

“Critical Discourse Analysis on Derogation and Euphemization in Jakarta Post”

Thesis

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By:

HAYYIK ALI M. M. (08320119)

Advisor:

Prof. Dr. H. Mudjia Rahardjo, M.Si

NIP 19590101 199003 1 005



ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LETTERS DEPARTMENT

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

**MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
MALANG**

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APPROVAL SHEET

This is to certify that Hayyik Ali Muntaha Mansur's thesis entitled "**Critical Discourse Analysis on Derogation and Euphemization in Jakarta Post**" has been approved by the thesis advisor for further approval by the Board of Examiner.

Malang, February 26, 2014

Approved by
The Advisor,

Acknowledged by
The Head of English Language and
Letters Department,

Prof. Dr. H. Mudjia Rahardjo, M.Si
NIP 19590101 199003 1 005

Dr. Hj. Like Rascova Oktaberlina, M. Ed
NIP 19741025 200801 2 015

The Dean of Faculty of Humanities
Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University,
Malang,

Dr. Hj. Isti'adah, M.A.
NIP 19670313 199203 2 002

LEGITIMATION SHEET

This is to certify that Hayyik Ali Muntaha Mansur's thesis entitled ***Critical Discourse Analysis on Derogation and Euphemization in Jakarta Post***, has been approved by the Board of Examiners as the requirement for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S) in English Language and Letters Department, Faculty of Humanities and Culture, Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University Malang.

The Board of Examiners

Signatures

Hj. Galuh Nur Rohmah, M. Pd., M.Ed (Chair Person)
NIP 19740211 199203 2 002

Dr. H. Langgeng Budianto, M. Pd. (Main Examiner)
NIP 19711014200312 1 001

Prof. Dr. H. Mudjia Rahardjo, M.Si (Advisor)
NIP 19590101 199003 1 005

Malang, February 26, 2014

Approved by,
The Dean of Faculty of Humanities

Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University, Malang,

Dr. Hj. Isti'adah, M.A.
NIP 19670313 199203 2 002

STATEMENT OF THE AUTHENTICITY

The undersigned,

Name : Hayyik Ali Muntaha Mansur

Reg Number : 08320119

Faculty : Humanities and Culture

Department : English Letters and Language

Declares that this thesis I wrote to fulfill the requirement for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra (S1)* in English Language and Letter Department, Faculty of Humanities, Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University of Malang entitled “**Critical Discourse Analysis on Derogation and Euphemization in Jakarta Post**” is truly my original work. It does not incorporate any materials previously written or published by another person except those indicated in quotations and references. Due to this fact, I am the only person responsible for the thesis if there is any objection or claims from others.

Malang, February 26, 2014

The writer,

Hayyik Ali Muntaha Mansur

Motto :

***“Kalian Pemuda, Kalau Kalian Tidak Punya
Keberanian Sama Saja Dengan Ternak, Karena Fungsi
Hidupnya Hanya Berternak Diri”
(Pramoedya Ananta Toer)***

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to:

*My beloved Father (Nur Khozin) and Mother (Shofatun Nurul Choiriyah),
For their endless great love, care, trust and pray.
Without you, I'm nothing. May Allah bless you. Amiin*

*My beloved brother (Nur Musyaffa' Ali Muntaha Mansur)
Thanks for the pray, support, care and spirit*

*All my teachers and lecturers,
For their valuable knowledge and experiences
Thank for all you have done*

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A million of thanks for You, my Lord. God's mercies and blessings may always be poured down upon our beloved prophet Muhammad SAW, the greatest figure in the world, who shares inspiration, spirit, and power to be a good man here and here after.

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Malang, October 10, 2013

The writer,

Hayyik Ali Muntaha Mansur

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ABSTRACT

Ali Muntaha Mansur, Hayyik. 2013. *Critical Discourse Analysis on Derogation and Euphemization in Jakarta Post*. Thesis. Faculty of Humanities and Culture, English Letters and Language Department, the State Islamic University of Malang.

Advisor: Prof. Dr. H. Mudjia Rahardjo, M.Si

Keyword: Critical Discourse Analysis, Derogation, Euphemization, Jakarta Post

Critical Discourse Analysis is a study about the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. There are many models of CDA proposed by some experts, but I will choose van Dijk models to analyse the news. This theory provides an obvious elaboration on positive self-representation (Euphemization) and negative other representation (Derogation). It is a way to perceiving and representing world and specifically 'our' and 'their' action, role and position within a world. The discursive strategy of derogation and euphemization are such as: Topics, actor, topoi, evidentiality, contras, polarization, hyperbole, number-game, illustration and example, etc. Euphemization is an ideological function, which is used to present the other as inferior or mediocre. It is the strategy to describe the speaker in positive term. Goenawan Mohammad said that euphemization is a strategy to manipulate a meaning of word by creating one word to another word, he called meaning erosion. Moreover, Derogation is an ideological function, which is applied to portray oneself as superior than the others. The speaker to portray the other groups in negative image uses it.

This research is conducted to find out how the strategies of derogations and euphemizations used in Jakarta Post. Jakarta Post is one example of the news, which has language practices and uniqueness to analysis. The dictions, sentences, and whole paragraphs in news have a structure or model that quietly related with a certain ideology. The discourse of news is manifestation of power, access, or domination. The context of news not neutral, but it can be analysis to show up its relations. The descriptive qualitative method is the research design of this study. The data is collected from *Jakarta Post in the on-line version about the American Issues at the several months*. The data is analyzed through the process of categorizing, analyzing and drawing a tentative conclusion. The key instrument is the researcher himself; here, the researcher read the news about the American Issues and analysis it based on the theoretical framework.

As the result, the researcher finds that there are some discursive strategy of derogation and euphemization which, represented on the Jakarta Post. Such as: topoi, topics, actor, modality, local coherence, illustrations, hyperbole, ambiguity and vagueness, disclaimer etc. The usages of those strategies show the dominations of the certain group to the others as inferior groups. The certain group (America) is represented as the dominant and superior one.

Finally, the researcher hopes that this thesis could make contribution to the researcher himself especially, to the readers and to other researchers in the case of Critical Discourse Analysis study. It is hoped for further researchers who want to study on the same topic to analyze derogation and euphemization deeper or more specific. Such as study about disclaimer as one of the type of euphemism and derogation strategies.

ABSTRAK

Ali Muntaha Mansur, Hayyik. 2013. *Critical Discourse Analysis on Derogation and Euphemization in Jakarta Post*, skripsi, Fakultas Humaniora, Jurusan Bahasa dan Sastra Inggris, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang

Pembimbing: Prof. Dr. H. Mudjia Rahardjo, M.Si

Kata Kunci: Analisis Wacana Kritis, Derogasi, Eufemisasi, dan Jakarta Post

Analisis Waca Kritis adalah sebuah studi tentang bagaimana kekuasaan sosial, dominasi dan ketidaksetaraan dipraktikkan, direproduksi, dan dipertentangkan oleh sebuah teks dan perbincangan dalam suatu konteks sosial dan politik. Ada beberapa model Analisis Wacana Kritis (AWK) yang dimunculkan oleh beberapa ahli, namun dalam skripsi ini peneliti lebih memilih menggunakan konsep Teun van Dijk terkait Analisis Wacana Kritis dalam sebuah pemberitaan. Pendekatan yang digunakan oleh van Dijk ini lebih mengelaborasi tentang penggambaran diri yang positif (Eufemisasi) dan menggambarkan yang lain sebagai yang negatif (Derogasi). Keduanya merupakan cara untuk merepresentasikan dan membentuk opini publik tentang peran serta posisi “kita” dan “mereka” dalam suatu tatanan dunia. Dalam hal ini, ada beberapa diskursif strategi yang dapat digunakan terkait praktik “Derogasi” dan “Eufemisasi”; Topics, actor, topoi, evidentiality, kontras, polarization, hyperbole, number-game, illustration and example, etc.

Lebih jauh, Eufemisasi adalah fungsi ideologis yang digunakan untuk merepresentasikan liyan (orang lain) pada posisi inferior atau lebih rendah. Penulis ataupun pembicara diposisikan dalam konteks yang positif. Goenawan Mohammad mengatakan bahwa Eufemisasi merupakan strategi untuk memanipulasi makna dengan cara memainkan kata dan bahasa. Dia menyebut hal itu sebagai erosi makna. Sedangkan, Derogasi adalah sebuah fungsi ideologis yang menggambarkan seseorang sebagai yang superior. Sedang yang lain diposisikan dalam konteks yang negative.

Penelitian ini dilakukan untuk memunculkan bagaimana strategi derogasi dan eufemisasi digunakan dalam sebuah surat kabar, Jakarta Post. Peneliti memilih Jakarta Post sebagai subjek penelitian karena, surat kabar ini merupakan surat kabar berbahasa inggris terbesar di Indonesia. Selain itu, pemberitaan-pemberitaan dalam Jakarta Post sangat representatif untuk digunakan sebagai contoh akan adanya praktik bahasa dan keunikan bahasa yang menarik untuk dianalisis. Baik itu diksi, kalimat, ataupun keseluruhan paragrafnya yang secara diam-diam menampilkan struktur atau model tentang ideologi tertentu. Wacana dari pemberitaan inilah yang merupakan manifestasi dari kekuasaan, akses, ataupun dominasi. Konteks pemberitaan yang tidak netral ini lebih lanjut akan dapat dianalisis untuk mengungkap hubungan pemberitaan dengan ideology tertentu dibalikinya.

Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif yang menggunakan Jakarta Post sebagai sumber datanya. Khususnya terkait pemberitaan secara on-line yang memberitakan isu-isu berkenaan dengan Amerika dalam beberapa bulan. Data ini kemudian akan dianalisis melalui beberapa proses; kategorisasi, analisis, dan menuliskan kesimpulan sementara. Instrumen kunci dalam penelitian ini adalah peneliti sendiri, yang melakukan pemilahan berita dan dianalisis berdasarkan kerangka teorinya.

Sebagai hasilnya, peneliti menemukan bahwa ada beberapa diskursif strategi terkait derogasi dan eufemisasi yang terepresentasi dalam Jakarta Post. Misalnya; topoi, topics, actor, modality, local coherence, illustrations, hyperbole, ambiguity and vagueness, disclaimer, etc. Penggunaan beberapa strategi ini menunjukkan adanya dominasi yang dilakukan oleh kelompok atau grup tertentu kepada yang lain. Kelompok atau grup yang dalam konteks ini adalah Amerika, telah direpresentasikan sedemikian rupa sebagai yang dominan dan superior. Akhirnya, peneliti berharap bahwa skripsi ini dapat berkontribusi bagi peneliti sendiri, pembaca, dan peneliti lainnya dalam memperkaya khazanah Analisis Wacana Kritis. Bagaimanapun, tema studi ini sangat mungkin semakin berkembang. Misalnya tentang studi yang mengeksplorasi disclaimer yang merupakan bagian dari strategi derogasi dan eufemisasi.



