Nations for his approach against crime" Based on that statement, we can analyze that the journalist is using passivation strategy in reporting the UN criticism. According to Leeuwen's belief, passivation is drawn as the way to attract the readers'

interest to the victims and directly cover or hide the main subject. However, the journalist here does not seem to either draw out the readers' attention to the victims or cover the subject because the journalist inclines to attract the readers' interest in criticizing Rodrigo and his policy. By knowing the UN response to Rodrigo's policy, the readers might think that Rodrigo's decision is actually out of the track of the law of humanity so that it is appropriate to condemn him firmly because of breaking the law that he does. Hence, the journalist in this sense tries to get rid of Rodrigo by taking a benefit from the UN criticism to him.

The last, "*About 2,400 people have been killed since Mr. Duterte declared his war on drugs ...*", the journalist here uses passivation strategy in which he or she denotes the increase of the death toll on the drugs operation. By presenting the increasing rate of death in drug operation, the journalist desires to focus the readers' attention and interest on to the condition of the victims and implicitly denote the critical thinking in the readers' minds about how many people should die in drugs operation as long as Rodrigo does not end the war. Thus, the using of passivation in every kind of BBC news coverage especially about drug war is aiming to get the readers' interest and reliance so that the media will develop significantly because they tend to use particular strategies to dramatize and get rid of the subject of an action.

In article 5, there are about two journalist's statements indicated passivation. The first excerpt is "*Nearly 6,000 people are said to have been killed by police, vigilantes and mercenaries ...*" The journalist here employs passivation strategy where he or she usually uses to dramatize or direct the readers' focus on the condition of the victims. According to Leeuwen, passivation strategy is often utilized to hide the conditions of the subject of an action. But, the BBC journalist here is still representing the subject of those killings. The journalist may believe that that is better

to put the subject on show so that the readers will know how cruel they are. Therefore, the journalist in this sense not only wants to attract the readers' sympathy, but also to influence their minds about the figures of 'police' that have killed thousands people in less than a half year.

The second excerpt is *"Mr. Duterte has repeatedly said he does not care about human rights and has suggested that lawyers defending drug suspects might also be targeted in his campaign, says the BBC's Jonathan Head"*. Based on that underlined statement, we can see that the journalist desires to present his or her opinion through the use of passivation strategy. That statement may be formed in the passive form in order to put the readers' focus not on the death toll but on the lawyers that are trying to defend the victims. As we can see, Rodrigo is threatening the lawyers directly as soon as their effort to defend the victims. That fact may bring the readers over to the sympathy feelings because they might think that Rodrigo's policy cannot be interrupted anymore even by defending the victims in the court. On the other side, the lawyers' condition here might emerge positive response from the readers for he or she wants to assist the human rights of the victims that is no longer prevail in the war.

Moreover, the journalist's restatement is coming from BBC's Jonathan Head where, in glancing, it may seem like a normal thing because Jonathan here is one of informants. Nonetheless, it may critically denote the relationship between the journalist and another member of BBC in marginalizing Rodrigo in worse way. Jonathan's involvement might not be in accidental, there must be a privacy desire that they or BBC want to achieve from that fact such as fall down Rodrigo's dignity in the societies because of his hard authoritative behavior that ignores the existence of human rights. That purpose possibly appears by keeping in mind how bad the relationship between British and Philippines is long time ago. Thus, the journalist in

this sense employs passivation strategy to get the readers' sympathy to the lawyers and benefits that passivation fact to propose BBC's hidden opinion implicitly about Rodrigo and his policy of war on drugs.

In article 6, the researcher finds about five statements included in passivation strategy such as *"He had been kidnapped and killed by anti-drug police"* in which the journalist here utilizes the strategy of passivation in explaining the conditions of Jee Ick-Joo before died. He or she is totally attempting to focus the readers' attention to the victim in which the word of 'kidnap' can emerge an impression that the victim was forced to follow the police with no logical reasons. Additionally, that word also can demonstrate the police power abuse for they take him away without a warrant. Then, the journalist is benefiting of the condition to get rid of the subject because he or she is not covering the subject of killings so that the readers will know what infraction is that the police have done again. Therefore, the journalist in this sense has denoted his or her own belief about that news so that he or she keep on representing the conditions of the victims and the subject of the killings in the same time in order to get rid of the police.

Second, *"He has repeatedly promised to support, even pardon, any police officers accused of unlawful killing, and been unmoved even by the clear evidence of police involvement in the drug trade, and the murder of important drug suspects in police custody"*. Based on that excerpt, we can know that the journalist employs passivation strategy to set the readers' thought out on Rodrigo's way of defending and supporting the police so that they might think that Rodrigo has been unfair in applying his policy for the unsuspecting drugs victims should be dying to bear the police power abuse. Therefore, the journalist in this sense desires to further get rid of Rodrigo in a

bad representation because of his reckless decision to defend and pardon the police guilty.

Third, the excerpt *“He has ordered all tainted officers to be sent to front-line duty in the conflict-wracked southern Philippines”* denotes that the journalist uses passivation strategy in representing the recent decision of Rodrigo in solving the killings of South Korean Businessman. The using of passivation here is intended to draw that there is a factor of forcefulness done by Rodrigo because all of the police have committed with excessive power abuse. The word ‘send’ here, in the other side, is having its own meaning if it is served in the active form of sentence where the factor of forcefulness is less felt for the actor may do it through lengthy considerations.

But, the journalist serves that fact in the passive form of sentence to emerge the sense of forcefulness in Rodrigo’s decision. Additionally, the journalist also provides passive form to stress out the firmness of Rodrigo so that the readers may do appreciate his effort to act decisively toward power abuse that the police officers do. Therefore, the journalist here inclines to use passive form of sentence in order to attract the readers’ interest about justice that Rodrigo has done to discipline the corrupt police.

Fourth, *“More than 4,000 of the deaths are blamed on unidentified hit squads, although many of those are believed to be run by the police”*. Passivation strategy here is used to dramatize the situations and conditions of drugs operation so that the readers tend to have pity on the victims than the subject of killings. Even though the journalist keeps presenting the subjects on, but that may not be able to affect the readers’ sympathy to the victims for the journalist is structurally restating the fact in the appropriate plot so that they will stay in focusing their attention on to

people that are lose their life in no legal way and valid evidence. Therefore, the way the journalist utilizes his or her knowledge about an event showing that he or she tries to transfer his belief to the readers so that they will be in the same line of thinking and then that may influence the way they put Rodrigo in either good or bad representation.

Fifth, “*Jee Ick-joo was seized from his home in Angeles city, near Manila, under the pretense of a drug raid, the Department of Justice said*”. Based on that statement, we can recognize that the journalist is using passivation strategy to retell about the first chronology of Jee Ick-Joo killing. The journalist prefers to use passivation strategy for that may emerge strong feeling of sympathy to the victim in the readers’ minds rather than the feeling of anger to the subject’s actions. As we can see, the victim’s condition is drawn in dramatizing description in which he or she provides the location of him and the reason of his arrest. Passivation strategy is usually used to attract the readers’ interest, attention or perhaps sympathy because the usage of passivation aims to focus the readers’ on the condition of the victim. Thus, Jee Ick-Joo’s demise here is utilized not only to attract the readers’ interest, but also to enrich the readers’ information about common infraction that usually happen in police sphere.

In article 7, the researcher finds one statement used passivation strategy is “... *police were only authorized to open fire when threatened by suspects*”. Based on that statement, the journalist employs passivation strategy in which he or she wants to draw a grievance to the police. Passivation strategy is used here not to get the readers’ sympathy to the police but to influence their minds about “how come they break Rodrigo’s credence to them” by reminding Rodrigo’s statement in his campaign. But, that may also be used to get the rid of Rodrigo. It is because Rodrigo is always in the police side when the other complaint about the police power abuse in drug operation.

Therefore, the journalist here desires to denote his or her opinion obviously about the existence of justice in Philippines which cannot be gotten again until the killings of South Korean Businessman becoming a strong hit to the police and especially to Rodrigo.

3.1.1.1.2 Nominalization

Nominalization is a strategy not only to change the form of verb into noun to appear *intensifier* impression of an action, but also to disappear or reduce the role of the subject from an event, in the other side (Fowler Rogert et al cited on Eriyanto, 2001). The using the nominalization strategy can be seen in article 1 in the statement “...the killings of drug suspects were lawful if the police acted in self-defense.”. As we can see, the subject of killings is hidden by the journalist in order to stress out that the killings of drugs suspects in the society is not something new and law violence anymore. Human rights do no longer exist in Philippines for Mr. President himself has officially legalized the death of drug suspects.

However, the journalist is not intensively meant to hide the subject and control the readers’ minds about the killings because he or she has intentionally represented the subject clearly as short as after disappearance them. That strategy is actually used to avoid repetition on providing the subjects in one sentence, absolve the police from the accusation of power abuse, and emerge an impression that Rodrigo is really such a firm president because he do appreciate the police hard work in war on drug so that he officially gives such a ‘prerogative’ to them. Thus, nominalization strategy is not always utilized by the journalist to disappear or even reduce the role of the subject because it can be used to bring out the real journalist’ hidden message or thought that she or he got from his or her experience and believe of drug war phenomenon.

3.1.1.2 Inclusion

Like exclusion, inclusion is also included in microstructures element, but it describe about how an actor or a group is represented in a discourse. There are seven kinds of inclusions, yet the researcher just employs five of them because they are involved in the journalist's statements.

3.1.1.2.1 Abstraction

Abstraction is one of discourse elements that talk about an information of an event or incident which is still in abstract gist. That is usually used to present another side of the information so that that may appear a particular meaning in the readers' or hearers' minds about the information. In the BBC news coverage, the researcher finds some statements that consist of abstraction meaning such in article 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. In article 1 and 2, the using of abstraction strategy is detected in the excerpt *"human rights groups estimate than more than 1,000 people were killed with no legal process."* and *According to the police more than 1,900 people have been killed."*

The abstraction strategy can be seen on the word 'estimate than more than ...' The word 'estimate' means that to guess the cost, value, etc. of something (Cambridge Advance Learner's Dictionary 3th) A. It means that the journalist perhaps has still no complete information yet about the victims. As aforementioned above, abstraction strategy may form the readers' own estimation about the number of victims. The word 'more' also shows a larger or extra number or amount of something. Therefore, abstraction here is used not only to cover the journalist's lack of information, but also to manipulate the readers' thought about the number of victims for they will draw big amount of victims in their minds, so that that may assist

the journalist to stick a particular thought in the way they value Rodrigo and his policy of war on drug.

In article 3, we can see the using of abstraction strategy in the statement *“Hundreds of alleged dealers have been killed ...”* The BBC journalist employs abstraction and passivation strategy to draw the situation of the war on drugs. Abstraction strategy can be seen on the way the journalist signs the number of death with the word ‘hundred’. In glancing, that word may seem to be a certainty of the sum of the victims, but that word is actually showing the journalist’s lack in collecting the information. The word hundred denotes that the number of the victims is still in prediction for there has no exact information yet about the number of death toll.

In article 4, there is a statement that consist of abstraction strategy is *“Mr. Duterte's drugs war has caused thousands of extrajudicial killings”*. Leeuwen’s abstraction can be recognized on the words ‘thousands of extrajudicial killings’. Like the previous analysis about abstraction, the journalist ponders to present abstract fact where it can demonstrate the limited information that the journalist has. Abstraction strategy is also used to make the readers think exaggeratedly about the exact number of the death toll involved in extrajudicial killings. In addition, the use of abstraction strategy here may affect the readers’ belief or opinion about the dereliction of Rodrigo in controlling the process of drug operation so that many people are died on no legal process. Therefore, the journalist’s strategy of abstraction here is not only showing his or her lack information or knowledge about the war but also denoting the police power abuse that may be beyond Rodrigo’s knowledge or monitor where that might put Rodrigo in worse representation.

In article 5, the researcher discovers two journalist’s statement used abstraction strategy such as *“... a wave of unlawful killings claiming more than 5,000*

lives across the country ...". The journalist employs abstraction strategy where he or she does not show the exact number of unlawful killings in the related news coverage. The journalist provides his or her prediction about the total of the unlawful killings in the words 'a wave of unlawful killings' in which the word 'wave' here expresses a larger number of events of a similar, often bad, type, happening within the same period (Cambridge Dictionary, 3th Eds.).

That word here is such a figurative language because the journalist is using that to draw his or her supposition about how many alleged drugs suspects are died in the drugs operation. Either the police or contract killers shoot those people down. Hence, by using abstraction strategy, the journalist can be keeping representing the news swiftly without has no valid prove. And "*Nearly 6,000 people are said to have been killed by police ...*" in which the word 'nearly' can be considered as a factor of abstraction because the journalist does not provide the precise number of the death toll. The journalist may intentionally do that to show his or her lack of information or hide the fact to get the readers' interest in. Nevertheless, Leeuwen believes that that strategy is usually used by journalists or media for they have not enough proof about an action or condition.

In article 6, the excerpt "*More than 4,000 of the deaths are blamed on unidentified hit squads ...*" involved in abstraction strategy because the way the journalist utilizes the word 'more' to estimate the exact number of the death toll in the drugs operation. On the other hand, that might also prompt the readers to believe that the number of the victims as many as they think. Abstraction strategy is actually assisting the journalist in presenting the news and that strategy also seems like to be the journalist's way to manipulate the number of death. Though, he or she has provided the number of game is 4.000 of death, yet that may not automatically control

the readers' opinions about the number of victims. They will keep on thinking exaggeratedly about the rate of the death.