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers the elaboration on background of the study, problem statements, objective of the study, significance of the study, scope and limitation, and operational definitions of the key terms.

1.1 Background of the Study

Language is a part of culture, without language, the culture of society would never develop and is materialized.¹ It makes languages a vital role in human's life. Developmentally, language used in written or spoken form does not stand-alone. There are ideological, power domination, and hidden information beside that. The usage of language is not for communication only, but also it used for other purposes. Constructivism or phenomenology said that language cannot be separated from its subject in meaning production, and subject is a central control for certain purposes in discourse practice.²

To understand more complexity language phenomena, some linguists try to dig up more deeply in analyzing linguistic phenomena or even find innumerable new approaches and perspectives to study language. One of linguistic studies is Discourse Analysis. Discourse Analysis is an interdisciplinary study of language in use. This is committed to an investigation of what that language is used for.³ Furthermore, Discourse Analysis tries to investigate a fundamental role in the daily expression and reproduction of ideologies.⁴ Cook defined

¹Mudjia Rahardjo, *Relung-relung bahasa*. (Yogyakarta: Aditiya Media, 2002), 42.

²Eriyanto, *Analisis Wacana Pengantar Analisis Teks Media*, (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2011), 5

³Brown and Yule, *Discourse Analysis*, (Australia: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 1

⁴Van Dijk, *ideology and Discourse : A Multi Dicipinary Introduction, An earlier version of this book was used as an internet course for the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya* (Open University in 2000),4

Discourse Analysis is a way to examine how stretches of language, considered in their full textual, social, and psychological context, become meaningful and unified for their users.⁵

To make Discourse Analysis more deeply and critical, there is a critical paradigm that is called Critical Discourse Analysis. This approach is not only doing the textual interrogation but also revealing the relationship of the interrogation product with the macro-contextual behind the text. The approach attracts me to employ this research.

CDA or critical discourse analysis is a type of discourse that study about the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context⁶. CDA tries to investigate discourse event and power manifested in text (spoken and written form). Meanwhile, this approach is essentially based on a critical-dialectical concept of theory that is not limited to formulating and examining general statements about the laws of social reality. Moreover, it is criticize the historical and social situation.⁷

More specifically, CDA tries to analyze Language that considered as crucial in the reproduction of ideologies. People as an individual and a group of people in society have their own ideology that spread through a language that they use. In Addition, Ideology is the fundamental beliefs of a group and its members.⁸It's mean that every person or group try to show their ideology to control and dominate others. There are two groups in society called as dominating and dominated group that will emerge an ideology representation of opposition in society.

More generally, this social polarization between *in-group* and *out-groups* polarization between THEM and US. Van Dijk stated the ideology representation of opposition in certain

⁵ Cook, *Discourse*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), x

⁶ Van Dijk, *Hand Book of Critical Discourse Analysis*, (released in <http://www.hum.uva.nl/~teun/cda.htm>, 1998), 1

⁷ Weiss and Wodak, *CDA: Theory and Interdisciplinarity*, (New York: Palgrave macmillan, 2003), 2

⁸Van Dijk, Teun, *Ideology and Discourse : A Multi Diciplinary Introduction, An earlier version of this book was used as an internet course for the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya* (Open University in 2000),7

society between THEM and US or known as positive self-representation and negative-other representation in society.⁹The representation of THEM and US is a CDA's important topics to study. Those can detect the ideology between dominating and dominated or superior and inferior group.

There are many models of CDA proposed by some experts, but I choose van Dijk models to analyse the news. This theory provides an obvious elaboration on positive self-representation (Euphemization) and negatives other representation (Derogation). It is a way to perceiving and representing world and specifically 'our' and 'their' action, role and position within a world.¹⁰

Euphemization is an ideological function, which is used to present the other as inferior or mediocre. It is the strategy to describe the speaker in positive term. Goenawan Mohammad said that euphemization, is a strategy to manipulate a meaning of word by creating one word to another word, he called meaning erosion.¹¹Moreover, Derogation is an ideological function, which is applied to portray oneself as superior than the others. The speaker portrays the other groups in negative image uses it. Researching both of those strategies of derogation and euphemization in the texts has played important roles in today's context. To help people recognize the form of positive in-group representation or negative out-group representation in each text either written or spoken since it is common that language has been an effective weapon employed by media, politicians, and people to instil and reflect their ideologies.

Derogation and euphemization became essential function of any ideology, which show status quo by legitimating power representation through media.¹² Today, every group or

⁹ Suci, Dewi Nur, "*Derogation and Euphemization on Pope Benedict XVI's Speech*," (Unpublished Thesis, State Islamic University of Malang, Malang, 2011), 1

¹⁰ Ricardson, John E, *Analysing Newspapers: an approach from critical discourse analysis*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 51

¹¹ Djojuroto, Kinayati, *Filsafat Bahasa*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Book Publisher, 2007), 410

¹² Eriyanto, *Analisis Wacana Pengantar Analisis Teks Media*, (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2011), 224

individual try to show force as a good and dominant ones. They want to persuade people to follow or only support them. In the era of media markets, derogation and euphemization is shown clearly in every media, such as in Jakarta Post. Through media, derogation and euphemization can be effective strategies to influence others. Ideologization as its purpose can be reach easily. So, It makes the research on this field might suggest that people do not see any texts as a taken for granted product of discourse, but there should be any critical inspection through relevant theories that may lead them to understand the possible latent power struggle and domination brought by any texts.

That is why; I want to discuss about derogation and euphemization that always persuade us to legitimate or intimate based on what media and dominant group have been said. We do not aware that dominant or superior group through derogation and euphemization strategies influences our perception. Those strategies can be seen in everyday life easily, particularly in news. By analysis derogation and euphemization in news, we can know how the dominant group or individual use the discursive strategies to convince the public and get their goal.

In my research, I choose news of Jakarta Post in on line form. There are many reasons, why I choose news of Jakarta Post as a subject of a research. Firstly, News is one of language practice that has uniqueness to analysis. The dictions, sentences, and whole paragraphs in news have a structure or model that quietly related with a certain ideology. The discourse of news is manifestation of power, access or domination. The context of news not neutral, but it can be analysis to show up its relations.

Secondly, News is one of written discourse examples that has linguistic content utterances and has function to share information and current events. News as an institutional method of making information to consumer by being located, gathered, and disseminated by professional

person in mass organization. News in the newspaper is presented more detail than news in other section, television, radio station broadcast, and online news broadcast. Because why, news in written form offered stories, data, chronologies are more complex, longer, and easier to catch up than the other media sources.

Thirdly, Jakarta Post is a kind of english newspaper sections that can be related to van Dijk conceptual tool called 'ideological square'.¹³ Moreover, Ideological square can be characterized by derogation and euphemization. So, every can be analysis as language uniqueness such as on van Dijk approaches. The Jakarta Post is English mass media, which have rich information about Indonesian event and international event. This newspaper use English language that cause the ones who have good capability in English meaning can read and understand the newspapers such as academic and foreigners. Significantly, The Jakarta Post has various news represents any background of ideology or power. Jakarta post is the manifestation of discursive strategy on news making or production.

I more concern on America issues. Practically, I try to see and choose America issues that be informed in news of Jakarta Post for about several months. Today, America always shows to other that they is a superior and super power country. They try to legitimate status quo in every condition and section. Media as the public sphere is chosen to influence the public cognition, particularly in Jakarta Post. Moreover, I find all of data in Jakarta Post in on-line version, because, through on line version we can get a reliable and factual data easily.

Related to the notion about my focuses, there are some other researchers. The first researcher is Zainur Rofiq, he analyses the strategies of 'positive self-representation' and 'negative other- representation' (the polarization of —US and —THEM) in Ahmadinejad's

¹³ Ricardson, John E, *Analysing Newspapers: an approach from critical discourse analysis*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 51

speeches at the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in 2008 and Durban Review Conference 2009 in Geneva, Switzerland.¹⁴ The second researcher is Dewi Nur Suci, She focused derogation strategies including predication strategy, argumentation strategy, and intensification strategy. Moreover, for euphemization, she analysed through referential and nominalization strategy.¹⁵

And the last is a thesis about "A Study of Euphemism Found in Political Articles in the National Section of The Jakarta Post written by Laily Azkiyah. This study is to find out the types and the functions of euphemism found in political articles in the national section of the Jakarta Post. She discussing and interpreting the data from each category based on theories Allan and Burridge, and Brown and Yule.¹⁶

In this research, I use Teun van Dijk's concept of CDA, but I concern more on discursive strategies of how the speaker uses the derogation and euphemization to portray the image and materialize certain ideologies in his speeches. Hence, this space of research does have its novelty and does not replicate any preceding researches.

In addition, this research is different from Rofik and Suci's research. I choose the same theory as Rofik, but in my research, I choose a different subject of study. Moreover, Suci's theory is Wodak's theory that is different from van Dijk's theory. Van Dijk theory is more concern on socio cognitive, but Wodak focused on socio cognitive and historical context. Therefore, my research is novelty and worth doing.

¹⁴ Rofik, Zainur, "Derogation and Euphemization in Ahmadinejad's speeches," (Unpublised Thesis, State Islamic University of Malang, Malang, 2010)

¹⁵ Suci, Dewi Nur, "Derogation and Euphemization on Pope Benedict XVI's Speech," (Unpublised Thesis, State Islamic University of Malang, Malang, 2011)

¹⁶ Azkiyah, Laily, "A STUDY OF EUPHEMISM FOUND IN POLITICAL ARTICLES IN THE NATIONAL SECTION OF THE JAKARTA POST", (Unpublised Thesis, State Islamic University of Malang, Malang, 2008)

In conclusion, for its significance and with this specification that has been mentioned above, I analyse “Critical Discourse Analysis on Derogation and Euphemization in Jakarta Post”.

1.2 Research Focus

Based on the research context above, the research focus can be formulated as follows:

1. How are the strategies of derogation used in Jakarta Post?
2. How are the strategies of euphemization used in Jakarta Post?
3. What are the messages behind the usage of both strategies in Jakarta Post?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

This research gives descriptive knowledge on strategies of derogation and euphemization.

Therefore, objectives of the study in this research as follows:

1. To find out how the strategies of derogation are used in Jakarta Post
2. To find out how the strategies of euphemization are used in Jakarta Post
3. To find out what the messages are hidden in Jakarta Post

1.4 Significances of the Study

Theoretically, the findings of this research are expected to give contribution to the development of science, especially in the field of Critical Discourse Analyses study that focused on van Dijk theory about Derogation and Euphemization. In addition, the researcher hopes that the next researchers are able to use the theory of CDA to understand the linguistics event around us. This research can give a new understanding about derogation and euphemization.