3.1.1.2.2 Categorization

Categorization is one of journalists' strategies in news coverage in representing the actor or subject of an action based on religion, physical appearances, status, and so on. Those may be applied based on the journalists' preference. It is because those may affect the meaning of the information, so that the journalists commonly use categorization to transfer their basic thoughts of the actor or subject where that may also denote the ideology of the media.

Then, the using of categorization strategy can be seen in article 2, in the excerpt "*Maria and her husband come from an impoverished neighborhood of Manila and had no regular income before agreeing to become contract killers.*" which can be seen on the way he or she provides Maria's social and economic status. From those underlining words, the journalist has denotes obviously the condition of Maria and her husband before joining as contract killers. Moreover, representing someone's condition especially on social and economic status may show how the journalist or the media is intend to attract the readers' interest because those statuses are usually being a big encouragement to someone in committing a crime or breaking the law.

As we know, some media or journalists are usually covering someone's social or economic status as the main reason of committing a crime in the society. They believe that the readers or the hearers will be more interested in reading or hearing that kind of news coverage. Thus, the journalist in this sense here intentionally mentions Maria's social and economic status before and after joining the

police officer in order to stress out how Philippines create contract killing to become one of their way to solve the problems of poverty so that it can decrease poverty rate significantly from a couple years.

And in the excerpt *“Nearly all those whose bloodied bodies are discovered every night in the slums of Manila and other cities are the poor - pedicab drivers, casual labourers, the unemployed”*. Characterization can be seen on the way the journalist mentions the status of the death toll. By mentioning their status, the journalist attempt to build more sense of bleeding heart because most of identified victims are coming from the circle of poor societies. Therefore, the journalist is representing the condition and identity of the victims in order to denote how aggressive drug war is so that the police and perhaps the others citizen killed the drug suspects heartlessly.

3.1.1.2.3 Determination

Determination is one of discourse elements that is usually used by journalists to make the actors or subject become anonymous. According to van Leeuwen, journalists often employ anonymous in news coverage because they did not get valid evidence yet about the actor or subject of the information. Additionally, there is also anxiety structural that will be appeared as long as they mention the category of the subject or actor clearly. In the BBC News coverage, the researcher finds one statement in article 2 presented by using determination *“Nearly all those whose bloodied bodies are discovered every night in the slums of Manila ...”*

Determination strategy can be seen on the information of ‘nearly all those whose bloodied bodies’. As we know, the journalist here is attempting to describe the situation and condition of drug suspects in war on drug. However, the aforementioned

information may not be considered as the hint of the number of deaths related war on drug. It is because those victims are not confirmed yet as the death tolls of drug suspects. Those may be involved in other crime such as robbery. Thus, the using of determination in this sense can be one of the journalist's strategies to manipulate the readers' minds about the latest situation and condition, so that they will think exaggeratedly about Rodrigo's war on drug which brings unexpected result (the sharp rise in deaths) in the society. That strategy also assists the journalist well in covering his or her lack of information up related to war on drug.

3.1.1.2.4 Objectivity

Objectivity is one of discourse elements that talk about an information of an event or incident which is presenting concrete gist. That is usually used to present unequivocal information so that that may not appear another meaning in the readers' or hearers' minds about the information. In the BBC News articles, the researcher gets one excerpt involved in objectivity strategy is *"He has listed 150 senior officials, officers and judges linked to the trade. Five police generals, he says, are *kingpins of the business*."* The journalist uses objectivity strategy in which he or she denotes a number of members of government that deal with drugs trade based on Rodrigo's listed. Providing the exact number of drugs suspects automatically avoid the readers from an incomplete information. Besides, the readers also are able to know how miserable those members of government because they has done with power abuses for a long time until Rodrigo became a president.

In the other side, the journalist also presents the violence done by the police generals in which they are the kingpins of drugs trade. The word kingpin in Cambridge dictionary itself means the most important person within a particular

organization. In Indonesia language, kingpin itself means *gembong*. It means that those five police general are really contravening the law and perhaps the rule on police domain. Furthermore, those facts are intentionally presented by the journalist in order to be more marginalization the police because they are commanded to extirpate the drugs access but most of them are involving in drugs trade and being the kingpins of that. On the other side, those facts also obviously denotes that the journalist is standing out for Rodrigo for he has uncovered the crime in the police sphere and show his seriousness in eradicating drugs in Philippines.

3.1.1.2.5 Association

Association is discourse element that is often used to denote the relation between the social actors and dominate group of people formed by the journalists. That strategy is usually utilized to create a huge meaning of particular news coverage. It is because the readers or hearers will draw an exaggerate imagination about what the journalists state in the press, and connect that in accordance with imaginary to a broad community. The researcher finds an association strategy applied in the excerpt in article 2 *“They blamed the “shabu” scourge for rising crime and for destroying lives, although some worried that the campaign was getting out of hand, that **innocent victims** were being caught up in it”*.

The words *innocent victims* here become the focus of this analysis for the researcher believes that those words are used to demonstrate most of the victims are coming from the poorest citizens that may be related to unlawful killings. As we know, the word *innocent* itself refers to a person who is not guilty of a particular crime or having no knowledge of unpleasant and evil things in life. In glancing, the journalist seems like putting an effort to present the information in a specific way. However, the information of innocent victims provided by the journalist are here

intentionally associated and connected implicitly to other innocent victims that were died because of the using/ownership of drug especially shabu.

It is because those words are too common to send a specific hint or effect of a drug problem happened in Philippines. Additionally, the rising of crime and lives destroyed by shabu are also occurred in every country which cause the death of innocent victims too. Thus, the using of association strategy in this sense denotes that the death of *innocent victims* may not be able to be considered as the central problem in Philippines at the time, but common problem faced by other countries, so that the readers may appear a huge meaning in their thoughts about those victims, and draw a connection between that problem with the same problem happened in other countries. That is the way the journalist builds a different representation of the death, and that may show the way the journalist beholds a particular problem by using his or her knowledge. Therefore, he or she may implicitly affect the readers' way of thinking about the death in drug operation by representing that in a general point of view.

3.1.1.3 Transitive

Transitive or transitivity model in a discourse can be considered as an element which demonstrates the relationship of cause effect of an event or incident. There will be a clear explanation of the relation of one thing to another so that that will lead the readers to the subject or actor of an action and the object who get the effect of that action. Transitivity model, in BBC News article, can be found in article 1, 2, 3, and 6. In article 1, the using of transitive form can be seen in the excerpt *“He has previously urged citizens to shoot and kill drug dealers who resisted arrest, and reiterated that the killings of drug suspects were lawful if the police acted in self-defense.”*

The journalist here employs transitivity by providing active sentence in order to bring the subject, Rodrigo, on the bad assessment because he himself orders his folks to participate

in shooting the ‘drugs suspects’ down. Rodrigo’s statement may emerge controversy in the others’ minds because citizens have no exact knowledge and information about who the real drug users or pushers are based on the black list on the police data. They may just shoot ‘men’ that they believe as drug users and dealers. Then, they succeed in raising the rate of death related unlawful killings in Philippines. Hence, the journalist is aiming to restate Rodrigo’s utterances in active sentence in order to demonstrate who the real main actor is that has appeared the term of extrajudicial killings.

In article 2, the researcher finds three journalist’s statements utilized transitivity model. First, in the excerpt “... they can get close to their victims without arousing the same suspicion a man would”, the journalist shows what the cause effect of selecting those women. In the journalist’s description, he or she has obviously denoted why those women are chosen and valued by the subject. That description may also implicitly demonstrate the refusal of gender bias because those women are able to be believed to do men’ jobs as well as what men do. Therefore, either transitive or intransitive strategy in the sense here can be used to build one new thought in the readers’ minds about the concept of gender bias which believes that women are always left behind the men.

Second, based on the statement “*I cannot surrender, because if I do the police will probably kill me*”, the journalist here is attempting to show the cause effect of Roger’s refusal to hand himself over to the police. It can be seen through Fowler’s et al strategy of transitivity. The journalist explicitly denotes that Roger is quite aware of the consequences he would receive if he came to the police and surrendered. By using transitivity strategy, the journalist is able to inform the readers that even though the drugs suspects have acknowledged their fault using drugs, but the police cannot even receive their pardon. They will keep killing them heartlessly.

As we know, Rodrigo has conveyed the rule of killings the suspects in which the police are allowed to kill the drugs suspects if they fight back. But, in that Roger's admission, we can see that the police are not treating the drugs suspects as like as what the president command. That action may ignite public assumption about power abuse done by the police, then. Therefore, Roger's acknowledgement here directly assists the journalist in showing and representing the police in a bad representation because his statement can be a new evidence of police power abuse during the drug operation.

The last, the statement *"But her boss has threatened to kill anyone who leaves the team"* has shown that the journalist utilizes transitivity strategy that denote the condition of Maria in joining the contract killing team. Based on that statement, the journalist implicitly may denote some questions in the readers' minds such as why are the contracts killings team still surviving until now? What are the reasons that make them still hold out? How are their life and their family going on when they keep on their job as contract killer? Those questions may emerge automatically when the journalist proposes other facts of contract killings system made by the police officer.

In article 3, the using of transitivity strategy can be seen in the excerpt *"... Mr. Duterte allowed to police to shoot them on sight"*. The journalist here employs transitivity strategy to describe clearly about the cause of the increase of the death race. Based on that excerpt, we can analyze that the words 'shoot them on sight' seems like to be a lawful action of the police to keep shooting the 'drug suspects' down as soon as they meet. It means that the police no need to wait for their surrender because they will be killed as soon as possible.

In article 6, the using of transitivity strategy can obviously be seen on the statement *"He has repeatedly promised to support, even pardon, any police officers accused of unlawful killing, and been unmoved even by the clear evidence of police involvement in the drug trade,*

and the murder of important drug suspects in police custody". Transitivity strategy can be seen on the way the journalist denotes obviously the cause of the increasing of death toll. Defending and pardoning the police power abuse has directly been done by Rodrigo where that may possibly prompt the police to keep staying in their power abuse. Additionally, that also directly shows that the term of justice does no longer exist in political domain because the ruler of the country is even supporting infractions done by the police.

The using of transitivity strategy also can be seen on the statement *"But the shocking murder of South Korean businessman Jee Ick-joo last October has forced Mr. Duterte to acknowledge that the Philippines National Police are too tainted to continue running the anti-drugs campaign"* that has clearly shown the cause effect of dissolving action of drug operation for a while. In the fact that that statement has obviously demonstrated that Rodrigo will end the war for a while, when he has been aware of the police power abuse that has been out of the track. That statement also explicitly show that the journalist sides with Rodrigo for his or her restating statement seems like to be a strong slap for the Philippines National Police which is command to take over the operation of war on drugs. Thus, the journalist in this sense is trying to defend the innocent victim by getting rid of the police on worse matter and denote the positive side of Rodrigo officially defending Ick-Joo.

3.1.1.4 Intransitive

Intransitive is another model of discourse which demonstrates unclearly relationship between the cause and the effect of an action. It is because there is no distinctive explanation about who the actor is that become the cause of an action, what the factor is that can be considered as the cause of an action, what the effect is, or who the object is that get the effect of the actor's action. In the BBC News articles, the researcher gets some statements involved in intransitive model such as in article 2 and 6.

In article 2, there are two statements included in intransitive model. First, “*She is part of a hit team that includes three women, who are valued ...*” which shows that the journalist describes the total number of women contract killer by not showing who the subject/s is/are that select and value them as a contract killer. Fowler’s et al, 1979, model may seem quite as same as Leeuwen’s model about passivation, but they tend to focus on the way journalist or media represents the relationship of cause effect in the news in the unclear description for there has not been associated about who the subject that cause an action or who or what become the effect of an action (Eriyanto, 2001). As we can see, the journalist here is not providing the subject who selects and values those women so that the readers may question “who the subject/s is/are that caused the unlawful killings in war on drugs”.

Second, the journalist applies intransitive model in the excerpt “... *she and her husband had been told their safe house had been exposed*”. In that statement, the journalist is not providing who the subject/s is/are that has put Maria and her husband in a danger because of the subject’s/’ information. Furthermore, the journalist’s strategy of writing here may be considered as the way he or she wants to focus the readers’ attention on to Maria and her husband condition while become the police officer contract killer. There are two possibility of the journalist’s choice in using intransitive strategy, first he or she does not know exactly who the subject that caused Maria and her husband must remove in hurry, and second, the journalist may intentionally not represent the subject in order to keep the readers in a big curiosity so that they will form their own prediction to the subject.

In article 6, the using of intransitive model can be seen on “... *anti-drug units would be dissolved*”. The journalist here has denoted that he or she uses Fowler’s intransitive strategy in which that can be known on the unclear description that the journalist represents in that statement. The statement of ‘anti-drug units would be dissolved’ is explicitly showing no reason actions because the journalist does not provide the motive of dissolving it. Then,

that might appear gaps in the readers' mind because they do not know what factor that make them dissolved it, why that factor can affect the work of it, and how serious are that reasons so that the police chief must dissolve it. Those gaps are probably coming up to the readers' minds as long as the journalist does not describe the cause of that action. However, that may be the journalist's plan to attract the readers to keep looking for the information by reading the whole report.

3.1.1.5 Disclaimer

Disclaimer, according to Cambridge Dictionary, is a formal statement saying that you are not legally responsible for something. In the BBC News articles, the researcher finds the using of disclaimer in the excerpt "*Our punishments have to be in accordance with our law and with national and international standards," said Slamet Pribadi*". Slamet Pribadi's statement can be considered as a disclaimer statement because he explicitly rejects Waseso's idea about applying drug war in Indonesia. Slamet Pribadi's refusal here is obviously denoting that he gives a big honor to the law either national or international made together in a deliberation so that he tends to choose obey the law. Therefore, a disclaimer statement in this excerpt is used to insist that law is something legal that should be obeyed by all component of society.