Practically, the result of this research is expected to give understanding about the tactics based on derogation and euphemization in a speech such as Obama’s inaugural speech. Furthermore, the findings of this research are expected to give a deep understanding about

Critical Discourse Analysis in which many people use it to reach the strategies that someone used. Therefore, by giving an understanding about ideology and make us more critics.

Finally, this research gives to the institutional significance especially to the students of English Letters and Language Department of Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University Malang; and generally to everybody who studies English, Critical Discourse Analysis, and Linguistics and so on. The researcher hopes that the results of this study broadens and deepens their understanding on Critical Discourse Analysis especially on van Dijk's models. Moreover, it is also expected that this study is useful for the next researcher who is interested in doing similar research and for those who have a great attention to the political language, especially on the hegemonic phenomena.

1.5 Scope and Limitation

This Research focused only on Jakarta Post, especially about America issues on the global relations and constellations. To get a reliable and actual data, I choose and select some reports for several months of this year. I use Jakarta Post in on line edition to make the data more credible. Moreover, I just analyze based on American, politician, and America's Colleague statement or argumentation that can be used to answer my research question.

In Jakarta Post, they be seen as a superior group and legitimate others as inferior group. Therefore, to get a more deeply analysis, I use van Dijk approaches about derogation and euphemization.

1.6 The Definition of Key Terms

1. *The Strategies of Derogation* is the discursive strategies of an ideological function, which is applied to portray oneself as superior than the others and constructed the out-group as a negative group because different with the speaker .

2. *The Strategies of Euphemization* is the discursive strategy of an ideological function, which is used to present the other as inferior or mediocre and used to construct the in-group as positive group.
3. *Derogation* is the negative other representations or strategy of derogate of out-group
4. *Euphemizations* is the positive self-representations or strategy of in-group favoritism
5. *The Messages is* The interpretive meaning as of whole analysis on both strategies in Jakarta Post.
6. *Jakarta Post* is An English newspaper that covering national and worldview issues can be understood easily.
7. *Discursive Strategy* is the way in which discourse is built and how it influences the recipient's interest.
8. *Critical Discourse Analysis* is CDA is an approach to language use that aims to explore and expose the roles that discourse plays in reproducing or resisting social inequality.

CHAPTER II

THE REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter discusses about some theories that are related to this study. The discussion involves Critical Discourse Analysis, Approaches in CDA, Derogation and Euphemization, and Media. The elaborated explanations are described as follows:

2.1 Discourse Analysis

Before describing the term of discourse analysis, I define the term of discourse itself. The term discourse is a word that has some meanings depending on different disciplines. In linguistics, discourse is the unit of language that larger than sentences. Discourse is a term used in linguistics to describe the rules and conventions underlying the use of language in extended stretches of text, spoken and written. It is a linguistic feedback between the speaker and hearer as personal activity depending on social purposes. Foucault¹ defined Discourse as a whole statement of individual or group in regulative practices.²

Moreover, “*Discourses*” with a capital “D,” that is the different way in which we integrate language with non-language “stuff,” such as different ways of thinking, acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, believing, and using symbols, tools, and objects in the right places and at the right times. So, as to enact and recognize different identities and activities, give the material world certain meanings, distribute social goods in a certain way, make certain sorts of meaningful connections in our experience, and privilege certain symbol systems and ways of knowing over others.³

¹ Michel Foucault is A French philosopher, historian, sociologist and activist who studied with Althusser and was influenced by Hegel, Nietzsche and Heidegger.

² Foucault : 1972, cited on Eriyanto, *Analisis Wacana Pengantar Analisis Teks Media*, (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2011), 2

³ Paul Gee, *Discourse Analysis : Theory and Method*, (New York: Routledge, 1999), p 13

The emergence of discourse in social practice, afterwards, has encouraged the emergence of interdisciplinary studies that is concerned with the analysis of the relationship between discourse and social practice. Moreover, Language is social practice and not a phenomenon external to society to be adventitiously correlated with it. That language seen as discourse rather than as accomplished text compels us to take account not only of the artefacts of language, the products that we hear and see, but also the conditions of production and interpretation of texts, in sum the process of communicating of which the text is only a part. This emphasis is of central importance of linguistics.⁴

Discourse analysis is simply understood as a study on language unity upon the sentences. Usually, the broadening of this term is always connected to wider context that persuade entirely meaning of subsequent expression. The emergence of interdisciplinary studies that concern with the analysis of the relationship between discourse and social practice. The interdisciplinary study that is concerned with this phenomenon is recognized as Discourse Analysis (DA).

Earlier studies of discourse, for instance in text linguistics, often focused on the abstract structures of (written) texts, many contemporary approaches, especially those that are influenced by the social sciences, favour a more dynamic study of (spoken, oral) talk in interaction.⁵ In development of Discourse Analysis is committed to the investigation of the relationships between forms and functions.

Littlejohn explains that discourse analysis does not treat organization of language as an end in itself, but aims to uncover its functions. Therefore, discourse analysis investigates the larger

⁴ Fairclough, Norman. 1989. *Language and Power*. (Harlow: Longman), p 76

⁵ Ibid, 14

parts of language and considers the larger discourse context in order to understand how it affects the meaning of the sentence.⁶

There are some definitions of discourse analysis, but from the entire definitions above it can be summarized that discourse analysis is a term used in linguistics to describe and uncover the rules and conventions underlying the use of language and its functions in extended stretches of text, both spoken and written.

Likewise other discipline of human sciences, discourse analysis approach of language is divided based on paradigm of inquiry. Hikam⁷ divide it into three paradigm of inquiry that is developing and competing in human sciences, such as positivist discourse analysis, interpretive discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis.

2.1.1. Positivist Discourse Analysis

In positivist paradigm, language refers to the bond between human and the object out of him. This approach is represented by positivist-empirics. The human experiences can be directly expressed through language use without barrier and distortion as long as it is presented with logical expression and syntactical expression that related to empirical experience.

Related with discourse analysis, the language researchers does not need to see the meaning or subjective value that underlay a statement. Positivist discourse analysis maintains to fulfill a set of syntactic and semantic principle. Semantics validity and syntactic accuracy is the focus of this paradigm.

⁶ Sobur, Alex. 2004. *Analisis Teks Media; Suatu Pengantar untuk Analisis Wacana, Analisis Semiotik, dan Analisis Framing*. (Bandung: Rosdakarya), p 49

⁷ Hikam, A.S. 1996. *Bahasa dan Politik: Penghampiran Discursive Practice*. In Eriyanto. 2005. *Analisis Wacana*. Yogyakarta: LKiS Pelangi Aksara Yogyakarta.

According to van Dijk, Positivist DA claims that discourse consists of semantic and whom produces language. Positivist Discourse Analysts then merely investigate the word and sentence without considering the subject which produces language.⁸

2.1.2. Interpretive Discourse Analysis

This approach relates to phenomenological thought. The proponent of interpretive paradigm refuses separation of human as subject with the object. Subject (language user) is main factor in discourse practice with its social relation. As Hikam said that subject has ability to control the purposes in every discourses because every expression is action of meaning composition namely self-construction acts of speaker. Language can be understood by observing the subject. Human as subject is convinced able to restrain a certain aims in a discourse.

Van Dijk said about interpretive DA that the meaning of language can not only be seen from the forms but it is also considered with the subject who produces language. The meaning, therefore, in accordance to interpretive discourse analysts is formed by the world of language and the producers of the language. The process of the production and the reproduction of language, afterwards, are very important.⁹

2.1.3. Critical Discourse Analysis

This approach is not only doing the textual interrogation but also revealing the relationship of the interrogation product with the macro-contextual behind the text. It is more specifically as a study on how the power misused or how the domination and the inequality put into the community.

⁸ Teun A. van Dijk. 1993. Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Discourse and Society*. Vol. 4.

⁹ Ibid, 13

In addition, van Dijk defined critical discourse analyst wants to understand the role of structures, strategies or other properties of text, talk, verbal interaction and communicative events in establishing and maintaining power relations between different groups in society.¹⁰

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

To make Discourse Analysis more deeply and critical, there is a critical paradigm that is called Critical Discourse Analysis. This approach is not only doing the textual interrogation but also revealing the relationship of the interrogation product with the macro-contextual behind the text. It is more specifically as a study on how the power misused or how the domination and the inequality put into the community.

A critical approach to discourse analysis explores texts not as truths but as discourses that act in the world in ways that both define and distribute power. Such approaches are concerned not just to what text says, but also with what texts do. Fairclough & Wodak argued that CDA sees discourse and language as “social practice” and considers the “context language use” to be crucial. As follows:

“CDA sees discourse form of „social practice“. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s) and social structure(s), which frame it: The discursive event is shaped by them, but also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned-it constitute situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects, that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations

¹⁰ Ibid, 14

between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people.”¹¹

The aims of critical discourse analysis, according to Foucault, are to examine the discursive formations that are produced in the text, the discourse strategies that are associated and the effect of discourse production.¹² For Foucault, a discourse or discourse formation could be recognized by the regularity among apparently unconnected groups of statements and the rules that manage this regularity. In addition, this approach is essentially based on a critical-dialectical concept of theory that is not limited to formulating and examining general statements about the laws of social reality. Moreover, the focus is on a criticism of scientific-theoretical results. They are challenged with other options, examined for contradictions and considered in an overall context. The aim of theoretical work in this sense is true and instructional enlightenment about the historical and social situation.¹³ This approach emphasizes the fact that the scientific work process instituted by the human has always formed part of the historical-social context it strives to identify by acts of cognition.

Van Dijk defined CDA as a theory and a method that analysing individuals and institutions use language. CDA focus on social problem, especially the role of discourse on production and reproduction of power abuse and domination.¹⁴ As a state definition above, CDA is an approach to language use that aims to explore and expose the roles that discourse plays in reproducing or resisting social inequalities. It can be used to analysing a newspaper in indexing and reproducing class inequality.

¹¹Musthafa Amin, *A Critical DIscoursse Analysis of Gender Stereotyping It"s a Boy Girl Thing Movie*, (Malang: Unpublished Thesis Uin Malang,2009), 12

¹²Eriyanto, *Analisis Wacana Pengantar Analisis Teks Media*, (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2011), 75

¹³Weiss, Gilbert and Wodak, Ruth as editor, "*Critical Discourse Analysis Theory and Interdisciplinarity*", (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 2

¹⁴Ricardson, John E, *Analysing Newspapers: an approach from critical discourse analysis*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 52

We can summarize such criteria by saying that in our opinion CDA should deal primarily with the discourse dimensions of power abuse and the injustice and inequality that result from it. It also based on van Dijk, he said that CDA unlike most social and political scientists, critical discourse scholars want to make a more specific contribution, namely to get more insight into the crucial role of discourse in the reproduction of dominance and inequality.¹⁵ Dominance is defined here as the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality.

2.2.1 Approaches in CDA

CDA is divers and interdisciplinary comprising some approaches based on different expert. CDA must not be understood as a single method but rather as an approach, which constitutes itself at different expert. The methodology of CDA can therefore only be presented with reference to particular approaches and with regard to their specific theoretical backgrounds. Four approaches in particular may be identified: Critical Linguistics (Fowler), the socio-semiotic approach (Fairclough), the discourse-historical approach (Wodak), and the socio-cognitive approach (van Dijk)¹⁶. However, I elaborate approaches to CDA proposed by two CDA scholars:

2.2.1.1 Fairlough's Approches

Fairclough refers to discourse as "the use of language seen as a form of social practice" and to discourse analysis as the "analysis of how texts work within sociocultural practice".¹⁷ He tries to build a CDA models that depended on social practice, politics and power to integrate with social change. That is why his model often called social change. Fairclough reformulates here,

¹⁵ Teun Van Dijk, *DISCOURSE & SOCIETY*, (London: SAGE 1993), vol. 4(2), 253

¹⁶ Hart, Crhistoper, *Critical Discourse Analysis and Cognitive Science*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 14

¹⁷ Eriyanto, *Analisis Wacana Pengantar Analisis Teks Media*, (Yogyakarta, LKIS, 2011), 285

that discourse analysis is not a 'level' of analysis as, say, phonology or lexicogrammar, but an exploration of how 'texts' at levels work within socio-cultural practices.¹⁸

In looking at language as discourse and social practice, someone cannot analyze the text only, not just analyzing the process of production and interpretation, but also to analyzing the texts, processes, and their social conditions. Crossing these governing themes of Fairclough's research, we can identify three central constructs of critical discourse analysis:¹⁹

- Text and the study of 'texture'
- Discourse practices and the concept 'orders of discourse'
- Socio-cultural practices and the concept of 'culture'

Seen in this way, Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis is not just a reflective study of certain issues. It takes on a rather different role. It suggests rather plainly, if you read it that way, how we might construct linguistics for the next century that in addition to its pervasively critical and explanatory focuses would require interdisciplinary as a central principle, without however compromising in any way on the central capacity to describe.

Therefore, CDA is not only about the structures of spoken and written texts, but about essentially about structures of society. Fairclough argued that texts are seen as parts of social events. One way in which people can act and interact in the course of social events is to speak or to write. It is because there is a relationship between texts, social events, social practices and social structure and they are socially constrained. Agents have their own causal powers, which are not reducible to the causal powers of social structures and practices²⁰. There are structural constraints on this process such as; the grammar forms possible but not others; and if the social event is an

¹⁸ Fairclough, Norman, *CDA: Critical Study Of Language*, (New York: Longman, 1995), 1

¹⁹ Ibid, 2-3

²⁰ Fairclough, Norman, *Critical Language Study*, (New York: Longman, 2003), 22-23

interview; there are genre conversation for how the talk should be organized. However, this still leaves social agents with a great deal of freedom in texturing texts.

The main point of Fairclough interest that is he sees language as power practice in order to see how the language-users convey ideologies valued need to be analyzed comprehensively. Language, socially and historically, is kind of action, in dialectic relation with social structure. So that, that the analysis should be focused on how language was formed in social relation and social context.²¹

These three dimensions of discourse, Fairclough distinguishes three dimensions or stages of CDA:²²

- a. Description is the stage, which is concerned with formal properties of the text.
- b. Interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction with seeing the text as the product of a process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation. Notice Fairclough uses the term interpretation for both the interactional process and a stage of analysis.
- c. Explanation is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context with social determination of the process of production and interpretation, and their social effects. Fairclough develops his model of CDA by evolving that CDA is not only a description but also it is to be critical and analytic. Critical according to Fairclough is that critical discourse analysis have to put their position in analysis because he is convinced that his based assumption believe that every discourse is controlled socially by a group of society who have power based on his authority or wealth.

²¹ Eriyanto, *Analisis Wacana Pengantar Analisis Teks Media*, (Yogyakarta, LKIS, 2011), 285

²² Fairclough, Norman, *Language and Power*. (Harlow: Longman, 1989),

Fairclough set up an analysis model that integrates together with discourse analysis based on linguistic, social, and political thought, and commonly it is integrated on the social change. Therefore, the model brought by Fairclough is often stated as social change model. Fairclough is interested in the discourse on language. Fairclough uses discourse to show language use as social practice, more than individual activities or to reflect a thing. He divided discourse analysis in three dimensions: text, discourse practice, and socio-cultural practice.

2.2.1.2 Van Dijk's Approaches

Van Dijk's models tries to elaborate Discourse's aspects to make it do able and practicable. This model called Social Cognition. It is connecting textual, cognitive and social structures. For van Dijk textual structure and social structure are mediated by social cognition. More important for a general theory of interaction, however, is the fact that various kinds of social structures, such as the social context and frames of interaction, rules, convention, norms, and the various categories of participants like functions or roles, may be linked to global actions and not always to individual local actions.²³

In addition, Wodak defined social cognition as the system of mental structures and operations that are acquired, used or changed in social contexts by social actors and shared by the members of social groups, organizations and cultures. This system consists of several subsystems, such as knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, norms and values, and the ways these are affected and brought to bear in discourse and other social practices.²⁴

According to van Dijk, socio-cognitive approach, which becomes his main brand approach in CDA, is the discourse analysis which does not only cover the text structures; rather it also has to

²³Van Dijk, Teun, *MACROSTRUCTURES: An Interdisciplinary Study of Global Structures in Discourse, Interaction, and Cognition*, (New Jersey: LAWRENCE ERLBAUM ASSOCIATES, PUBLISHERS Hillsdale, 1980), 11

²⁴Weiss, Gilbert and Wodak, Ruth as editor, "*Critical Discourse Analysis Theory and Interdisciplinarity*", (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 89

do with the mental consciousness of the speaker or a discourse maker in its production process (Dijk: 1993).²⁵ Social cognition is defined as ‘the system of mental representations and processes of group members.’²⁶

He does not study or analyse a text as a single phenomena, but he also gives more attention on how a text is produced. Discourse, language use and communication do play a special role in such processes of reproduction, but ideologies are *also* being expressed and reproduced by social and semiotic practices other than those of text and talk.²⁷

For van Dijk, text just a representation of practice production that have to analyse. Indeed, to explain how texts can be socially constructive presupposes an account that relates textual structures to social cognition, and social cognition to social structures. Socio cognitive approach is made up of two main elements of models or schemas and memory. Van Dijk explained that a discourse maker tends to employ certain models or schemas in presenting either oral or written text. Those schemas are as follow:²⁸

- a. Person schema;** that is how a person portrays and views others as a positive figure or negative one. Such conditions affect how someone designs and makes representation of others in the text.
- b. Self schema;** that is how a person views himself in the text which, typically, is modified to meet the intended interest and has better representation than he or she really is.
- c. Role schema;** that is how someone portrays others ‘role-played personally or in-group of society. Such portrait often affects the meaning of a certain discourse in general.

²⁵Van Dijk, Teun, (*Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. Discourse and Society*, Vol. 4, 1993)

²⁶ Hart, Crhistoper, *Critical Discourse Analysis and Cognitive Science*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 15

²⁷Van Dijk, Teun, *Ideology*, (London: Sage Publications, 1998), 191

²⁸Vam Dijk cited on Rofik, Zainur, “Derogation and Euphemization in Ahmadinejad’s speeches at ,” (Unpublished Thesis, State Islamic University of Malang, Malang, 2010)

d. Event schema; that is how someone depicts an event, and then modifies it based on his/her ideologies or interests.

Accordingly, discourse serves as a medium by which one can communicate ideologies in society, “thereby helps reproduce power and domination of specific groups or class”.²⁹ There is a certain ideologies which shared in discourse situation. Ideology based on van Dijk is the basic frameworks for organizing the social cognitions shared by the members of social groups, organizations or institutions. It is articulated within a conceptual triangle that connects society, discourse and social cognition in the framework of a critical discourse analysis. As systems of principles that organize social cognitions, ideologies are assumed to control, through the minds of the members, the social reproduction of the groups.³⁰

2.2.1.3 The Strategies of Derogation and Euphemization

Power and domination is an important thing in CDA. Van Dijk argued the main direction of Critical discourse analysis is the study and critique of social inequality.³¹ It focuses the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance. Dominance is defined here as the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality. As van Dijk argued following:

Unlike other discourse analysts, critical discourse analysts (should) take an explicit sociopolitical stance: they spell out their point of view perspective, principles and aims, both within their discipline and within society at large...Their perspective, if possible, that of those who suffer most from dominance and inequality...Power involves control, namely by (members of) one group over (those of) other groups. Such control may pertain to action and cognition: that is a powerful group may limit

²⁹Van Dijk in Ahlam M. Al-Harbi, “Jargonizing and Abstracting the “War on Terror”: The “Self” and the “Other” Representations,” (The Linguistics Journal, Vol.4, Issue.2, 2009), 79

³⁰Van Dijk, Teun, “*Structures of Discourse and Structures of Power*”, (Department of General Literary Studies, Section of Discourse Studies, 210 Spuistraat, 1012 VT Amsterdam, The Netherlands. *Communication Yearbook 12*), 27

³¹ Van Dijk, Teun, “*Elit Discourse and Racism*”, (London: Sage, Volume.6, 1993), 250

the freedom of action and cognition: that is, a powerful group may limit the freedom of action of others, but also influence their minds.³²

In relation to derogation and euphemization, Van Dijk's framework consists of two main discursive strategies of 'positive self representation' (strategy of in-group favouritism) and 'negative other-representation' (strategy of derogation of out-group) "which are materialized through some discursive moves such as follows:

a. Actors

The arguments of a propositions may be about actors in various roles, namely as agents, patients, or beneficiaries of an action. Since ideological discourse is typically about them, and as the further analysis of actors is very important.³³ Van Dijk defined actors as the way we describe actors or members of a particular society either in a negative or positive way.³⁴ Actor descriptions that are ideologically based are semantically reflecting the social distance implied by racist ideologies.