3.1.1.6 Number of game

Number of game is a situation where the most important factor is how many of a particular thing there are, especially when we disapprove of this. The using of number of game can be found on some statements in the journalist's news coverage such as in article 1 and 6. In article 1, the researcher finds number of game in the statement "... a total of 1,916 deaths had been recorded during the crackdown, 756 of which were during police operations". By showing the exact number of death toll, the journalist intends to denote that how severe the war on drugs is since it was run on July, 2016. Number of game is also

intentionally supplied in order to form Rodrigo's bad representation because that may prompt the readers to send more criticism about his policy which has caused a number of deaths in Philippines. However, the journalist's restatement "756 of which were during police operations" is intentionally asserting to draw a temporary conclusion that the rest of the death toll may be considered as unlawful killings in which they were shooting down for no valid evidences.

Second, the using of the number of game is found in the excerpt "*300 police officers were suspected to be involved in the drugs trade...*" The journalist here provides the number of game in order to denote the amount of drug suspected which come from police officers who are officially being responsible for drug war. Providing the number of police officers involved in drugs trade may assist the journalist to create such a particular representation of police officers. It is because those facts may assert that citizens are not the only one factor that should take responsible for every crime action in the society for even the protectors or securities of the country are also 'participated' in gaining crime.

However, that fact also can appear a positive impact to the representation of Rodrigo. It is because that may stimulate the readers to think logically about the benefit of war on drug in which that is not only discipline the citizens, but also every security of the country, especially police officer that automatically get in touch with citizens. Therefore, the journalist in this sense shows that he or she is not always showing a bad press of Rodrigo's war on drug, but also an attempt to present a new shocking fact about police officers that even people did not know, so that it will affect the way people think about police.

Third, the researcher finds the number of game in the excerpt "*Nearly 700,000 drug users and peddlers have turned themselves in since the launch of the campaign*" The journalist here employs the number of game in order to stress the increasing of the amount of drug users and peddles which will lead us to the journalist's way of thinking of the war.

However, providing and defining the number of game is here actually not only used to present the latest information, but also to denote implicitly the journalist's acknowledgement on Rodrigo's hard policy that at least bring a positive result by the admission of crime (the using/ownership of drug), so that the police do not need to take out a shot to paralyze the drug suspects.

In article 6, number of game is also exist in the excerpt "*More than 4,000 of the deaths ...*" where the journalist intentionally provides the amount of death tolls in order to create a bad representation of Rodrigo. It is because Rodrigo's policy has succeeded gaining the amount of death rate less than a half of year. Additionally, most of death is coming from unidentified hit squad, so that people may judge Rodrigo in a bad way for he cannot handle the unlawful killings properly. Thus, the journalist in this sense employs the strategy of number of game to affect the readers' way of thinking about war on drug, so that they will automatically put themselves in the contra sides of Rodrigo's policy which brings anxiety in the society and bad results emerged by unlawful killings.

3.1.1.7 Metaphor

Metaphor is an expression or writing strategy used figurative language that describe a person or subject in a literary way by referring to something considered to have similar characteristics to the person or object someone is trying to explain. In journalistic, metaphor is usually used to lead the readers to get the point of a particular meaning in a text. A particular metaphor is often utilized by journalists as the base of thinking, the reasons of an argument or an idea that journalists desire to convey to the public, either hearers or readers. In one of BBC News coverage, the researcher finds a statement used metaphor expression is "*The rights group said there appeared to be financial incentives for the killings, with one officer claiming they were given an "under the table" payment for each death, as well as payments from some funeral homes*".

In that excerpt, we can see and know that the journalist employs metaphor expression in drawing a hint of illegal action in political domain called bribery. The words “under the table” based on Cambridge dictionary means that something done under the table is a secret or hidden action, where that meaning can lead us to the main point of the journalist’s thinking that the officers were bribed to keep Rodrigo’s policy running smoothly. It is because they were paid for killing people who are suspected as drug user or dealer though they still have no valid data of the exact suspected drug dealer or user that are targeted.

The using of metaphor expression is here also used to present politicians, such as police officers in abstract mode that may strength people’ belief about them that are usually involved in bribery. Thus, the using of metaphor expression in this sense is used to send the hidden messages implicitly to the readers so that they will understand the message clearly.

3.1.1.8 Graphic

Graphic is one of discourse element in Van Dijk’s microstructures that is usually used to investigate some parts in a text, which are stressed intentionally by the journalist to appear a particular meaning. The using of graphic in a text can be identified by looking at the way the journalist uses bold, italic, underline, graph, table, picture, and so on. Those may assist the journalist in conveying a significant meaning to the readers. Additionally, the using of number is also being a supporting part for journalist to persuade the readers about the truth of a report. In the BBC news article, the researcher finds the using of graphic in article 2, 4, 5, 6, and 7.

In article 2, graphic is found in the excerpt “*Since **President Duterte was elected**, and urged citizens and police to kill drug dealers ...*” At glance, we can see that the journalist employs bold and underline to tell about the result of president election. However, he or she is here actually desire to stress a particular meaning such as his or her disagreement of the

result of president election in Philippines. It is because Duterte has brought significant number of bad impact in the society because of his policy of war on drug. For instance, rising of the number of death, the increasing of abuse of police power, and man's psychological disturbance because of drug operation are bad impacts that Filipinos are facing now.

Drug operation may be a good alternative to eradicate the access of drug in Philippines. Those of Rodrigo's supporters also demand him to lunch that policy. But, the journalist in this sense may implicitly assert that Rodrigo's policy might be able to run smoothly without appearing such nasty impacts to who do not belong to his supporters. Thus, the using of graphic can be considered as the journalist's trick to send his or her own opinion about Rodrigo and his policy that have brought such a tension along, either to Filipinos or other citizens who are concerned for some impacts appeared because of war on drug, lunched by Rodrigo.

Second, the researcher finds graphic in the excerpt "*What has provoked the **rough-tongued president** to unleash this merciless campaign ...*" The journalist here uses bold and underline as the graphic. Based on those words, we can analyze that the journalist attempts to convey his or her belief about Rodrigo, who is used to do frontal comments to whoever he thinks that is in different lines of thinking with him. For example, Rodrigo is never hesitant to deliver his opinion publicly about critical statements come to him about his policy of war on drug, such as when he said President Barrack Obama is a son of whore. The journalist may think that Rodrigo, as a president of the country, should put himself in a best manner, so that people may give an enormous honored to him

Moreover, BBC journalist in this sense is confident to present those words for he or she may have some evidences, such as the example aforementioned, which can strengthen his or her statement. By stating Rodrigo in that way, the journalist has explicitly denoted that he or she wants to get rid of Rodrigo in a bad representation. It is because those words may

hypnotize the readers' minds about the figure of Rodrigo in the real life. Thus, the using of graphic followed by former evidences may help the journalist to reach his or her goals to put Rodrigo in a bad side of representation.

Third, the utilizing of graphic is found in the excerpt *"He has listed 150 senior officials, officers and judges linked to the trade"*. Like the previous words, the journalist here not only gives bold sign, but also makes underline at those words. Then, those signs are used to stress a particular meaning that the journalist wants to convey. For example, we know that those words refer to people who have big responsibility to the country. But, the current fact has demonstrated that they are involved in drug trade. Thus, the journalist here tries to take a benefit from both the status of those suspects and the fact to prove the existence of law upholder power abuse, where it can form a bad representation on those suspects and get rid of them in the Filipinos' view, later.

The last, the researcher notices the using of graphic in the excerpt *"According to the police more than 1,900 people have been killed."* At that information, we can see that the journalist attempts to stress out the number of death tolls by giving bold and underline. Emphasizing the number of death tolls here is not only as the standard of presenting news for journalist, but also as a strategy to persuade the readers that those amount of victims are the latest fact they get from drug operation. In addition, stressing the amount of people killed can be also considered as the way to get the readers' interest for the journalist believes that the utilizing of number may appear such a validity suspicion in the readers' minds, so that they may believe at what the journalist present in the article. Therefore, the journalist here uses graphic in presenting the number of victims in order to get the readers' interest in that fact, convince them about the increasing of death tolls, and then their beliefs may lead them to accuse Rodrigo who call for drug war. Those are the way the journalist creates a bad representation on Rodrigo.

In the article 4, the researcher finds the using of graphic in the excerpt “... *Mr. Duterte used insulting language to refer to the US president.*” As we can see, the journalist employs double graphics in his or her statement, bold and underline. The utilizing of graphic here refers to Rodrigo’s character, in which he often reacts to unpleasant things with frontal form of language that may be considered as coarse words. Furthermore, the phrase ‘insulting language’ is used to remind the readers about what Rodrigo had done before when remarking on Obama’s comment on Rodrigo’s policy of war on drug. That also may become the journalist’s strategy to stress out the meaning of polite behavior that Rodrigo is still lack of, so that the readers may think that as a president, Rodrigo, should watch every single word that he wants to convey. Thus, the journalist here may potentially create another bad representation of Rodrigo by providing his bad side.

In the article 5, the using of graphic are found in the excerpt “*It is the first such admission he has made since becoming president in June ...*” The journalist employs graphic here to emphasize Rodrigo’s position in political domain and his action when he becomes a president. After being a president of Philippines, Rodrigo may be more famous than before because of his controversial policy. However, his position now or his victory in presidential election has indirectly emerged such a refusal for some group of people, for they may highly consider about his drug war policy that he launch. Bold and italic mark also implicitly draws the journalist’s opinion about Rodrigo. He or she may think that being the leader of the country may assist Rodrigo well in continuing his ambition in fighting against crime in Philippines. In addition, Rodrigo’s ambition is actually sounds good to create the feeling of peacefulness in the society, yet he keeps on treating criminalist rudely so that other people may reject his action. In short, the researcher believes that journalist attempts to form Rodrigo’s bad representation through his admission on the past time and contradictory action in the present time, so that he or she may get the readers’ support to drag him in a bad sight.

Second, the journalist employs graphic in the excerpt “***Mr. Duterte*** was speaking to business leaders ...” BBC journalist here is doing stress on the name of the president of Philippines. The researcher thinks that he or she may emphasize Rodrigo’s name in order to represent and clarify the main actor on his or her news coverage which has revealed horrified fact. In addition, the journalist also wants to get the readers’ focus on the main actor, so that he or she will be easier to drag the readers’ thought down on the core of the text.

Third, the utilizing of graphic is found in the excerpt “*It is the latest in a series of **controversial and sometimes contradictory comments** by Mr. Duterte” and “***Blood on his hands***”. Based on that graphic, we can see that there is a message that the journalist wants to talk about. He or she is here in touch with another fact that makes Rodrigo being considered as controversial president with his hard line policy. As we know, Rodrigo is often sending controversial and sometimes contradictory comments during his leadership as president. One of them is the statement of blood on his hand.*

When we understand that statement with Van Dijk’s graphic, we can see that the BBC journalist desires to get rid of Rodrigo intentionally. It is because that statement may change the readers’ minds about the figure of Rodrigo which may be regarded as an authoritarian ruler. Blood on his hand may denote explicitly that Rodrigo is not totally in the line with the law of humanity which confines somebody’s activity or action to the others. According to Rodrigo’s contradictory statement, the journalist demonstrates some implicit messages such as Rodrigo is a person with a big wary of giving mercy to someone’s who is committed with crime, his firmness is often followed by violence, or Rodrigo has a real bad temper. Those messages possibly will come along in the readers’ minds as long as the journalist put his or her strategy of words stressing well, so that the aimed can be achieved by the readers. Thus, the using of graphic in this part takes a big role in persuading the readers about the journalist’s goals, putting Rodrigo in a bad representation.

Fourth, the researcher notices the existence of graphic strategy in the excerpt “*Nearly 6,000 people are said to have been killed by police, vigilantes and mercenaries...*” The journalist here is intentionally giving bold and underline on those words in order to emphasize the meaning. Based on Cambridge dictionary, vigilante is a person who tries in an unofficial way to prevent crime or to catch and punish someone who has committed a crime. While mercenary is a soldier who fights for any country or group that pays them. From those literary meaning, we can see that they are coming from unofficial Philippines’ employee that also involve themselves in drug operation.

What the journalist desires to stress is how come Rodrigo let those groups merge with the police to eradicate drug access in Philippines. The journalist may believe that those groups are not having the exact or validity lists of drug suspect. It is because they are only rent to paralyze the drug suspects with no authority to kill them. However, the fact in the field has shown that they are involved in the killings of the drug suspects. It means that they have done something beyond their authority as a group payment. As we know that, Rodrigo just allows the police to kill the suspected drug user or peddler as self-defense.

The last, “*He has expressed few regrets about the policy, once saying: “Hitler massacred three millions Jews ... There’s three million drug addicts. I’d happy to slaughter them”*” The journalist here uses graphic on those words in order to giving a stress to Rodrigo’s comment about his policy. Emphasizing on those words is intended to express the journalist’s opinion about Rodrigo implicitly such as Rodrigo’s ambition to end the spreading of drugs and create peacefulness in Philippines has brought him to lunch his hard line policy with no mercy to others. He is not even hesitant to deliver his remark publicly in which that may appear a lot of critical comments or warding. Moreover, stressing on those words may also become the journalist’s aimed to create Rodrigo’s bad representation. It is because the readers may consider whether keep on supporting Rodrigo’s decision or not after knowing

Rodrigo's controversial remark on the BBC report. Thus, the journalist here employs graphic strategy to assist him or her to send his or her opinion about Rodrigo's comment in the midst of rejection on war on drug.