Van Leeuwen described all discourses on people and action involves various types of actor description. Thus, actors may be described as members of groups or as individuals, by first or family name, function, role or group name, as specific or unspecific, by their actions or (alleged) attributes, by their position or relation to other people, and so on.³⁵

b. Topics

The meaning of discourse is not limited to the meaning of its words and sentences. Discourse also has more 'global' meanings, such as 'topics' or 'themes'. Such topics represent the gist or

³²Ibid, 253-254

³³ Van Dijk, Teun, *Ideology and Discourse : A Multi Dicipinary Introduction, An earlier version of this book was used as an internet course for the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya* (Open University in 2000),51

³⁴Van Dijk in Ali Rahimi, "A Critical Discourse Analysis of Euphemization and Derogation in Emails on the Late Pope", (The Linguistics Journal, volume I, number 2, June 2006), 43

³⁵Van Leeuwen in Zainur Rofik, *Derogation and Euphemization in Ahmadinejad's speeches at ,*" (Unpublised Thesis, State Islamic University of Malang, Malang, 2010), 23

most important information of a discourse, and tell us what a discourse 'is about', globally speaking. We may render such topics in terms of (complete) propositions such as 'Neighbours attacked Moroccans'. Such propositions typically appear in newspaper headlines.

Topics typically are the information that is best recalled of a discourse. Although topics abstractly characterize the meaning of a whole discourse or of a larger fragment of discourse, they may also be concretely formulated in the text itself, for instance in summaries, abstracts, titles or headlines. The ideological functions of topics directly follow from the general principles mentioned above: If we want to emphasize our good things or their bad things, the first thing we do is to topicalize such information. Conversely, if we want to de-emphasize our bad things and their good things, then we'll tend to de-topicalize such information.

For instance, in much public discourse in multicultural society this means that topics associated with racism are much less topicalized than those related to the alleged crimes, deviance or problems allegedly caused by minority groups.

c. Topoi

Halfway between semantics and rhetoric, we may find the well-known 'topoi' (Greek: places; as in common places; Latin: loci communes). They are like topics as earlier defined, but they have become standardized and publicized, so that they are typically used as 'ready-mades' in argumentation. Topoi are referring to general humanitarian values (equality, tolerance, hospitality, unity and sisterhood, and so on).

d. Hedging and Vagueness

A powerful political and ideological tool is the management of clarity and vagueness, as the well-known example of diplomatic language shows. We may hedge or be vague when we do not know a precise answer to a question, and yet do not want to appear ignorant. But we may also

hedge a discourse for political reasons, for instance when precise statements are contextually inappropriate or simply "politically incorrect". Moreover, both in the media and in political discourse, we may precisely witness the use of vague terms such as "popular discontent" or "resentment" instead of using the more specific term. Obviously, vagueness may imply mitigation, euphemism and indirectly also a denial. It creates uncertainty and ambiguity meaning to the reader or audience.

e. Evidentiality

Speakers are accountable for what they say. They used hard facts to support one's ideas. Thus, if they express a belief, they are often expected to provide some 'proof' for their beliefs, and engage in a debate with those who deny it. Of course, each genre, context and culture has its own evaluation criteria for what is good, acceptable or bad 'evidence'. Scholarly proof in the natural sciences, social sciences or humanities may require different types of evidence, and the same is true for 'proof' in everyday life, which may range from "I have seen it with my own eyes" to more or less reliable hearsay. People may have read something in the paper, heard it from reliable spokespersons, or have seen something with their own eyes. In contemporary society, the media are a prominent criterion of evidentiality: "I have seen it on TV" or "I read it in the newspaper" are rather powerful arguments in everyday conversations. By presenting the strategy of evidentiality, a discourse maker may easily instill his/her ideologies the recipients (readers or audiences)

f. Modality

Propositions may be modified by modalities such as 'it is necessary that', 'it is possible that' or 'it is known that'. For instance, a proposition such as "Many African refugees have arrived in the country' may also have the following form: "It is well-known that many African refugees

have arrived in the country. We already have seen that these modalities have something to do with the way we represent the world and its events. Representing (say) police brutality as 'necessary' may imply some kind of legitimization for such violence, as is often the case in newspaper accounts of 'race riots'.

g. Propositional Structures

Local discourse meaning is (theoretically speaking) organized in propositions: One sentence expresses one or more propositions -- things that may be true or false, or which (intuitively speaking) express one complete 'thought'. In the same way as the meaning of sequences of sentences and whole discourses are constituted by propositions, also the propositions themselves have internal structures. For our ideological analysis, the structures of propositions have some interesting properties which however we shall deal with only briefly. For one, the predicates of propositions may be more or less positive or negative, depending on the underlying opinions.

h. Disclaimers

Very typical of any type of prejudiced discourse is the semantic move of the disclaimer. Which the Apparent Negations the best known: I have nothing against X, but... We call this an Apparent Negation because it is only the first clause that denies adverse feelings or racism against another group, while the rest of the discourse may say very negative things about the others. Presenting an idea as something positive and then rejecting it by the use of terms such as 'but' in the second sentence. The negation in such a case primarily serves as a form of positive self-presentation, of face keeping: Speakers want to avoid that the recipients have a negative opinion about them because of what they say about another group.

i. Examples and Illustrations

More generally discourse about Us and Them, is characterized by examples and illustrations, often in the form of stories, about Our good deeds and Their bad behavior. Functionally, such propositions (or whole stories) serve to support another, mostly previously expressed proposition, for which it may give proof or evidence (as we have seen above). In other words, stories may serve as premises in an argumentation. In CDA, thus, we may find a general opinion statement, for instance about how they break the rules, do not adapt, are deviant or even criminal. But, to prevent negative evaluation by the hearer, speakers usually feel obliged to give some example or illustration of a general statement that is negative about another group. A very credible story in that case provides the experiential 'evidence' for the general statement.

j. Contrast

Ideologies often emerge when two or more groups have conflicting interests, when there is social struggle or competition, and in situation of domination. Cognitively and discursively, such opposition may be realized by various forms of polarization, as the well-known pronoun pair Us and Them illustrates. We have already seen that the overall strategy of ideological discourse is to emphasize our good things and Their bad things, a form of polarization that is semantically implemented by contrast. Such as in racist discourse, for instance, we discover many statements and stories that are organized by this form of contrast: We work hard, they are lazy; They easily get jobs (housing etc), and we do not, and so on. It is precisely this kind of recurrent discursive contrast that suggests that probably also the underlying attitudes and ideologies are represented in polarized terms, designating in-groups and out-group.

k. Local Coherence

One of the typical characteristics of discourse meaning is coherence: The meanings of the sentences (that is, their propositions) of a discourse must be related in some way. Such coherence

may be global or local. Global coherence may simply be defined in terms of the topics we discussed above: a discourse (or discourse fragment) is globally coherent if it has a topic. Going down to the local meanings of discourse, however, we deal with what may be called 'local coherence'. Although it is not easy to define this notion very precisely, we shall simply assume that a sequence of propositions is locally coherent if it is about a sequence of actions, events or situations that are mutually related, for instance by relations of causality or enablement. There is also coherence that is defined for relations between propositions themselves, for instance when one has the function of being a Specification, a Generalization, an Example or a Contrast of another: we may call this functional local coherence.

In even more succinct (but formally impeccable) terms we may say that a discourse sequence is coherent if it has a model. In more intuitive terms this means that we may call a discourse (or discourse fragment) coherent if we can imagine a situation in which it is or in which it could be true. Now, what are the ideological options language users have in the management of discourse coherence? Obviously, not very many, because coherence is a very general condition of discourse, and whether one is left or right, man or woman, racist or antiracist, one needs to respect some basic conditions of coherence in order to be meaningful.

1. Synonymy, Paraphrase

Whereas coherence is defined for relations between propositions in a discursive sequence or in a model, there are many other semantic properties of discourse defined in terms of relations between propositions, such as synonymy and paraphrase. Since these relationships are not defined in a different way for different contexts, ideology does not seem to have grip on them: a synonym is one whether one votes communist or conservative. However, note that strict

synonymy does not exist, and that paraphrases are typically expressions that have more or less the same meaning, but not quite, and are usually formulated in different words.

In addition, different words mean lexical and stylistic variation, which is dependent on context. Thus, we may of course speak about certain group in terms of many expressions and descriptions that are more or less synonymous, but whose meanings-of-use and ideological implicatures are different.

m. Implications and Presuppositions

In ideological discourse analysis, making explicit the meanings implied by a sentence or text fragment may be a powerful instrument of critical study. The option to express information or leave it explicit is not ideologically neutral, however. It is easy to predict that within our general schema, people tend to leave information implicit that is inconsistent with their positive self-image. On the other hand, any information that tells the recipient about the bad things of our enemies or about those we considers our out-group will tend to be explicitly expressed in text and talk.

A well-known move is to presuppose information that is not generally shared or accepted at all, and thereby introduce it so to speak through the backdoor. For instance, if the police declare to "worry about the high crime rate of young immigrant boys" then such a declaration tacitly presupposes that young immigrant boys indeed do have a high crime rate. This may not be true, or may be true for all young boys who have no jobs, so that the presupposition is misleading, and should rather be about the unemployed.

n. Number Game

Much argument is oriented to enhance credibility that emphasizes objectivity. Van Dijk in Yuwono stated that numbers and statistics are the primary means in our culture to persuasive

display objectivity.³⁶ They represent the facts against mere opinion and impression. They represent the facts against mere opinion and impression. This strategy can effectively function and build both derogatory and euphemistic impressions. Using number game, we can be a credible speaker or writer that not only give an opinion, but also give a valid statistical data. We may said, “...and hundreds of people killed by the Regime of Syrians”.

o. Hyperbole

Van Dijk described It as a device for enhancing and exaggerating meaning. It can be done through various ways, such as presenting intensifiers (e.g. very, really, absolutely) and using superlative degree of negative words (e.g. the most dangerous, the scariest impact, etc.) in the discourse.

p. Polarization

It is a strategy of categorizing people as belonging to US with good characteristic and THEM with bad attributes. Polarization may also apply to good and bad, sub-categories of out-groups (as is the case for friends and allies on the one hand and enemies on the other.³⁷ Note that polarization may be rhetorically enhanced when expressed as a clear contrast, that is, by attributing properties of US and Them that are semantically each other's opposites.

2.3 Derogatory and Euphemistic Terms

The mechanism of ideological manipulation is materialized through different techniques one of which is the dual classification of derogatory and euphemistic terms. Hornby cited in Rofik's thesis defines 'derogatory' as "showing a critical attitude towards others, or insulting" and

³⁶ Rofik, Zainur, “*Derogation and Euphemization in Ahmadinejad's speeches*,” (Unpublished Thesis, State Islamic University of Malang, Malang, 2010), 30

³⁷ Ibid, 32

'euphemism' as "an indirect word or phrase that people often use to refer to something embarrassing or unpleasant, sometimes to make it seem more acceptable than what it really is".³⁸

In CDA, van Dijk defines Positive self-representation (Euphemization) and negative other representation (Derogation) as a way to perceiving and representing world and specifically 'our' and 'their' action, role and position within a world.³⁹ Euphemization is an ideological function that is used to present the other as inferior or mediocre. In addition derogation is opposite of euphemization. Derogation is an ideological function that is applied to portray oneself as superior than the others. It is used to portray other group in negative image.