In the article 6, the utilizing of graphic is found in the excerpt "*But the shocking murder of South Korean businessman Jee Ick-Joo last October...*" BBC journalist uses graphic here to emphasize the position of the object that was died in the drug operation. Jee Ick-Joo is here a dead victim of police power abuse in the war on drug. He was killed by the police with illegal warrant. Then, the stressing in the words 'South Korean businessman' may intentionally be shown to appear the sense of sympathy and anxiety in the readers' minds. The sympathy feeling may emerge because they have mercy on Jee Ick-Joo as one of the victims of unlawful killing. While the anxiety feeling may emerge for they think that it may cause such a strained situation with the relationship of Philippines and South Korea. Thus, the journalist in this sense employs graphic to get the readers' sympathy, and get rid of Rodrigo that proposes his hard line policy that has brought a serious bad impact to both the society and the country.

In the article 7, "*The rights group also said **in a report** that the killings may constitute "crimes against humanity".*" BBC journalist gives a stress in the words 'in a report' by using bold sign in order to demonstrate that the rights group has its own evidence to defy Rodrigo's policy which has caused a lot of deaths in drug operation. In addition, we can also see obviously that the journalist here may stand up for the rights group in conveying their refusal opinion toward war on drug, because Rodrigo's drug war actually breaks the law of humanity. Thus, the utilizing of graphic here can be considered as the journalist's strategy to implicitly attract the readers' interest to find out more about the bad results in drug war, so they may also blame Rodrigo for his decision-making that contravene law and cause a lot of

demises. And that strategy may automatically help the journalist to build Rodrigo's bad representation.

Those analyses above are found in the BBC News coverage. The researcher here desires to provide another analysis from Rodrigo's interview, so that we may see how Rodrigo creates his own presentation through his interview with Aljazeera. The analyses are as follows: In the excerpt number 1, the researcher notices that Rodrigo has indirectly used transitivity strategy in explaining the formation of his character. He provides the reasons why he can be judged as an authoritarian leader. As we can see, Rodrigo here not only wants to describe about the formation of his character, but also attempts to defend himself from others' critical comments about his character. It is because he explains clearly and publicly about the main factor that forms his character, the sphere of his life. Thus, the existence of transitivity strategy in this sense is quite help Rodrigo in describing the reason of his authoritarian character, so that he may get toleration from some critics who question about his controversial character.

In the data utterance number 2, Rodrigo is still utilizing transitivity in explaining his reasons of launching war on drug. Based on the data, Rodrigo has obviously described why he must launch his controversial policy that should hurt people in the practice. Rodrigo in this sense has realized the threat that Filipinos may get or face if he did not take a serious action on stopping drug users or peddlers. Thus, the existence of transitive strategy here may assist Rodrigo to draw a distinct explanation about his decision on drug war, so that it may be able to make the readers or the hearers comprehend the decision he make and then support his policy of war on drug .

Based on the third excerpt in the table, the researcher finds that Rodrigo employs his power to make a disclaimer. He officially denotes his defense toward people' judgments on the way Rodrigo threat the criminalist. In addition, people may think that Rodrigo's policy of

war on drug can be considered as a serious threat to drug suspects because he says he will kill them. However, that even cannot be called as a threat for there is no law that may ban Rodrigo to threaten the drug suspects with oral context. Thus, disclaimer strategy here helps Rodrigo in clarifying misconceptions that appear in the society because of the way he threat the drug suspects.

In the data utterance number 4, the researcher finds that Rodrigo provides another reason of his controversial decision on launching drug war by using transitive strategy. This data is actually quite related to the data number 2, where Rodrigo explains the main reason of him in taking war on drug as an alternative way to eradicate the access of drug in Philippines. Moreover, Rodrigo's explanation here denotes that he has predicted the result beforehand that may appear later because of the abuse of drug in the society. His statement may also automatically create his good representation in the readers' or hearers' minds, for people may consider Rodrigo's decision as the right action that should be took by a leader of the country. That is the way Rodrigo get people' attention and form his own representation, therefore.

In the data utterance number 5, the researcher notices that there is a transitive strategy in Rodrigo's statement, which takes a role as a hint in describing the cause of Rodrigo's controversial remark 'I will kill you (drug suspects)'. Based on the data, Rodrigo reveals his firmness by using spoken remark in facing the threat of drugs in Philippines. In addition, Rodrigo's statement here may be related to the data utterance number 3 which describes about the protest to Rodrigo in the way he threatens the criminalists. But, the meaning here is more specific than in the data utterance number 5. It is because Rodrigo has shown crystal clear about the reason why he must warn the drug suspects. Furthermore, Rodrigo in this sense may believe that the future of the origin children would be in danger if he, as the president, did not take a serious action to protect them. Therefore, Rodrigo's statement here may become an answer to describe why he wants to kill the drug suspects. And that may also

be the way for Rodrigo to urge the readers or the hearers to think logically about the hard decision Rodrigo made to protect and preserve the interest of the origin children.

In the excerpt number 6, the researcher finds that Rodrigo is using pronoun in conveying his message. The using of pronoun is usually used to manipulate the language by creating an imaginative communication. Based on Van Dijk's explanation cited on Eriyanto (2001), pronoun constitutes a tool which is employed by communicator to denote the position of an actor in a discourse. Rodrigo here uses pronoun 'we' not only to draw a formal communication with interviewers, but also to demonstrate his position that is in the line of thinking with them. It is because the utilizing of pronoun 'we' is literally using to express an agreement on someone's opinion. Thus, by using pronoun in his statement, Rodrigo has shown his sympathy to the innocent victims, and at the same time that also indirectly assist him to form such a good representation in the readers' or hearers' minds.

In the data utterance number 7, the researcher finds that there are passivation and transitive strategy in that Rodrigo's statements. The using of passivation here is to explain about the victims died in the drug operation which has reached a deal number of death toll. Rodrigo's statement "*that is not my problem*" may actually appear a bad judgment from the readers or hearers because they may think that Rodrigo is not even concerned with the increasing of death toll. However, Rodrigo has his own strategy in explain his aimed, in which he provides the reason why he said so before. As we can see in the second statement on the data utterance number 7, Rodrigo explains that there are some important things that he should take care of rather than think about the death tolls that he considers as drug suspects. Then, the function of transitive strategy here is to draw a clear explanation about Rodrigo's statement that may be decided as contradictory statement in the hearers' or readers'. Thus, the existence of micro element in Rodrigo's statement is really help him in conveying his personal goal, getting people' support to run his policy of war on drug.

In the excerpt number 8, the researcher notices the existence of objectivity strategy in Rodrigo's statement. Objectivity strategy can be seen on the words *four million drug addicts*. In that statement, Rodrigo has firmly denoted the number of people that he must handle as soon as possible. Additionally, by stating that deal number of drug addicts, Rodrigo has indirectly invited the readers or hearers to think logically about what they would do if they were in the position of Rodrigo. Providing the exact number of drug addicts may also assist Rodrigo to change the readers' or hearers' way of thinking about him, so that he may get his own chance to create his good representation by using the facts he collect.

In the data utterance number 9, we can see that Rodrigo uses pronoun in conveying his message. The utilizing of pronoun 'they' here demonstrates that Rodrigo attempts to show his disagreement about what people said in the newspaper. Pronoun 'they' in Van Dijk's interpretation cited on Eriyanto (2001) is often used to create a distance between the speaker and the publics. Thus, the researcher believes that Rodrigo intentionally employs pronoun 'they' in his statement in order to express his objection about the way people react to his policy of drug war.

Based on the excerpt number 10, the researcher notices the using of passivation strategy in Rodrigo's remark. Passive form itself here takes a role in focusing the readers' or hearers' minds on the object of a speaking. It is because Rodrigo has reveals another fact related to the budget for constructing a rehabilitation building for drug addicts, which was not prepared by his predecessor. In addition, that fact may drag people down to question why the predecessor did not make an arrangement for long-term that may help the latest president to handle a crucial problem. The using of passive form may also become a good point to Rodrigo in forming his own representation, for people at the same time may think that he is such an autonomous president who tries hard to solve the drug problem in Philippines with no fund to support his policy.

In the data utterance number 11, Rodrigo indirectly employs the strategy of transitive to describe about the reason of his decision on launching drug war. As we can see, Rodrigo's policy is intended to preserve or protect the next generation of Filipinos. That statement is also related to Rodrigo's previous statement on the excerpt number 5, in which he also explains explicitly the main reason of proposing war on drug. Based on Rodrigo's remark, the researcher believes that Rodrigo may hope that people will support his decision, though it brings a bad effect in the society. It is because drug problem has entered to be one of crucial problems in Philippines that may bring a bad impact to the next generation of Filipinos if it should not be handled properly.

In the excerpt number 12, the researcher finds that there is intransitive strategy in Rodrigo's remark "*I have been criticized*". She considers that excerpt as intransitive strategy because there is no complete information about what aspect or factor that makes people criticize Rodrigo. In addition, Rodrigo's unclear description also may appear gaps in the readers' or hearers' mind, for they may emerge an imagination to find out the reason of Rodrigo's incomplete remark. Due to the fact that that statement is delivered in a spoken context, the researcher believes that Rodrigo may indirectly appear intransitive strategy in order to avoid repetition on his answers. Thus, the researcher infers from this analysis that intransitive strategy may take a different role in a context depends on the way it is presented.

In the data utterance number 13, passivation strategy can be seen on the words "*... certified by ...*" Rodrigo here uses passivation strategy to convey his message. As we can see, his statement shows that Rodrigo cannot always consider something as the right one. It is because he also has to rely on the policy that has been decided in order to elude an abuse. Additionally, the existence of passive form here is to give an emphasizing that Food and Drugs commission takes an important role in determining the suitable of medicinal

properties, so that people may be careful in consuming medicine to save their lives from the influence of drugs.

In the last data utterance, the researcher notices that Rodrigo provides a disclaimer on his response to the interviewers. The existence of disclaimer itself is here to remind the interviewers that though he is a president, he has no authority to consider something as a good one as long as that is not included in his profession or he has no knowledge in that domain. The using of disclaimer may also be used to avoid a misperception in people' minds related to stipulations that have been approved before. Therefore, disclaimer strategy either in written or in spoken context may be used to delimit someone's action so that they will keep on obeying the rule as it should be.

3.2 Discussion

Based on those microstructures findings above, the researcher finds that most of the journalist's strategies in presenting Duterte in the news coverage are aimed to create Duterte's bad representation. It is because those strategies may reveal new other facts either about Rodrigo, his policy, or his leadership which may also potentially affect the way the readers think about the current issues of Rodrigo. For instance, the journalist often provides the latest condition of the unlawful killings such as is in the article 1 line 22-23 about man who was killed even after his surrender action or in the article 6 about South Korean Businessman, Jee Ich-Joo, who was killed in illegal arrest and no valid evidence.

In those articles, the journalist has intentionally denoted the police power abuse that cause a number of unlawful killings for the victims are died in brutal way. In addition, the journalist also demonstrates another fact that the police do power abuse in the case of the death of Jee Ich-Joo because of amount of money. By presenting that fact in the journalist's news coverage, he or she may indirectly persuade the readers about the bad effects of drug

operation run by Rodrigo. Thus, they may believe that Rodrigo has taken a quite risky decision to spread out peacefulness in Philippines because it has made some innocent people should sacrifice their lives to incur satisfying result to Rodrigo.

The using of micro strategy in a discourse has its own meaning based on the writers. In the BBC News coverage, the journalist tends to get rid of the main actor, Rodrigo, and exploits the victims either about their condition or their facts to control the discourse. It can be known through the journalist's reporting that mostly inclines to show the conditions of the victims, the result of drug operation in a day or a week, or the critical response related to the policy rather than denote good outcome of the drug war policy.

This research analysis is actually quite similar to Ningrum's analysis which demonstrates that the Jakarta Post's journalist inclines to present his or her interest to the victims rather than the main actor. She denotes that the using of micro strategy especially inclusion strategies in The Jakarta Post crime news about women demonstrated another fact of women as the victims, so that the journalist has got his or her strategy to advocate those victims rather than marginalize or discriminate them. Thus, Rodrigo's bad representation in this analysis is formed based on not only through the journalist's writing strategies, but also the way the journalist connects one fact to other different facts that may change the way the readers have a look at drug war policy.

Moreover, the aforementioned findings about Rodrigo's interview shows that Rodrigo's explanation is crystal clear denoting that his decision of applying war on drug policy is precise decision that he made. It is because he has calculated the cause of that problem that will be appeared in the midst of Filipinos and the next generation of Filipinos, so that he regards his drug war policy as an appropriate step to eradicate the drug access in Philippines. In addition, the existence of micro strategies in Rodrigo's explanation also shows that Rodrigo attempts to persuade the hearers about his opinion by providing the possible

result of the threat of drug in Philippines. Then, his opinion may lead the hearers to rethink critically and logically about Rodrigo's policy that was rejected by most of people. That is the way Rodrigo builds his own representation which is no other media make, for instance BBC News.

Furthermore, the researcher also discovers some journalist's strategies that are quite different with what had been proposed by some scholars in their models of thinking as follows: First, Leeuwen's passivation strategy inclines to hide the subject of an action, and focus on the object so that the readers will be more concerned with and attracted to the object than the subject, and then that tend to drag the readers down to the uncritical way of thinking for the readers' minds have been under the control of the conditions of the object not to who the subject/s is/are.

However, based on some of the journalist's selected restating statements, these findings denote that the journalist is not always using passivation strategy to hide the subject, and make the readers uncritically denying the subject in their minds for some of the following data verify that by keeping on presenting the subject may assist the journalist not only to convey his or her purposes on attracting the readers' interest, but also both to get rid of the subject and form the subject's bad representation. Article 1 (line 21-22) "They were later taken to a police station and allegedly killed there", the journalist does not obviously present the subject of the killings, yet he or she provides the location of killings, so that the readers will automatically know who the subject that the journalist implicitly hide behind.

Article 1 (line 27-28) "Mr. dela Rosa told the inquiry on Tuesday that a total of 1,916 deaths had been recorded during the crackdown, 756 of which were during police operations" denotes that the journalist may set the readers' interest and attention to the victims out and that make them think uncritically, based on Leewun's perspective, but the journalist in this sense attempts to prompt the readers' critical thinking by providing the number of game

where the readers might think that the rest of unidentified victims may be considered as unlawful killings for drugs operation is not only implemented by the police, but also vigilante, mercenaries, contract killers, and citizens that may have no the exact lists of the drug suspects (users and dealers).

Article 2 (line 21-22) “her husband was commissioned to kill a debtor by a policeman - one who was also a drug pusher”, the journalist here explicitly uses passivation strategy not to hide the subject, but to demonstrate explicitly the subject based on his or her status and story behind so that the readers may be able to be less focusing on the object but may tend to be more concerned with the subject. It is because the journalist has shown different shocking fact in his or her restating statement which might make the readers to be conscious of the police power abuse.

Article 2 (lines 55-57) “He has listed 150 senior officials, officers and judges linked to the trade. Five police generals, he says, are **kingpins of the business**. But it is those at the lowest levels of the trade who are targeted by the death squads”. That journalist’s restating statement is automatically encouraging the readers’ critical thinking by questioning why only the lowest levels of drug trade targeted and the kingpins are free from the death squads’ target of killings, how it could be, et cetera. Those critical statements may appear as long as the journalist provides another fact in his or her strategy on using passive sentence.

Article 5 (line 34-35) “Nearly 6,000 people are said to have been killed by police, vigilantes and mercenaries since Mr. Duterte launched his drug war after being elected in May” shows that the journalist is still denoting the main subjects of the number of killings, although he or she uses passivation strategy. The journalist may believe that that is better to put the subject on show so that the readers will know how cruel they are. Therefore, the journalist in this sense not only wants to attract the readers’ sympathy, but also to

influence their minds about those groups of people that have killed thousands people in less than a half year.

Article 6 (line 4-5) “He had been kidnapped and killed by anti-drug police” demonstrates that the journalist keeps providing the subject of killings when he or she applies Leeuwen’s passivation. Mentioning the subject here is explicitly done to put the anti-drug police in the bad representations because they have committed with a crime of kidnapping and killings the allegedly drug suspect. Thus, the journalist in this sense desires to get the readers’ sympathy to the victims and their bad judgment based on the police power abuse at the same time.

Second, Chilton’s political discourse analysis tends to focus on the reproduction of political power, power abuse or domination through political discourse involving the various forms of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance. That might be analyzed on the way we firstly examine the topic in some more detail (see pp. 13), so that we may be able to see how macro and micro analysis is manifesting each other at the same time to form either bad or good representation in Rodrigo’s news coverage, then.

Nevertheless, there are some elements in van Dijk’s political discourse structures analysis cited on Chilton & Schaffner’s missed from their analysis are predicative, exclusion and inclusion, number of action, and disclaimer. It is because the researcher believes that not only political topic, pronouns and metaphor which underlie reforming of mental representation, but also those aforementioned elements might be able to be a base of someone’s mental representation. For instance, in the article 6 (line 20-26), we can see that the journalist has shown his or her belief of Rodrigo in which he or she conveys it through transitivity and passivation strategy so that it may also influence the readers’ minds about Rodrigo and his policy. Other example, in the article 3 (line 18-19), the journalist employs disclaimer statement in which that must become an official statement used to limit the others’

movement so that they will be in the right track of the law or rule. Therefore, the using of language can either explicitly or implicitly denote the journalist's way of thinking of an event and then that is constructed in interesting statement in order to both affect the readers' minds and get rid of the actor of an event.

The way the journalist is thinking cannot be separated from some commonly aspects such as social, political or historical aspect. In BBC News coverage about Rodrigo's drug war policy, the journalist inclines to represent Rodrigo in bad ways based on the facts that he or she experiences or gets from the situations and conditions in the field. Furthermore, Rodrigo is rarely represented in a positive representation in BBC News coverage. To remember that Philippines and British had ever been in a bad situation that caused the two countries fighting on the same side, so that bad historical aspect may also influence the way the BBC journalist reports Rodrigo and his controversial policy.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter presents conclusion and suggestion of this research. The conclusion is drawn based on the formulation of the research questions in Chapter 1. The suggestion provides some information for the next researchers who are interested in conducting the research in the same field.

4.1 Conclusion

In this research, conclusions are drawn based on the findings and discussion. This research produces the analysis of microstructures in political discourse in which there are thirteen strategies found in BBC News article. Those are passivation, nominalization, abstraction, categorization, determination, objectivity, association, transitive, intransitive, disclaimer, number of game, metaphor and graphic. Based on those strategies, the researcher reveals that most of the journalist's statements comprise negative meanings. It is because the results in findings denote that the journalist intentionally employs those strategies to get rid of Rodrigo by dealing with some information as follows: first, providing both former and latest facts about either Rodrigo or power abuse in drug operation to persuade the readers' about the truth that the journalist provides.

Second, providing the fact that Rodrigo's policy is totally contravening the law of humanity can be also a starting point to the journalist to put Rodrigo in the bad representation because Rodrigo himself has violated the value of democracy in which citizens are also having their roles to achieve the values and aims they pursue. In other words, Rodrigo's war on drugs may be proposed to preserve the next generations of Filipino, but that is unjust aggression against other people so that that may outweigh the considerations of equality that underpin democratic authority.

Third, BBC News journalist often emerges comparison among west and east parties' response to Rodrigo's crackdown to dramatize Rodrigo's more bad representation. Any kind of critics' refusal is presented to strengthen the journalist's opinion of the war. Those may become a starting point to find out what Chilton called mental representation in the way journalists represent an actor in a text. It is because the forming of someone's representation should be supported by the journalist's knowledge about the current communicative situation of his/her text or talk, so that she or he may be able to direct him or herself to construct sentences based on the facts and then insert his or her own opinion or belief in among the facts. That is the concrete description of the journalist's mental representation.

Therefore, Rodrigo will be totally kept on his bad representation as long as his policy emerges more controversial and contradictory effects in the society, though, Rodrigo does his defense through his interview with Aljazeera in which he explains all of the truth of every action and decision he took in order to clean off people bad judgments to him. And most of Rodrigo's statements in his interview also demonstrate that he launched war on drug for the sake of Filipinos.

4.2 Suggestion

This present research has investigated how Rodrigo is represented in the media coverage especially BBC News related to his policy of war on drug. Some strategies discovered at micro level are quite assisting the journalist in forming such a bad representation of Rodrigo, based on the findings and discussion. For people who want to know more about contextual meaning in a text or talk of politicians, it is better and important to study political discourse which provide both the analysis of micro and macro level so that people will get tremendous knowledge about how journalists present an actor in a discourse,

and the aimed of presenting an actor and an event in a unique way to either convey their messages implicitly or explicitly.

The researcher believes that this research is not perfect as the readers' expected. There may be some mistakes that should be corrected in further by next researcher who has the same interest in this field. She also thinks that there are some strategies in this field that have not been conducted such as assimilation, dissociation, individualization, etc. in the political context such as parliamentary speech, live news political report. Therefore, she suggests that the next researcher may analyze and describe more comprehensively about some issues used micro level analysis.

Based on the findings of this research, the researcher suggests that the next researchers can be able to discuss more details about microstructure analysis in the political discourse in order to fulfill the gap found in this analysis. Besides, the next researchers also can employ Van Dijk's theory of microstructure analysis and Chilton's political discourse analysis in more specific analysis later on. After all, this suggestion hopefully contributes to the better result in the next researchers on the similar topic.

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Appendix

No.	Article(s)	Excerpts	Microstructures Element
1.	1	<p>1. <i>“He has previously urged citizens to shoot and kill drug dealers who resisted arrest, and reiterated that the killings of drug suspects were lawful if the police acted in self-defense.”</i></p> <p>2. <i>“...the killings of drug suspects were lawful if the police acted in self-defense.”</i></p> <p>3. <i>“... his father was beaten up in front of them”.</i> <i>“They were later taken to a police station and allegedly killed there”.</i></p> <p>4. <i>“The two police officers accused claimed an attempt had been made to grab one of their guns, but this was refuted by the Philippines Commission on Human Rights. It said they had been badly injured and were shot three times. The two officers have been charged with murder.”</i></p> <p>5. <i>“... a total of 1,916 deaths had been recorded during the crackdown, 756 of which were during police operations”.</i></p> <p>6. <i>“300 police officers were suspected to be involved in the drugs trade...”</i></p> <p>7. <i>“Nearly 700,000 drug users and peddlers have turned themselves in since the launch of the</i></p>	<p>Transitive</p> <p>Nominalization</p> <p>Passivation</p> <p>Passivation</p> <p><u>Number of game & Passivation</u></p> <p><u>Number of game & Passivation</u></p> <p>Number of game</p>

		<p><i>campaign.</i>”</p> <p>8. “<i>Human rights groups <u>estimate than more than 1,000 people were killed</u> with no legal process.</i>”</p>	<p><u>Abstraction & Passivation</u></p>
2.	2	<p>1. “<i>She is part of a hit team that includes three women, who are valued ...</i>”</p> <p>2. “<i>... <u>they can get close to their victims without arousing the same suspicion a man would</u></i>”</p> <p>3. “<u>President Duterte was elected</u> ...”</p> <p>4. “<i>... she and her husband had been told their safe house had been exposed.</i>”</p> <p>5. “<i>She described how it began when <u>her husband was commissioned to kill a debtor by a policeman - one who was also a drug pusher.</u></i>”</p> <p>6. “<i>Maria and her husband <u>come from an impoverished neighborhood of Manila and had no regular income before agreeing to become contract killers.</u></i>”</p> <p>7. “<i>... <u>rough-tongued president</u> ...</i>”</p> <p>8. “<i>He has listed 150 senior <u>officials, officers and judges</u> linked to the trade. Five police generals, he says, are kingpins of the business.</i>”</p> <p>9. “<i>Five police generals, he says, are kingpins of the business. But it is <u>those at the lowest levels of the trade who are targeted by the death squads.</u></i>”</p> <p>10. <i>According to the police <u>more than 1,900</u></i></p>	<p>Intransitive</p> <p>Transitive</p> <p>Graphic</p> <p>Intransitive</p> <p>Passivation</p> <p>Categorization</p> <p>Graphic</p> <p>Objectivity & Graphic</p> <p>Passivation</p> <p>Abstraction &</p>

		<p><u>people</u> have been killed.”</p> <p>11. “<u>Nearly all those whose bloodied bodies are discovered every night in the slums of Manila and other cities are the poor - pedicab drivers, casual labourers, the unemployed.</u>”</p> <p>12. “... that <u>innocent victims</u> were being caught up in it”</p> <p>13. “I cannot surrender, because if I do the police will probably kill me.”</p> <p>14. “But her boss has threatened to kill anyone who leaves the team”</p>	<p>Graphic</p> <p><u>Determination,</u> <u>Passivation &</u> <u>Categorization</u></p> <p>Association</p> <p>Transitive</p> <p>Transitive</p>
3.	3	<p>1. “<u>Hundreds of alleged dealers have been killed in the Philippines ...</u>”</p> <p>2. “... Mr. Duterte allowed to police to shoot them on sight”.</p> <p>3. “<u>Mr. Duterte, nicknamed "The Punisher", has been condemned by the United Nations for his approach against crime.</u>”</p> <p>4. "Our punishments have to be in accordance with our law and with national and international standards," said Slamet Pribadi.”</p> <p>5. “About 2,400 people have been killed since Mr. Duterte declared his war on drugs ...”</p>	<p><u>Abstraction &</u> <u>Passivation</u></p> <p>Transitive</p> <p>Passivation</p> <p>Disclaimer</p> <p>Passivation</p>
4.	4	<p>1. “Mr. Duterte's drugs war <u>has caused thousands of extrajudicial killings</u>”</p>	<p>Abstraction</p>

		2. "... Mr. Duterte <u>used insulting language</u> ..."	Graphic
5.	5	1. "It is the first such admission he has made since <u>becoming president</u> in June ..." 2. " <u>Mr. Duterte</u> was speaking to business leaders ..." 3. "It is the latest in a series of <u>controversial and sometimes contradictory comments</u> by Mr. Duterte." 4. " <u>Blood on his hands</u> " 5. "... a wave of <u>unlawful killings</u> claiming more than 5,000 lives across the country ..." 6. " <u>Nearly 6,000 people</u> are said to <u>have been killed</u> by police, <u>vigilantes and mercenaries</u> ..." 7. "He has expressed few regrets about the policy, <u>once saying</u> : "Hitler massacred three millions Jews ..." 8. "Mr. Duterte has repeatedly said he does not care about human rights and has suggested that <u>lawyers defending drug suspects might also be targeted in his campaign</u> , says the BBC's Jonathan Head"	Graphic Graphic Graphic Graphic Abstraction <u>Abstraction</u> , Passivation & Graphic Graphic Passivation
6.	6	1. "... <u>anti-drug units would be dissolved</u> ". 2. "He had been kidnapped and killed by anti-drug police" 3. "He has <u>repeatedly promised to support</u> , even	Intransitive Passivation <u>Transitive</u> &