Euphemism words and expressions allow us to talk about unpleasant things and neutralize the unpleasantness, such as the subject of death and dying, unemployment and criminality. They also allow us to give labels to unpleasant things and jobs in an attempt to make their sounds almost attractive. Euphemism is endemic in our society. The glorification of the common place and the elevation of the trivial, we are constantly renaming things and replacing them to make them sound better, it is renaming of reality to fit a new order of society.⁴⁰

In addition, Allan and Burridge define that "a euphemism is used as an alternative to a dispreferred expression, in order to avoid possible loss of face: either one's own face or, through giving offense that of the audience, or of some third party".⁴¹ In short, euphemism is alternatives to dispreferred expression, and is used in order to avoid possible loss of face. The dispreferred expression maybe taboo, fearsome, distasteful, or for some other reason have too many negative connotation to execute speaker's communicative intention on a given occasion.

³⁸ Ibid, 35

³⁹ Ricardson, John E, *Analysing Newspapers: an approach from critical discourse analysis*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 51

⁴⁰ Ronald Waurdhaugh, *An Introduction to sociolinguistics*. (New York: Blackwell Publishers, 1986), 231

⁴¹ Keith Allan and Kate Burridge, *Euphemism and Dysphemism: Language used as Shield and Weapon*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 11.

In summary, euphemism is an important matter as implementation of the things, words, phrases, and so on, by language user to cover up or repackaging them to make them sound better both for the speaker and the hearer. We use euphemism as an attempt to manipulate the emotional response and dispreferred expression to avoid possible loss face. Euphemism can be used to maintain the communication between the speaker and the hearer well and politely. So, euphemism is one of orally politeness implementation in social interaction and communication.

As opposite of euphemization, derogation based on Nordquist said that derogation is substitution of a more disparaging word or phrase for one considered less offensive.⁴² While Encarta Word English Dictionary labels that dysphemism is 1. a substitution of a coarser word; the deliberate substitution of an offensive expression for a neutral one, 2. Offensive substitute for neutral word; an offensive expression deliberately substituted for a neutral one.⁴³

Furthermore, Allan and Burridge define that “dysphemism or derogation is an expression with connotations that are offensive either about the denotatum or the audience, or both, and it is substituted for a neutral or euphemistic expression for that just reason”.⁴⁴ It is used to talk about ones opponents, things one wishes to show disapproval of, and things one wishes to be seen to downgrade. They also insert that dysphemism is a word or phrase that connotations that are offensive either about the denotatum or to people addressed or overhearing the utterance.

2.4 The Role of Media

Industries of Media have entered in an era called symbolic hypermarkets. Whereas, we can choose and interpret any text based on our own perspectives. Because that, we have to know a power, ideology, and domination that be represented and constructed in a text as a structure of

⁴²Richard Nordquist, <http://www.about.com/dysphemism-definition> (August, 4 2012)

⁴³*Encarta World English Dictionary*, (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc., 1999).

⁴⁴Keith Allan and Kate Burridge, *Euphemism and Dysphemism: Language used as Shield and Weapon*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 79.

media productions. According to Hall, that defined media is manufactured consent that used by a class or group dominant to dominate other groups.⁴⁵ Media not only informing something to the reader or hearer but it's also a way to portray other group as inferior and negative. How mainstream media represent about the others, and what role the media plays in ethnic relations, the propagation of stereotypes, and the reproduction of white dominance in general.⁴⁶

Van Dijk argued that a primary role in this construction of the dominant consensus is played by the news media, such as the newspaper, radio, and TV. Media is a machine that reproduced mass opinion using discursive strategies, such as derogation and euphemization. Van Dijk argued that a large part of the hidden point of view, tacit opinions, or the usually denied ideologies of the press may be inferred from these lexical descriptions and identifications of social groups and their members.⁴⁷ Critical Discourse Analysis by its strategies will make detail of the media not only gives us some insight into the attitudes and ideologies of different kinds of readers, but also into the problem of how such social cognitions are shaped by the forms and contents of the Press stories about certain issues, American issues may be.

The mainstream media in the United States and elsewhere tended to be a compliant vehicle for the government strategy to manipulate the public, imperiling democracy which requires informed citizens, checks and balances against excessive government power, and a free and vigorous critical media.⁴⁸ In media, a government power or certain class manipulate the public cognition using discursive strategy, such as Derogation and Euphemization.

A primary objective of most media discourse analysis (from the linguistic to the sociological) is often the registering of the presence of bias or ideology in language, or the problematizing of

⁴⁵ Eriyanto, *Analisis Wacana Pengantar Analisis Teks Media*, (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2011), 27

⁴⁶ Van Dijk, *From Text Grammar to CDA*, (A brief academic autobiography Version 2.0. August 2004), 16

⁴⁷ Van Dijk, *News as Discourse*, (London: LAWRENCE ERLBAUM ASSOCIATES, PUBLISHERS, 1988), 177

⁴⁸ Kellner, D. (1992). *The Persian Gulf TV War*. The paper was retrieved, (www.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner)

power relations in society. By studying media we focus on variously on the ideological implications of language in the media, and thus critiques of the approaches are organized around the validity of findings of bias, whether instigated through linguistic means.

Jakarta Post is one of the models of media that have structure and hidden information such another media. Critical Discourse Analysis is an approach to analyse this ideology production in media. Especially using derogation and euphemization, we will understand about superior and inferior group with their strategies to dominate others.

2.5 Previous Study

Related to the notion about my focuses, there are some other researchers:

The first researcher is Zainur Rofiq, he analyzes the strategies of 'positive self-representation' and 'negative other- representation' (the polarization of —US and —THEM) in Ahmadinejad's speeches at the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in 2008 and Durban Review Conference 2009 in Geneva, Switzerland. The second researcher is Dewi Nur Suci, She focused derogation strategies including predication strategy, argumentation strategy, and intensification strategy. And for euphemization, she analysed through referential and nominalitation strategy.

And the last is a thesis about "A Study of Euphemism Found in Political Articles in the National Section of The Jakarta Post" written by Laily Azkiyah. This study is to find out the types and the functions of euphemism found in political articles in the national section of the Jakarta Post. She discussing and interpreting the data from each category based on theories Allan and Burridge, and Brown and Yule.

In this research, I use Teun van Dijk's concept of CDA, but I more concern on discursive strategies of how the speaker uses the derogation and euphemization to portray the image and

materialize certain ideologies through a media. Hence, this space of research does have its novelty and does not replicate any preceding researches.

In addition, this research is different from Rofik's and Suci's research. I choose the same theory as Rofik, but in my research i choose a different subject of study. Rofik's subject is the strategies of 'positive self-representation' and 'negative other- representation' (the polarization of —US and —THEM) in Ahmadinejad's speeches at the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in 2008 and Durban Review Conference 2009 in Geneva, Switzerland. He concern on the discursive strategies that used in speeches, but I choose news of Jakarta Post as a subject on my thesis.

Moreover Suci's theory is Wodak's theory that is different from van Dijk's theory. Van Dijk theory is more concerned on socio cognitive, but Wodak focused on socio cognitive and historical context. Suci focused derogation strategies including predication strategy, argumentation strategy, and intensification strategy. And for euphemization, she analysed through referential and nominalization strategy.



CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter provides a detailed description of research design, Data sources, Data collection, Data analysis, and triangulation procedure as follows:

3.1 Research Design

On my research, I take the descriptive qualitative method as the research design, because this research describes the way in which the derogatory and euphemistic discursive strategies are applied in the linguistic practices. This research use descriptive qualitative design because the data of this study are from the text that is not statistically analyzed. It designs according to the qualitative research related characteristics, such as to obtain information concerning the Euphemistic and Derogatory strategies used in Jakarta Post, especially in American Issues.

3.2 Data Sources

This research focuses on the analysis of Jakarta Post, especially in American issues. Those subjects are selected because, linguistically, they contain and are fraught with the exercise of derogatory and euphemistic discursive strategy through a power of media, such in Jakarta Post. I take the news as the data sources that are obtained from the Jakarta Post's website (including: word, sentences, or utterances related American Issues), because, using website models make a data more conformability, credibility and easier to collect it. From the data sources, I analyze and investigate the euphemistic and derogatory strategies used in the news of Jakarta Post using van Dijk's approaches.

3.3 Research Instrument

The research instrument is an important part to obtain the needed data. In this interpretative qualitative research, the key instrument is the researcher himself. Because, in qualitative research the key instrument is the researcher himself.¹ As the researcher, I do the research by choosing some data from Jakarta Post, reading it for several times to understanding

¹ Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif dan Kualitatif*, (Bandung, Alfabeta, 2009), 222

the information and issues as well as observe and interpret how Derogatory and Euphemistic strategies are going on.

3.4 Data Collection

The data of the present research is a document. Firstly, the researcher collects data from the Jakarta Post in Websites Form for several months and decides American issues for previously mentioned reasons. Secondly, I identify the utterances or words that show the exercise of euphemistic or derogatory strategies that used by American in the certain text. In other words, I collect the data about aspects of discourse by applying a relevant technique of intensive reading process, which in this case is skimming.

3.5 Data Analysis

In the process of preparing and organizing, I do several steps: I collect data from the Jakarta Post in Websites Form and decide American issues. After getting the data, I describe and explain the contexts of the selected news and utterances. Then, I classify word by word, sentences, utterances as the discursive strategies based on van Dijk's model of Euphemistic and Derogatory strategies thoroughly. Finally, I interpret and discuss the findings critically to inspect the existence of domination, discrimination, or unequal representation through the selected discursive strategies. Those steps are done of the analysis in this research.

3.6 Triangulation

In this study, the researcher uses two types of triangulation; they are investigator triangulation and theory triangulation. Related to the investigator triangulation, the researcher discuss with Mudjia Rahardjo, Prof, as the lecturer of Sociolinguistics and my supervisor. He is an expert in Discourse studies in order to re-check the credibility of the data. Then, in theory triangulation, I use theory of van Dijk related to the concept of Derogation and Euphemization with the theory of Fairclough, which is focused on the critical language awareness.

3.7 Review of The Research Method

No	Research Question	How to answer	How to collect data	Data Analysis
1.	How are the strategies of derogation used in Jakarta Post?	Data from news which including word, sentences or utterances	Document ation	Classify and Discuss by the theory
2.	How are the strategies of euphemization used in Jakarta Post?	Data from news which including word, sentences or utterances	Document ation	Classify and Discuss by the theory
3.	What are messages behind the usage of both strategies in Jakarta Post?	The discussion of data based on ideological and contextual perspectives	Document ation	Discuss the data based on related perspectives

CHAPTER IV

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the findings of the study that covers the discursive tactics on Euphemization and Derogation that are used to materialize the interests of the discourse maker. The researcher, firstly, classifies the data description of the discursive tactics based on the research questions by providing the concepts and construction of each discursive tactics based on Euphemistic and Derogatory frameworks. The data transcriptions of the study are not presented in this chapter, but they are provided on the page of appendix that comes up after the fifth chapter. The result of the analysis, then, is discussed in the segment of discussion.