		<p><i><u>pardon</u>, any police officers <u>accused of unlawful killing</u>, and <u>been unmoved</u> even by the clear evidence of police involvement in the drug trade, and the murder of important drug suspects in police custody.”</i></p> <p>4. “But the shocking murder of <u>South Korean businessman Jee Ick-Joo</u> last October...”</p> <p>5. “He has ordered all tainted officers to be sent to front-line duty in the conflict-wracked southern Philippines.”</p> <p>6. “More than 4,000 of the deaths <u>are blamed</u> on unidentified hit squads, although many of those are believed to be run by the police”</p> <p>7. “But the shocking murder of <u>South Korean businessman Jee Ick-joo</u> last October has forced Mr. Duterte to acknowledge that the Philippines National Police are too tainted to continue running the anti-drugs campaign”</p> <p>8. “<u>More than 4,000 of the deaths</u> are blamed on unidentified hit squads ...”</p> <p>9. “Jee Ick-joo <u>was seized</u> from his home in Angeles city, near Manila, under the pretense of a drug raid, the Department of Justice said”.</p>	<p><u>Passivation</u></p> <p>Graphic</p> <p>Passivation</p> <p>Passivation</p> <p>Transitive</p> <p><u>Abstraction & Number of game</u></p> <p>Passivation</p>
7.	7	1. “The rights group also said in a report that the killings may constitute “crimes against	Graphic

	<p><i>humanity”.</i>”</p> <p>2. “... <i>police <u>were only authorized</u> to open fire when threatened by suspects.</i>”</p> <p>3. “<i>The rights group said there appeared to be financial incentives for the killings, with one officer claiming they were given an “<u>under the table</u>” payment for each death, as well as payments from some funeral homes</i>”</p>	<p>Passivation</p> <p>Metaphor</p>
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Philippines war on drugs: '1,900 killed' amid crackdown

23 August 2016



The head of the Philippines police has said more than 1,900 people have been killed during a crackdown on illegal drugs in the past seven weeks.

Ronald dela Rosa was speaking at a senate hearing into the sharp rise in deaths since Rodrigo Duterte became president.

He said police operations had killed about 750 people, but the other deaths were still being investigated.

Mr. Duterte won the presidency with his hard-line policy to eradicate drugs.

He has previously urged citizens to shoot and kill drug dealers who resisted arrest, and reiterated that the killings of drug suspects were lawful if the police acted in self-defence.

He also threatened to "separate" from the UN after it called his war on drugs a crime under international law.

The US has said it is "deeply concerned" by the increase in drug-related killings.



The senate joint inquiry is being conducted by Senator Leila de Lima, who has called on authorities to explain the "unprecedented" rise in deaths.

It is also hearing from the relatives of some of those killed

Faces of the crackdown



The family members of some of those killed are getting the chance to tell their stories to the inquiry.

Wearing dark glasses and draped in a shawl, Harra Besorio said policemen raided her home in Pasay City without a warrant and stripped her infant daughter to check for drugs.

Her partner, who she admitted was a small-time dealer, and his father was beaten up in front of them, she told the inquiry on Monday. They were later taken to a police station and allegedly killed there.

The two police officers accused claimed an attempt had been made to grab one of their guns, but this was refuted by the Philippines Commission on Human Rights.

It said they had been badly injured and were shot three times. The two officers have been charged with murder.

Mr. dela Rosa told the inquiry on Tuesday that a total of 1,916 deaths had been recorded during the crackdown, 756 of which were during police operations.

He said the number had gone up even since he gave evidence on Monday, where he gave a figure of 1,800 deaths.

"Not all deaths under investigations are drug-related," he told news agency Reuters, saying about 40 killings were due to robbery or personal disputes.

However, Mr. dela Rosa said there was no declared policy to kill drug users and pushers, saying police were "not butchers".

The police director-general also added that about 300 police officers were suspected to be involved in the drugs trade, warning that they would be charged and removed from their positions if found guilty.



Nearly 700,000 drug users and peddlers have turned themselves in since the launch of the campaign, Mr. dela Rosa said.

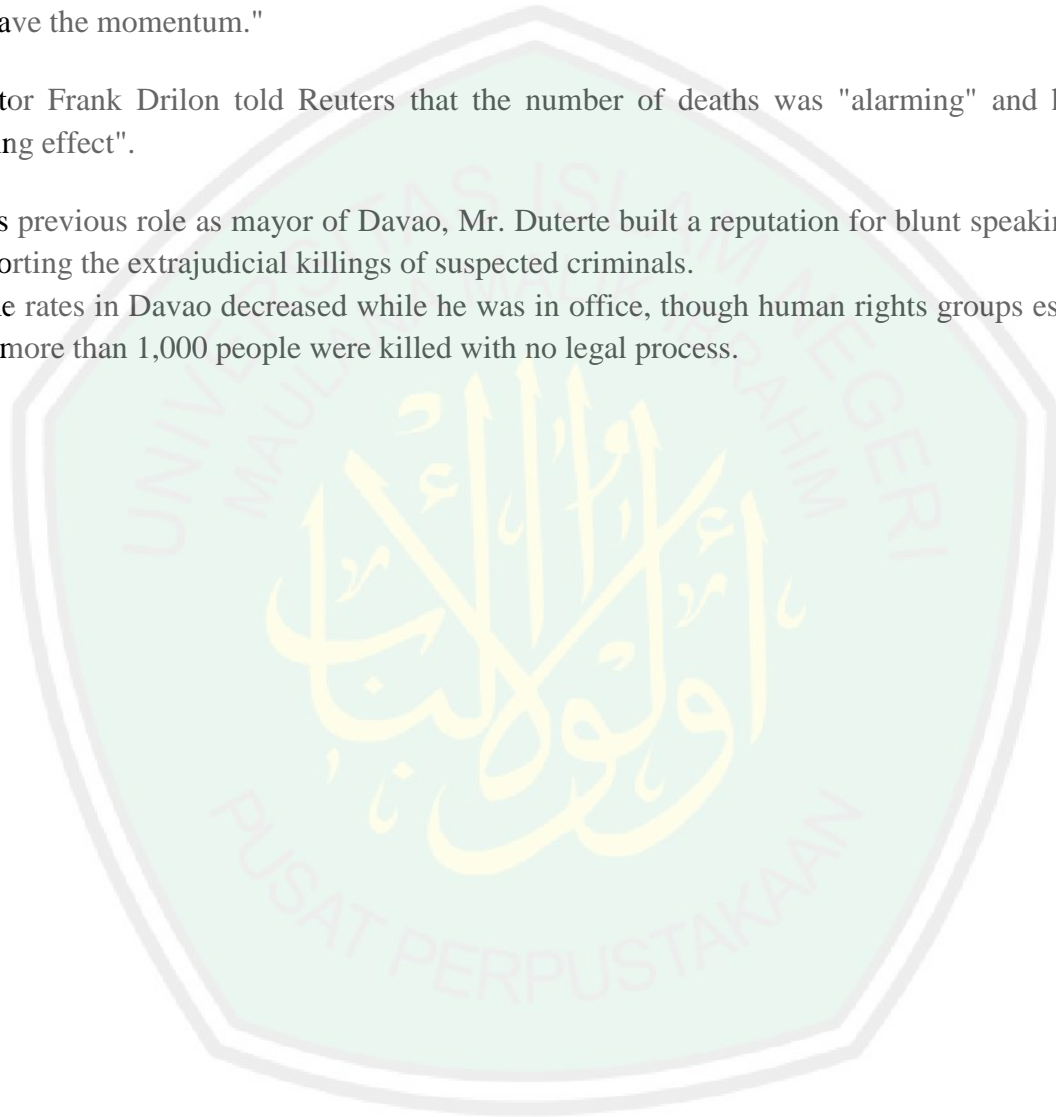
He also said that there was a decrease in overall crime, though the number of homicides and murders had increased.

On Monday, Mr. dela Rosa told the inquiry: "I admit many are dying but our campaign, now, we have the momentum."

Senator Frank Drilon told Reuters that the number of deaths was "alarming" and had "a chilling effect".

In his previous role as mayor of Davao, Mr. Duterte built a reputation for blunt speaking and supporting the extrajudicial killings of suspected criminals.

Crime rates in Davao decreased while he was in office, though human rights groups estimate than more than 1,000 people were killed with no legal process.



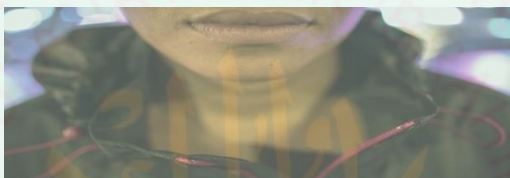
Philippines drugs war: The woman who kills dealers for a living

26 August 2016

The Philippines is in the midst of a brutal war on drugs sanctioned by the controversial President Rodrigo Duterte, which has seen almost 2,000 killings in a matter of weeks. The BBC's Jonathan Head explores the country's dark underbelly of dealers and assassins through the story of one woman trapped in a chilling predicament.

When you meet an assassin who has killed six people, you don't expect to encounter a diminutive, nervous young woman carrying a baby.

"My first job was two years ago in this province nearby. I felt really scared and nervous because it was my first time."



Maria, not her real name, now carries out contract killings as part of the government-sanctioned war on drugs.

She is part of a hit team that includes three women, who are valued because they can get close to their victims without arousing the same suspicion a man would.

Since **President Duterte was elected**, and urged citizens and police to kill drug dealers who resisted arrest, Maria has killed five more people, shooting them all in the head.

I asked her who gave the orders for these assassinations: "Our boss, the police officer," she said.

On the very afternoon we met, she and her husband had been told their safe house had been exposed. They were moving in a hurry.

This controversial drug war has brought her more work, but more risk too. She described how it began when her husband was commissioned to kill a debtor by a policeman - one who was also a drug pusher.



"My husband was ordered to kill people who had not paid what they owed."

This turned into a regular commission for her husband until a more challenging situation cropped up.

"One time, they needed a woman... my husband tapped me to do the job. When I saw the man I was supposed to kill, I got near him and I shot him. "



Maria and her husband come from an impoverished neighborhood of Manila and had no regular income before agreeing to become contract killers. They earn up to 20,000 Philippines pesos (\$430; £327) per hit, which is shared between three or four of them. That is a fortune for low-income Filipinos, but now it looks as if Maria has no way out.

Contract killing is nothing new in the Philippines. But the hit squads have never been as busy as they are now. President Duterte has sent out an unambiguous message.

Ahead of his election, he promised to kill 100,000 criminals in his first six months in office.

And he has warned drug dealers in particular: "Do not destroy my country, because I will kill you."

Last weekend he reiterated that blunt view, as he defended the extrajudicial killings of suspected criminals.

"Do the lives of 10 of these criminals really matter? If I am the one facing all this grief, would 100 lives of these idiots mean anything to me?"

The BBC witnesses a drugs raid in one of Manila's biggest prisons

What has provoked the **rough-tongued president** to unleash this merciless campaign is the proliferation of the drug crystal meth or "shabu" as it is known in the Philippines. Cheap, easily made, and intensely addictive, it offers an instant high, an escape from the filth and drudgery of life in the slums, a hit to get laborers in grueling jobs like truck-driving through their day.

1.1 What is Shabu?



- Often called "ice" or "crystal meth" in the West, Shabu is the term used for a pure and potent form of amphetamine in the Philippines and other parts of Asia.
- Shabu costs about 1,000 Philippines peso per gram (\$22; £16)

- It can be smoked, injected, snorted or dissolved in water
- The Philippines is home to industrial-scale labs producing tonnes of the drug - which is then distributed throughout Asia.

Mr. Duterte describes it as a pandemic, afflicting millions of his fellow citizens. It is also very profitable. He has listed 150 senior **officials, officers and judges** linked to the trade. Five police generals, he says, are kingpins of the business. But it is those at the lowest levels of the trade who are targeted by the death squads.

According to the police more than **1,900 people** have been killed in drug-related incidents since he took office on 30 June. Of those, they say, 756 were killed by the police, all, they say, while resisting arrest. The remaining deaths are, officially, under investigation.

In practice most will remain unexplained. Nearly all those whose bloodied bodies are discovered every night in the slums of Manila and other cities are the poor - Pedi cab drivers, casual laborers, the unemployed. Often, found next to them are cardboard signs warning others not to get involved in drugs. This is a war being fought almost exclusively in the poorest parts of the country. People like Maria are used as its agents.

But it is a popular war. In Tondo, the shantytown area next to Manila port, most of the residents applaud the president's tough campaign. They blamed the "shabu" scourge for rising crime, and for destroying lives, although some worried that the campaign was getting out of hand, and that innocent victims were being caught up in it.

One of those being hunted by the death squads is Roger - again not his real name.

He became addicted to shabu as a young man, he says, while working as a casual labourer. Like many addicts he began dealing to support his habit, as it was a more comfortable job than labouring. He worked a lot with corrupt police officers, sometimes taking portions of the drug hauls they confiscated in raids to sell.



Now he is on the run, moving from place to place every few days to avoid being tracked down and killed.

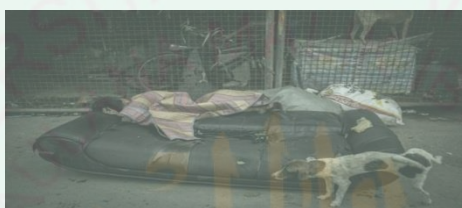
"Every day, every hour, I cannot get the fear out of my chest. It's really tiring and scary to hide all the time. You don't know if the person right in front of you will inform on you, or if the one facing you might be a killer. It's hard to sleep at night. One small noise, I wake up. And the hardest part of all is I don't know who to trust, I don't know which direction to go every day, looking for a place to hide."



He does feel guilt about his role in the trade of this destructive drug.

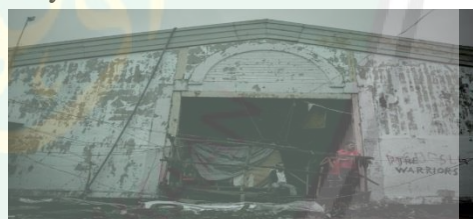
"I do truly believe that I have committed sins. Big time. I have done many awful things. I've wronged a lot people because they've become addicted, because I'm one of the many who sells them drugs. But what I can say is that not everyone who uses drugs is capable of committing those crimes, of stealing, and eventually killing. I'm also an addict but I don't kill. I'm an addict but I don't steal."

He has sent his children to live with his wife's family in the countryside, to try to stop them being exposed to the drug epidemic. He estimates that between 30% and 35% of people in his neighborhood are addicts.



So when President Duterte stated several times during his presidential campaign that he would kill drug dealers, throw their bodies into Manila Bay, did Roger not take that threat seriously?

"Yes, but I thought he would go after the big syndicates who manufacture the drugs, not the small time dealers like me. I wish I could turn the clock back. But it is too late for me. I cannot surrender, because if I do the police will probably kill me."



Maria also regrets the choice she has made.

"I feel guilty and it is hard on my nerves. I don't want the families of those I have killed to come after me."

She worries about what her children will think. "I do not want them to come back at us and say that they got to live because we killed for money." Already her older boy asks questions about how she and her husband earn so much.

She has one more hit, one more contract to fulfill, and would like that to be her last. But her boss has threatened to kill anyone who leaves the team. She feels trapped. She asks her priest for forgiveness at confession in church, but does not dare to tell him what she does.

Does she feel any justification carrying out President Duterte's campaign to terrorize the drug trade into submission?

"We only talk about the mission, how to carry it out," she says. "When it is finished we never talk about it again."

But she wrings her hands as she speaks and keeps her eyes shut tight, pursued by thoughts she does not want to share.



Indonesia drug chief calls for Philippine-style crackdown

- 7 September 2016



Indonesia's anti-narcotics chief has called for the country to imitate the brutal war on drugs launched by Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte.

Budi Waseso praised Mr. Duterte and said drug dealers' lives were "meaningless".

Hundreds of alleged dealers have been killed in the Philippines since Mr. Duterte allowed to police to shoot them on sight.

Mr. Duterte, nicknamed "The Punisher", has been condemned by the United Nations for his approach against crime.

President Joko Widodo is hosting Mr. Duterte in Jakarta later this week, where discussions on how to tackle the drugs trade will be high on the agenda.

Indonesia already has some of the toughest drug laws in the world and ended a four-year moratorium on executions in 2013.

Speaking at a press conference held by Indonesia's anti-narcotics agency (BNN), Mr. Waseso said the country would bolster its arsenal of weapons, officers, and technology devoted to combating the drugs trade.

"The life of a dealer is meaningless because [he] carries out mass murder," he said.

When asked if Indonesia would be as aggressive as the Philippines, Mr. Waseso said: "Yes I believe so."

A spokesman for the BNN later struck a different tone, saying Indonesia would not be as aggressive.

"Our punishments have to be in accordance with our law and with national and international standards," said Slamet Pribadi.

The BBC looks at the prison which has been called 'the Alcatraz of Indonesia', where condemned prisoners are executed by firing squad

About 2,400 people have been killed since Mr. Duterte declared his war on drugs, Reuters news agency reports - 900 in official police operations and the rest in "deaths under investigation", a term human rights activists say is a euphemism for vigilante and extrajudicial killings.

When US President Barack Obama said earlier this week he would raise the issue with Mr. Duterte, his Philippine counterpart responded by threatening to call him a "son of a whore".

Mr. Obama subsequently cancelled a scheduled meeting between the two, and Mr. Duterte expressed regret for his comment.

Indonesia executed four people, including foreign nationals, in July on charges of drug smuggling, despite condemnation from the UN.

In April last year President Joko Widodo drew the ire of the Australian government with a previous execution of 14, including two Australians.

Mr. Waseso drew criticism and mockery in November when he proposed building a prison guarded by crocodiles.

"You can't bribe crocodiles. You can't convince them to let inmates escape," he said at the time.



Philippines' Duterte tells Obama to 'go to hell'

- 4 October 2016



US President Barack Obama can "go to hell" over his criticism of the Philippines' brutal war against drugs, President Rodrigo Duterte says.

The European Union - another critic - "better choose purgatory, hell is filled up", Mr. Duterte said.

The remarks came as the US and the Philippines began joint military exercises. The US said there was a "strong alliance" with the Philippines.

Mr. Duterte's drugs war has caused thousands of extrajudicial killings.

In a speech to local officials and business executives Mr. Duterte said he was disappointed with the US for criticizing the Philippines' tactics to combat the drug trade. He also described Washington as an unreliable ally.

"Instead of helping us, the first to criticize is this state department, so you can go to hell, Mr. Obama, you can go to hell."

Later on Tuesday he warned: "Eventually I might, in my time, I will break up with America. I would rather go to Russia and to China."

Mr. Duterte also revealed that the US had refused to sell weapons to Manila, but added that he would be able to buy them elsewhere.

"If you don't want to sell arms, I'll go to Russia. I sent the generals to Russia and Russia said, 'Do not worry, we have everything you need, we'll give it to you'.

"And as for China, they said, 'Just come over and sign and everything will be delivered'," President Duterte said.

In response to his comments, White House spokesman Josh Earnest said: "This is an alliance that is robust and that benefits both of our countries. The diplomatic lines of communication between the United States and the Philippines remain open.

"Even as we protect this strong alliance, the administration and the United States of America will not hesitate to raise our concerns about extra-judicial killings.

"We have not yet received any sort of formal communication using those channels from the Filipino government about making substantial changes to our bilateral relationship."

The Philippines, once a colony of the US, has a longstanding defense relationship with Washington.

But Mr. Duterte said last week these would be the last joint military exercises while he is in office, although later his defense secretary said there was no official order yet to that effect.

He also said he would review a defense pact signed two years ago with the US that would see more US troops sent to the Philippines.

The pact is seen as vital for the US to counter China's activities in the South China Sea.



The eight-day military drills involve 1,100 American troops and 400 Filipino military personnel, and are taking place on northern Luzon Island.

They are aimed at improving readiness to respond to crises and deepening historic ties, the US military said.

Relations were strained last month when the US cancelled a bilateral meeting after Mr. Duterte **used insulting language** to refer to the US president.

Philippines' Duterte admits personally killing suspects

14 December 2016

Philippines' President Rodrigo Duterte has admitted he personally killed criminal suspects as mayor of Davao.

It is the first such admission he has made since becoming president in June, but echoes comments he made in 2015.

He ran the southern city for two decades, earning a reputation for cutting crime, and criticism for allegedly supporting death squads.

Mr. Duterte was speaking to business leaders at the presidential palace on Monday, before an overseas trip.

It is the latest in a series of controversial and sometimes contradictory comments by Mr. Duterte.

'Blood on his hands'

"In Davao I used to do it personally. Just to show to the guys [police] that if I can do it why can't you," he said.

"And I'd go around in Davao with a motorcycle, with a big bike around, and I would just patrol the streets, looking for trouble also. I was really looking for a confrontation so I could kill."

In 2015, he admitted killing at least three men suspected of kidnapping and rape in Davao.

The comments have been condemned by human rights group Amnesty International, which has called on him to put an immediate end to the killings.

"The climate of impunity in the Philippines has intensified even further since President Duterte began his brutal crackdown on suspected drug users and dealers in July, with a wave of unlawful killings claiming more than 5,000 lives across the country," said Rafendi Djamin, the group's director for South East Asia and the Pacific.

"By boasting about the blood on his own hands, President Duterte will further embolden police and vigilantes to blatantly violate laws and carry out more extrajudicial executions without fear of being held to account."



But just hours before Mr. Duterte's latest remarks, he insisted "I am not a killer", in a speech for The Outstanding Filipino Awards 2016. He has also previously both acknowledged and denied being involved with death squads.

In September a Senate inquiry heard testimony from a self-confessed former death squad member that Mr. Duterte had, while serving as Davao mayor, shot dead a justice department agent with an Uzi submachine gun.

Nearly 6,000 people are said to have been killed by police, **vigilantes and mercenaries** since Mr. Duterte launched his drug war after being elected in May. He has expressed few regrets about the policy, **once saying**: "Hitler massacred three million Jews... There are three million drug addicts. I'd be happy to slaughter them."

Mr. Duterte has repeatedly said he does not care about human rights and has suggested that lawyers defending drug suspects might also be targeted in his campaign, says the BBC's Jonathan Head.

Some human rights lawyers believe the outspoken president's open support for a shoot-to-kill policy by the police could make him vulnerable to prosecution for crimes against humanity at the international court.



Philippines to suspend drug war to clean up 'corrupt' police

30 January 2017



Philippine police are suspending their controversial war on drugs until after the "corrupt" police force has been "cleansed".

Police Chief Ronald dela Rosa said on Monday that anti-drug units would be dissolved.

It comes after the murder of a South Korean businessman inside police headquarters. He had been kidnapped and killed by anti-drug police.

More than 7,000 people have been killed since the crackdown on drugs began.

The death toll and President Rodrigo Duterte's hardline stance against drugs have attracted intense criticism from human rights groups and Western countries, although the president continues to enjoy a high level of support among Filipinos.

Speaking on Monday, Mr. Dela Rosa said Mr. Duterte "told us to clean the organization first".

"We will cleanse our ranks... then maybe after that, we can resume our war on drugs."

Raffy Lerma is a photo-journalist documenting the nightly killings

Mr. Duterte has made tackling drug use in the Philippines a central part of his presidency.

He had initially promised to eradicate the problem by December, then extended the deadline to March this year.

But he told reporters at a press conference late on Sunday: "I will extend it to the last day of my term... March no longer applies." Mr. Duterte's term ends in 2022.

He said he had underestimated the depth of the drug problem.

Jonathan Head, South East Asia correspondent, BBC News: Police too tainted

For eight months President Duterte has been unrepentant as the death toll from his drug war has risen. He has repeatedly promised to support, even pardon, any police officers accused of unlawful killing, and been unmoved even by the clear evidence of police involvement in the drug trade, and the murder of important drug suspects in police custody.

But the shocking murder of **South Korean businessman Jee Ick-joo** last October has forced Mr. Duterte to acknowledge that the Philippines National Police are too tainted to continue running the anti-drugs campaign.

Mr. Duterte now accuses the police force of being "corrupt to the core". He has ordered all tainted officers to be sent to front-line duty in the conflict-wracked southern Philippines.

Even if this happens, though, it will not necessarily bring the drug killings to an end. More than 4,000 of the deaths are blamed on unidentified hit squads, although many of those are believed to be run by the police. And the president's promise to extend the anti-drug campaign to the end of his term of office suggests he may try to revive it once the fuss about the murdered South Korean dies down.

Senator Leila De Lima, Mr. Duterte's most vocal critic, said the president and the police chief "should categorically give the order to end the killings".

She said the dismantling of the police anti-narcotics operation meant "they are aware that the very men involved in anti-drug operations... are involved in illegal activities under the guise of the so-called war on drugs," she told ANC television.

'Corrupt to the core'

Mr. Duterte also railed against the police force on Sunday and vowed to "cleanse" it, in response to the killing of Jee Ick-joo.

Mr. Duterte railed against the "corrupt" police force during his press conference late on Sunday night

Jee Ick-joo was seized from his home in Angeles city, near Manila, under the pretense of a drug raid, the Department of Justice said. After strangling him, his killers pretended he was still alive in order to collect a ransom from his family.

"You policemen are the most corrupt. You are corrupt to the core. It's in your system," Mr. Duterte said, adding that he thought up to 40% of policemen were used to corruption.

Mr. Duterte had sanctioned extra-judicial killings previously, saying he would pardon policemen who kill criminals and civilians in the line of duty.

"When I said I'll protect the police, I'll protect the police. But I won't protect lying," he said.

Amnesty: Philippine police 'planned' drug war killings

1 February 2017



Amnesty International has accused the Philippine police of "systematically planning" extrajudicial killings in the controversial war against drugs.

The rights group also said **in a report** that the killings may constitute "crimes against humanity".

More than 7,000 have been killed since President Rodrigo Duterte launched his "war" on the drug trade in July.

He has always defended the crackdown, saying police were only authorized to open fire when threatened by suspects.

But on Monday, the president suspended it and ordered a "clean-up" of the police force following the murder of **a South Korean businessman** by a group of rogue anti-drug police officers.

There has been no government reaction to the Amnesty report, but the Philippine police have also consistently said those killed were resisting arrest.

Amnesty disputed this based on witness testimony and independent investigations, saying it was "deeply concerned that the deliberate and widespread killings of alleged drug offenders....appear to be systematic, planned and organized by the authorities".

"Police officers routinely bust down doors in the middle of the night and then kill in cold blood unarmed people suspected of using or selling drugs.