4.1 Research Findings

The findings of the research are not categorized on the basis of discursive tactics of Euphemization and Derogation; rather they are done in their natural setting. In addition, the data analysis in this research is done to meet the formulated research questions. The whole numbers of selected data are relevant to be analyzed, described, and interpreted based on CDA model analysis, which is proposed by Teun A. van Dijk. According to van Dijk, the main characteristics of CDA consist of three basic elements those are: (1) the context, (2) the ideology, and (3) the social cognition. These elements are very significant to understand deeply how discursive strategy viewed from text analysis is applied in a discourse. The following data below presented in order according with the year when the speech was delivered.

Data 1

The news that released on Tuesday 10 January, talk about The United States will remain engaged in bringing stability, security and confidence to the ASEAN region in a commitment to promote global interest in the prosperity of the region.

US making sure no countries dominate South China Sea (1)...It's in our self-interest and also global interest.(2) ..., IF one country grows too strong, other countries will align together to restrain its power. (3)... "China should be involved as well for our multilateral [military] exercises.They can choose to decline, but we should still invite them to show that our exercises are legitimate in promoting regional security and stability." (4)... China's rise provides a unique challenge and opportunity for ASEAN countries, but as when China blocked rare earth trade to Japan to protest the detainment of a Chinese boat captain it sometimes causes tension and anxiety in the Pacific region. (5)

Starting from this title (1), media tries to portray America or US as the key in a phenomenon of domination in South China Sea. They can convince us that domination in South China Sea is based on them. Based on euphemistic strategy captured US as the hero could be called Actor. On the other hand, China is put as the villain or mediocre position that can be lead by US as superior group. According on derogatory strategies it can be called Victimization or put a certain group in mediocre positions. The two phrases (2) self interest and global interest, based on in-group strategy, shows how America used proposition strategy to persuade the reader that them (US) as the part a global interest. US used the strategy to portray the positive aspects to the reader.

The datum (3), shows how the US will keep playing a stabilizing role if one country growing too strong. Contextually, against the backdrop of China's growing power in the region, US will align it. In datum 4, America polarizes "our" that refer to US and "them" that refer to China with a certain attribute of domination to portray their positive image. "Our" as the

promoter of regional security and stability have a moral principle to keep military exercise to “them”.

In datum 5, disclaimer strategy used to give a negative image euphemistically. America describes China in positive image that they (China) have make a unique challenge and opportunity for ASEAN countries, and then burying China with negative image by saying “...**cause tension and anxiety.**”

The messages of the fifth datum show that US is positioned as the superior one. US polarizes and images others on the bad positions. Such as, America describes China as the countries that “...**cause tension and anxiety.**”

Data 2

RI hopes for US policy consistency in Asia-Pacific (1)...Indonesia is hopeful that the United States will maintain the status quo in promoting peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region, said Indonesia’s former ambassador to the US. (2)... On national security and foreign policy, Romney favors a more **aggressive approach** to US diplomacy. He was quoted by Reuters as saying that he would reverse **defense cuts**, spend more on **missile defense** and maintain a strong military presence in the Asia-Pacific region to keep trade routes open. **(3)...** On the increasing tension between Iran and America, Romney has suggested that **tougher sanctions on Iran** be imposed to keep it from building nuclear weapons. He also believes the US should take a more **assertive role against China**, advising that nations with **growing ambitions** like **China and Russia** needed to be watched carefully.**(4)...** “The impact of US measures against Iran will have big consequences in Asia-Pacific, but it’s still hypothetical now. US consider Iran to be an enemy. **We don’t treat Iran as enemy, but that doesn’t make us the enemy of US. They don’t need our permission** to do anything,” said Soemadi.**(5)...** “US and China both share economic interests in the ASEAN region. I don’t think they are interested in making it a battlefield. China having one aircraft carrier is still insignificant. US and China are **both our friends** because we share common interests,” said Soemadi..**(6)**

Datum (1) is the title of news and datum (2) as the lead of news has the hidden meaning that can be understood as topicalization. Its topically US is depicted as the hero that is wished to maintain peace Actor. Moreover, the message of this data is Indonesia take a lower position contextually we can doubt critically that US is the actor of peace or not. On datum (3) the term 'Aggressive' is chosen and followed by the 'defences cuts', and 'missile' so that the term aggressive looks smooth and not as violent. Although on the reality, the aggressive approach as the meaning of this data is closer to the violent by military approach than diplomatic. It can be called implication as euphemistic strategy to imply the real meaning.

Datum (4) shows US does not like with the nation that has "growing ambitions" such as Iran, China, and Russian. The nations does not want to be puppet state that nominally [sovereign state](#) effectively controlled by a foreign power. While US interest is seen as the role of stability its competitors seen as villains that have 'growing ambitions' that should be watched carefully. The message of the data, through the media, the American, Mitt Romney attempt to build a consensus those developing countries should be monitored through a strategy of proposition.

The strategy to keep positive-self representation indicated by Indonesian, soemadi to avoid Multilateral relations frictions by using hedging strategy. He Creates uncertainty and ambiguity to get a secure positions. Indonesia looks to keep in a secure position and its weakness to prevent any treats. It can be seen on datum (5).

On the datum (6) Indonesia takes a neutral position in the relation with China and US as the superior group. Indonesia does not show the objective point of view to judge some point which not relevant with global relation practiced by China and US. Contextually, on political global Us and China did any resistant agenda to affect international stability. Based on media,

the message of the strategy is Indonesia used local coherence strategy to persuade public opinion that China and US as Indonesia's friends.

Data 3

Taking sharply different positions, President Barack Obama urged pressure and diplomacy to prevent Iran from getting a nuclear bomb while Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu emphasized his nation's right to a pre-emptive attack.(1) **"I know that both the prime minister and I prefer to resolve this diplomatically,"** Obama said. **"We understand the costs of any military action."** (2) **"I believe that's why you appreciate, Mr. President, that Israel must reserve the right to defend itself,"** Netanyahu said. **"And, after all, that's the very purpose of the Jewish state, to restore to the Jewish people control over our destiny,"** he said.(3) Netanyahu said later Monday that Obama **"understood Israel's position"** that it has the right to self-defense. Both leaders see a **nuclear-armed Iran as a nightmare that could threaten Israel's survival and potentially allow terrorists to grab unthinkably deadly power.**(4) He said Americans know **Israel is their only reliable democratic ally in the Mideast**, and that Iran sees **the two countries as inseparable enemies**. **"For them, you're the Great Satan, and we're the Little Satan,"** Netanyahu said. **"For them, we are you and you're us. And, you know something, Mr. President - at least on this last point, I think they're right. We are you, and you are us. ... Israel and America stand together."** (5) **Although Israel says it has not decided whether to strike Iran, it has signaled readiness to do so within the next several months.** The United States sees a longer timeline to the moment when a military strike might be appropriate partly based on different views of when Iran would pose **an imminent threat.**(6)

Based on datum (1) media tries to show by using contrast strategy that US has a different view with Israel on respond the Iranian nuclear bomb. Media put US and Israel as the superior group that free to respond the Issues. US and Israel is the actor to pre-emptive or diplomacy to the "rumours". Postcolonial approaches see this phenomenon as the strategy of the northern states to dominate southern states. On datum (2) Obama uses of pronoun —I instead of —we here indicates how Obama wants to position himself as the one whom really Concerns to solve the problem with diplomatic strategies. Additionally, he does this way to appear as the leader

who pioneers the effort of establishing better future for the world. He built public opinion coherency that the cost is the consideration to choose the strategy. US more legitimate their agenda based on cost oriented than humanitarian reason.

On datum (3), Netanyahu shows an impact of the agreement from Barack Obama on the Israeli right to defences itself. Euphemistically he portrays their nation as the victims of global political constellation that must be defence. He legitimates their agenda to restore to the Jewish people control over their destiny. Implicitly, he derogates other as the groups that subvert their stability. On datum (4), phrases "**understood Israel's position**" could be categorized as the vagueness; it does not give the certain meaning. Understood that cited in media have bias meaning of the positions of US as a member of NATO to support one of nations, Israel.

America and Israel used presupposition to persuade others in take a position in nuclear issue. They presuppose Iran as a nightmare in world stabilities. Contextually, Iran said that their atomic activities are for anything more than nuclear energy. Moreover, on datum (5) America and Israel polarize Israel with other countries in Mideast with good attribute as a democratic country. According to western paradigm, democratic is a suitable and applicable system to manage a government. Derogation approaches see America and Israel implicitly put Iran as their enemies based on Iranian predicate to them, Great-Satan and little Satan. Israel categorizes America as a friend that stands together.

Media put Israel as the actor that can do anything what they want. Israel can strike Iran or not whenever they want. The bold sentence (datum 6) shows the superiority of Israel as a power in the northern state. On the other hand, America used vagueness phrase **an imminent threat** to

legitimate their possible strike. America used a powerful political and ideological tool as the well-known example of diplomatic language shows to vague the Iranian policy.

Data 4

Asean's relations with America stand to benefit the most from Myanmar's opening up, Singapore ambassador to the United States Chan Heng Chee said.(1) Referring to the historic by-elections in Myanmar on April 1, Professor Chan told student journalists at the University of Pennsylvania on Monday evening that it was "**fortunate**" that Myanmar was in the next phase of opening up, having elections, and moving on to a path of reform.(2) **The US and other world powers have relaxed some sanctions against Myanmar after a spate of reforms in the last few months which has seen democracy icon Aung San Suu Kyi win a seat in Parliament.**(3) Chan added that though the financial slump has made it difficult for the US to commit more resources to the region, '**the intention is there**'. **She cited the Lower Mekong Initiative, a cooperative effort among Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Vietnam and the US, and President Barack Obama's links to the area – he grew up in Indonesia – as proof.** (4)

Media states opinion by choose a topic about the benefit of Myanmar's opening up that put America as the positive actor in Asian's relationship. Make a good relationship with America be a necessity purposes on Asian political constellation. Critically, why does media not relate the Myanmar's political atmosphere with global relationship?.

The datum (2) above uses the illustration strategy to share a certain ideology, democracy, as the ideal concept of state marked with opening up, having elections, reform. Contextually, democracy does not solve the state's problem automatically. There are many state not practiced democracy and be a power in global political. Furthermore, the vague word "**fortunate**" had chosen to imagery a political progress in Myanmar.