"In several cases documented by Amnesty International, witnesses described alleged drug offenders yelling they would surrender, at times while on their knees or in another compliant position. They were still gunned down."

Amnesty also said officers planted evidence and falsified reports to "cover their tracks".

The rights group said there appeared to be financial incentives for the killings, with one officer claiming they were given an "under the table" payment for each death, as well as payments from some funeral homes.

Raffy Lerma is a photo-journalist documenting the nightly killings

The rights group said the vast majority of those killed were poor and on "drug watch lists" prepared by government officials and shared with police.

It said the lists were "deeply problematic" and that names could be put on it "based on hearsay and community rumor or rivalry, with little to no verification".

The group spoke to 110 people for the report including witnesses of killings, victims' relatives, drug users, police officers, and members of government, civil society and religious groups.



Mr. Duterte has come under heavy criticism from rights groups and Western countries for his hardline stance on drugs.

But the shocking and high-profile kidnap and murder of the South Korean businessman prompted Mr. Duterte to admit that the police is "corrupt to the core" and he suspended the drug war with all anti-drug units dissolved and ordered a re-organization of their ranks.

He has in the past sanctioned extra-judicial killings by the police, saying he would pardon them for such acts, and once said he would be "happy to slaughter" three million drug addicts.

No.	Data Utterances	Microstructures Elements
1.	<i>"I want say I grew up in environmental politics. And as politicians, we tend to go by the issues already the big ones that affect the conditions economic and all especially the political issues."</i>	Transitive
2.	<i>"Because the sheer number of people contaminated will put in my country now."</i>	Transitive
3.	<i>"When you threat a criminalist with death in my country at least there is no law which says I cannot threat that criminalist."</i>	Disclaimer
4.	<i>"I said if we do not interdict this problem, then the next generation will be having a serious problem"</i>	Transitive
5.	<i>"If you destroy origin children, I will kill you, that is very correct statement"</i>	Transitive
6.	<i>"It could not be neglected, just because we have to save their life"</i>	Pronoun
7.	<i>"there are killed by the thousands, that is not my problem"</i>	Passivation
8.	<i>"My problem is how to take care of the law-abiding, God-fearing, young persons of this republic because they are resources"</i>	Transitive
9.	<i>"I have four million drug addicts ..."</i>	Objectivity
10.	<i>"This is rehab feasibility built by somebody. This is what they degraded"</i>	Pronoun
11.	<i>"There is nothing at all left in the budget for this year which"</i>	Passivation

	<i>was prepared by my predecessor, which was also prepared the other year to be implemented this year”</i>	
12.	<i>“Because we can live or lives normally and of course business can thrive”</i>	Pronoun
13.	<i>“when I said I don’t care about what the human rights guys say, I have a duty to preserve the generation. If it involves human rights I don’t give a shit. I have to strike fear because I have, I said the enemies of the states are out there to destroy the children”</i>	Transitive
14.	<i>“There can be no ramification when I said that I will kill you if you destroy my land. It is just a legitimate statement”</i>	Disclaimer
15.	<i>“I have four millions addicts to take care of and I have been criticized”</i>	Transitive & Intransitive
16.	<i>“But they allow so many administrations said to flourish and it was not until I became a president”</i>	Pronoun
17.	<i>“It has to be something like being officially certified by the Food and Drugs of the Philippines”</i>	Passivation
18.	<i>“I, I, I am not the authority for that. It is food and drug administration which is that its work.”</i>	Disclaimer

October 15, 2016

TALK TO ALJAZEERA: DEATH, DRUGS, AND DIPLOMACY

We’re in the presidential Duke Palace in Manila, where it’s just over 100 days into the presidency of Rodrigo Duterte. In an exclusive first interview since he was sworn in, we talk to him about his controversial war on drugs and foreign policy including deteriorating relations with the United States and potentially warming relations with China. The president of the Republic of the Philippines Rodrigo Roa Duterte talks to Aljazeera.

Jamela Alindogan: Mr. President, Thank you for talking to Aljazeera. It's been a tumultuous started the presidency for you full of controversy particularly about the war on drugs; yet first let's start with your background. You were raised in a politically inclined family. Your father was a governor, and your mother was a freedom fighter during the reign of former president Ferdinand Marcos. How was that affected your outlook?

Rodrigo: but profoundly, I want say I grew up in environmental politics. And as politicians, we tend to go by the issues already the big ones that affect the conditions economic and all especially the political issues. And my father was governor for ten years but when he died I was then a prosecutor. And the revolution came, my mother was one of the Star Wars of the opposition against multiple you

Wayney Hay: you'll have said that your difficult times, when you're younger as a child you have revealed that you are sexually abused by priest it. Has that shaped your belief? Has that shaped, helped to shape who you are now?

Rodrigo: yes, the large extend actually is what you get along the way that shapes your character, especially. And even your hmm your, your, your, at the time even your politics and hmm how you look at world and how you assess them by the standard of your views in school. And in growing up, the face that you pick up along the way he said sorts of a blend into a collation, it blends into something which is hmm we can be said forming your own values in life.

Wayney Hay: let's talk about the war on drugs now. Three and a half thousand people have been killed as far as it seems like whole world is talking about it. At the moment, the Philippines seem to have so many problems, so why launch what is a brutal war on drugs?

Rodrigo: because the sheer number of people contaminated will put in my country now. It would destroy the next generation of Filipino. You know, this lives lost, some of them were lost during legitimate encounters with the police.

Wayney Hay: but the fact is at the moment, we have three and a half thousand people killed, and you yourself eluded to just then that perhaps some of them weren't legitimate targets.

Rodrigo: you know, there is no crime at all. When you threat a criminalist with death in my country at least there is no law which says I cannot threat that criminalist. And that was the favored hmm one the cliché that the used, it become a cliché over time. And when I was a president I said we have three million according to padilla, three millions drug addicts, not counting mine because it is still going on. So, I said if we do not interdict this problem, then the next generation will be having a serious problem. And I found that again same you destroy my country I'll kill you, and it's a legitimate thing. If you destroy origin children, I will kill you, that is very correct statement. There is nothing wrong in trying to preserve the interest of the next generation. That three mill ions addicts, it is not, they are not a resident of one compact area or contiguous place, they spread all over the country and by the sheer number. Because if you are a user, you must push, unless you are the son of hmm a billionaire. Because you have to sustain your addiction by getting another fine answer for

you. And the next fine answer, you have to get in your victim to financial. That's all it became. That is our drugs spread but it was not until I became a president. That the widespread, the magnitude of the problem became really a serious issue.

Wayney Hay: so, what about the children and the innocent people who have been killed?

Rodrigo: well, that is bad.

Wayney Hay: so, will those cases being investigated? Do you give, do you promise that?

Rodrigo: yes, of course, of course but let me tell you. This is the law of my land. Here it is police (right index finger), here it is gangster (left index finger). He is embodying' that I'm sixteen (right index finger), the gangster has only a pistol but when they meet, they exchanged fire. When the police (right index finger) I'm sixteen, it is one push (breet) (making sound of gunshot) and hits one thousand people there until died. There is no criminal rehabilitee. It could not be neglected, just because we have to save their life. It could not be restlessness because we have to defend yourself. Just like when the United States and the rest of the country, when you bomb the village, you intent to kill the militants but you kill in the process, the children there. It is only how it is explained. And we are, em you know, people judge based on they condemn. So, do we always place you in the bad line, but the situation there doesn't conform that. And that explain the reason why until now, I have yet to hear and apologize for those of in Vietnam in Afghanistan never minds about the militants, kill them, we don't, but then in the pressure to families, hospital or its collateral damage. Then why is it? It is a collateral damage in the west and to us it is murder.

Jamela Alindogan: You went to law school, you worked hard to be part of the legal system, you are a lawyer by profession, and you were persecutor for many years. Do you still believe in the country's judicial system?

Rodrigo: let know, I should believe in the system because I will guarantee this time that the law is big there are judges here in manila more than one thousand cases, no conviction at all of a drug case. That is where band is close a a maybe savagery threatening people on both sides. That is how it is plated. That's why this miserable about a thing about the drug problem.

Wayney Hay: but do you agree, do you acknowledge that you have encouraged vigilante killings?

Rodrigo: no, I said I will kill you, if I encourage, fine.

Wayney Hay: yes but the point is that people can't get away with murder right now. And you know that somebody killings are not legitimated.

Rodrigo: well

Wayney Hay: so, do you think that there might be cases of people settling our scores out there and disguising them as the war of drugs?

Rodrigo: I don't play with conjecture, I don't make assumption, I just say what I should be saying as a president and as a mayor. Now if if if the criminals, they are killed by the thousands, that is not my problem. My problem is how to take care of the law-abiding, God-fearing, young persons of this republic because they are resources. The strictly speaking, you do cannot find any redeeming factor in being, a, you know, the criminals there. They are there for what? They are there for just like the cartel in Mexico. If we have read the *iona grillo* there is how they cookie crumbles exactly I will kill you because I am the mayor, I am the president. Now if vigilant want take over but you know I can't control it, I can't be god and control everything. Ok you just kill these guys or you wait for the courts do that.

Wayney Hay: well you can encourage good policing and you can encourage justice

Rodrigo: yes

Wayney Hay: and trust in the judicial system?

Rodrigo: correct. But when I was complaining as a president, the drug problem was already reaching by the millions. Three million is three million. Now during my time, we have started to pound we are nearing at the eight hundred mark, eight hundred thousand by the year end, and I would have about also a million. So, I have four million drug addicts, do you think that's an easy number?

Wayney Hay: no, so why not put all the energy into rehabilitation?

Rodrigo: what do you find that?

Wayney Hay: reforming health care?

Rodrigo: ok, um I can't, let me cut this for a while?

Rodrigo asking for a newspaper

Jamela Alindogan: (he wants to show you the newspaper)

Wayne Hay: (oh sure, sure no problem)

Jamela Alindogan: so you were saying about this facility sir what is this about?

Rodrigo: this is rehab feasibility built by somebody. This is what they degraded. You know Duterte he should built a, ha, re rehab houses instead of killing the criminals, the drug lords, you know they should cost millions. I entered the presidency of the Republic of the Philippines midterm. There is nothing at all left in the budget for this year which was prepared by my predecessor, which was also prepared the other year to be implemented this year. The implementation does not contain any money because nobody until I became president of this country, nobody realized how wide spread, how dimensional it was.

Jamela Alindogan: sir, in the past during the campaign and weeks into your presidency, you have repeatedly said that you have no regard for human rights, mm but human rights is

actually a part of the constitution and as a head of state, it is also part, your duty to uphold the constitution, how does that connect?

Rodrigo: I would rather intimidate and strike fear in the hearts of criminals just like what happened in Davao when finally you can walk the streets mm walk about in the streets at night and you can eat anywhere or anytime and mm nobody, nobody would bother you. It's happening in Davao. Davao city is in the midst of Mindanao, metro badlan, but I can't assure you the people have been there. It's a destination for conventions and conferences international. It's always selected so it's booming. It is a little bit rich than the others, why? Because we can live or lives normally and of course business can thrive. So, that, that, that when I said I don't care about what the human rights guys say, I have a duty to preserve the generation. If it involves human rights I don't give a shit. I have to strike fear because I have, I said the enemies of the states are out there to destroy the children.

Jamela Alindogan: are you not worried about possible ramifications in the future for you, a possible impeachment or being tried in the international court?

Rodrigo: good question. Before you can begin, you must determine that I have committed the crime in my country, that I have committed mass murders in my country and then charged with them. There can be no ramification when I said that I will kill you if you destroy my land. It is just a legitimate statement; it is just a legitimate statement of any general, of any work time president, of any tribal leader to say those things, of course you said there can be consequences but I am not worried about this, I don't make any projections, how many vigilante killings while you have compared the four million to the three thousand or might know that legitimate in counters between the law enforcers and the criminals, give or take even a half of it so what is it to the lives already lost. I have four millions addicts to take care of and I have been criticized, I would say why don't just you know Duterte built the rehab centers and just placed them there. Why do we have to kill them? Look. I am in midterm president. In this sense that I entered this year the presidency, only this year, the budget for this year was prepared by my predecessor. So I Aquino and it binds me because it would last until mm December. Nowhere in this budget provides enough money to build even two buildings of rehab structures. It's all what is left of my government now after the election is just enough for the M.O.O.E maintenance at all.

Jamela Alindogan: so you're seeing

Rodrigo: no capital outlays.

Jamela Alindogan: the budget of President Aquino of this year the last six months doesn't include any rehabilitation.

Rodrigo: because the problem was there but there was nobody minding this story. I was the only mayor, brave enough to say those things. So my city, mm well, got the benefits of the peaceful place where you can live, where you can eat, work safely. But the others, we didn't know. But they allow so many administrations said to flourish and it was not until I became a president. Not between you realize that there were already, according to at the time, of

general Santiago of the padilla Philippines Drug Enforcement Agency that there are already three million addicts. So never mind my counting because I am still counting up to the end of the year.

Jamela Alindogan: are you in favor of medicine of marijuana?

Rodrigo: yes, but that, that, that doesn't really long process. It has to be something like being officially certified by the Food and Drugs of the Philippines. And, the, it must have this qualifying a, you know, a, activity where it's being used to find out if it's really a medicinal or a something good for body.

Jamela Alindogan: but you'd considerate, you considerate in the legalization of it for example

Rodrigo: I, I, I am not the authority for that. It is food and drug administration which is that its work

Jamela Alindogan: ok

Rodrigo: if it is certified by the government. Fine. No problem.

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