On datum (3), I find local coherence and positive actor description strategy used by media to built positive image. By using local coherence strategy, media shows that democracy is

a consensus system between America and other world power has to practice in other country. The power domination can be seen on the coherency between sanction and Myanmar's reform. The world power try to dominate the other and give some sanction if there is a country does not adopt a same system with them. According to Edward Said, the every domination after World War II can be called as neo-colonialism. Furthermore, I find a positive actor description to drive the reader to believe that US and other world power is the superior group that can do anything to the others.

The data above (4) uses paraphrase to image building of America as a commitment country to empowerment the region. Chan as the Singapore ambassador to the United States shows how America really serious to commit more to the region. Critically, the paraphrase can be indicated that the orientation of America's Agenda is for financial oriented. Furthermore, the local coherence discursive strategy used to imagine a situation in which it is or in which it could be true. The local coherence strategy by means name some countries that do cooperative effort with US is the proof of America's commitment.

Data 5

A year after the Navy SEAL raid that killed Osama bin Laden, the al-Qaeda that carried out the Sept. 11 attacks is essentially gone but its affiliates remain a threat to America, US counterterrorist officials say.(1) Core al-Qaeda's new leader, Ayman al-Zawahri, still aspires to attack the US, but his Pakistan-based group is scrambling to survive, under fire from CIA drone strikes and laying low for fear of another US raid. That has lessened the threat of another complex attack like a nuclear dirty bomb or a biological weapon, the officials say.(2) Al-Qaeda's loyal offshoots are still dangerous, especially Yemen's al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, or AQAP. While not yet able to carry out complex attacks inside the US, such groups are capable of hitting Western targets overseas and are building armies and expertise while plotting violence, according to senior US counterterrorist officials who briefed reporters Friday.(3) Al-Qaeda's key affiliates in

Yemen, Somalia, Iraq and North Africa have pledged allegiance to Zawahri but, unimpressed with his leadership, "have not offered the deference they gave bin Laden," Cardillo said. **Zawahri has a reputation as an abrasive manager and a less than charismatic speaker.**(4) Another potentially positive sign is **al-Qaeda's failure to hijack the Arab Spring revolt in Egypt, Tunisia or Libya.** On the negative side, the officials said, **al-Qaeda is working hard to co-opt rebels in Syria.**(5) **If the political wrangling in any of the post-revolt nations fails to produce stable, responsive governments, al-Qaeda and its ilk may be able to seize the void, the officials said. That's what has occurred in Yemen, where AQAP has taken full advantage of the local government's preoccupation fighting multiple political opponents. AQAP has grown in size and territory covered despite constant and expanded targeting by Yemeni and US counterterrorist forces, the officials said.**(6) The officials also noted that every time US counterterrorist forces strike, they must take care to avoid everything from civilian casualties to hitting the wrong target, lest the blowback produce more enemies. "The key challenge will be balancing aggressive counterterrorism operations, with the risk of exacerbating the anti-Western global agenda" of al-Qaeda and its affiliates, Cardillo said.(7)

In the beginning of the datum above (1), media chooses the significant moment to emphasize the terrorism issue. Media uses strategy named topics to represent the gist or most important information of a discourse, and tell us what a discourse 'is about', globally speaking. In addition, by means of media, US use disclaimer to derogate al-Qaeda as the enemy that remain a threat to America. Furthermore, US portray it's self as the actor to counter terrorist. Contextually, we can discuss more deeply about the counterterrorism agenda, its purpose and hidden agenda. The US counterterrorism agenda makes stability and peace or make a new form of international instability.

The datum above (2) can be categorized as the strategy of local coherence to make the reader perception approve that Al-Qaeda never ending to attack the US. The paragraph of the news also show the power of US to pressure Al-Qaeda in lessen an attack. Furthermore, implicitly the officials of US counterterrorist said hyperbolic that Al-Qaeda has a nuclear dirty

bomb and a biological weapon to get sympathy from world. Contextually, the accusation of US to Al-Qaeda is not proven. The US strategy about complex attack like a nuclear dirty bomb and a biological weapon has done to control Egypt.

The Phrase “**still dangerous**” on datum above (3) shows the negative attribute by using vagueness strategy. “**Still dangerous**” can be meaning as the inconsequent attack by Al-Qaeda to the Western or the attitude to keep their country from Western Intervention. I will not judge to the certain group as the right or the worse. But, Based on Critical Discourse Analysis, we can see the international constellation more critical. In addition, the sentence “**hitting Western targets overseas and are building armies**” followed by phrase “**plotting violence**” shows that US try to built public perception by using presupposition strategy. US shows any information that tells the recipient about the bad things of our enemies or about those we considers our out-group will tend to be explicitly expressed in text and talk. US presupposes that Al-Qaeda will attack to make violence.

The datum above shows the strategy of Us, Cardillo, to deflate the solidarity of Al-Qaeda affiliates. Cardilo derogates the leader of Al-Qaeda, Zawahri, as unimpressed leader. Cardillo used disclaimer strategy to build a positive opinion and then rejecting by negative opinion. Furthermore, Cardilo used negative actor description to reduce the authorization of Zawahiri. Automatically, it can make a bad opinion about Zawahiri and Al-Qaeda.

On datum 5, I find the propositional strategy that used by AS to derogate Al-Qaeda as the actor of The East Instability. We know that Arab spring revolt in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Syria makes the multidimensional crisis in the Mideast. The Arab spring is widely believed to have been instigated by dissatisfaction with the rule of local governments, though some have

speculated that wide gaps in income levels may have had a hand as well. The systems of government in the Mideast do shift to democratic system. The term “Arab Spring” was "not simply an arbitrary or even seasonal choice of nomenclature, but rather part of a US strategy of controlling the movement’s aims and goals. Furthermore, US derogate Al-Qaeda as the actor that co-opts rebels in Syria. Contextually, there are many interventions to co-opt revolution in Syria, such as Russia and America. Russia is more pro-Assad order and America more pro-opposition.

The datum above (6) shows the judgment of, AS that Al-Qaeda is the threat on every political wrangling and national instability. AS through media try to persuade public opinion by using presupposition strategy. AS presuppose Al-Qaeda will take advantage in a national instability. Furthermore, to legitimate his Judgment, the official used the example strategy about the threatening of Al-Qaeda. AQAP (al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula) as the Al-Qaeda's loyal offshoots has taken advantage in Yemen to disseminate their ideology. The official of counterterrorist portrays AQAP as the out-group with negative point of view. Contextually, on every political wrangling and instability, every power group tries to dominate and share their interest and certain ideology. Based on critical approaches, there is not a neutral position in global political constellation.

The last datum on this news (7), we can categorize it as the topoi strategy of self-positive representation. US shows as the humanity group that avoids civilian casualties on every attack. They built a public opinion about wrong target if the attack of US hitting civilian. Critically, based on Iraq War, Afghanistan, and so on, we can judge about wrong target or hazard attack. In addition, I find the data that shows the relation of aggressive counterterrorism operations with the exacerbating the anti-Western global agenda. Based on it, we can ask critically about America’s counterterrorism as the agenda to make international stability or to dominate others

with chaos strategy. If Western or America agenda is to spread peace and stability, why on other hand it caused the anti-Western waves. We can see it more critically.

Data 6

Timing his pre-dawn speech in Kabul for evening viewing back home, Obama brought attention to his **three chief foreign policy achievements: ending the Iraq war roughly as he promised in 2008; killing bin Laden, whose terrorist organization killed nearly 3,000 Americans on Sept. 11, 2001; and setting a timetable for ending the increasingly unpopular Afghanistan war.**(1) Obama "is in an **unusually strong position**, thanks to keeping his promises on Afghanistan and Iraq, overseeing **the killing of Osama bin Laden and otherwise keeping America strong and secure**," said Doug Hattaway, who worked for Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign against Obama in the 2008 Democratic primary.(2) "**It's very important for people to understand that this was a gutsy political call**," said former Democratic Rep. Tom Perriello, who now heads the Center for American Progress Action Fund. Facing conflicting predictions about the bin Laden raid's chances for success, Obama showed "**a combination of deliberation and decisiveness**" that Americans like, Perriello said.(3) "**Barack Obama is not only trying to score political points by invoking Osama bin Laden, he is doing a shameless end-zone dance to help himself get re-elected**," said Republican Sen. John McCain, who lost to Obama in 2008. (4)

The speech is the type of campaign counterpunch that may play out many times in his re-election battle against Republican Mitt Romney. Before it, Mitt Romney said a political taunts about overdoing the celebration of Osama bin Laden's death one year ago. The Obama Speeches that spread in media show himself as the hero on some crucial moment. He used the strategy called positive actor description as the hero on three chief foreign policy achievement to built self-positive representation. Furthermore, he gives example the three crucial moments to persuade others about the American power. Contextually, we can doubt that three chief foreign policies is the achievement. The three policies are the ordinary condition after the vicious attack

on certain duration. How many civilian victims and damaged building in Iraq war, the hunt of Osama bin Laden, and Afghanistan war?.

The datum above (2) shows the positive-self representation strategy by using hyperbole. Doug Hattaway describes Obama by using a hyperbolic phrase **“an unusually strong position”** to appreciate about his achievement. Furthermore, to strengthen his argumentation, Doug Hattaway claims three chief foreign policies as the Obama’s achievement. He also uses phrase **“keeping America strong”** to emphasize that America is the strong and powerful state in global relations.

Based on datum (3) we can see that Parriello, heads the Centre for American Progress Action Fund, try to persuade other to agree and appreciate Obama. He uses the modality strategy **“it’s very important..”** to modify his opinion more acceptable. He emphasizes that people have to understand Obama’s political choice as the important thing. Then, he uses the phrase **“a gusty political call”** that can be categorized as a vagueness strategy. Euphemistically, he describes Obama with positive attributed. A gusty political call does not have the certain meaning that correlated with political choice. It is very subjectively opinion. However, What Obama showed in Facing conflicting predictions about the bin Laden raid's chances for success, cannot be put as the gusty political call based on the reality in global constellations.

The next datum is the statement of John McCain, a republican who lost to Obama in the previous election. He used actor description to show that Obama have been in a strategic position to get re-elected by shameless political practices. Euphemistically, he correlated the invoking Osama bin Laden with the Obama’s political points to get re-elected. In addition, He also put Osama bin Laden in a mediocre position, as the persons who used to increase a political score.

Data 7

"There's a light on the horizon," he told U.S. troops **on the one-year anniversary of Osama bin Laden's death.** (1) Seated beside Afghan President Hamid Karzai, Obama declared, **"Together, we're now committed to replacing war with peace."** (2) The partnership spells out the U.S. relationship with Afghanistan beyond 2014. **It is limited in scope and essentially gives both sides political cover: Afghanistan is guaranteed its sovereignty and promised it won't be abandoned, while the U.S. gets to end its combat mission in the long and unpopular war but keep a foothold in the country.**(3) At the signing ceremony in Kabul with Karzai, Obama said the agreement paves the way for **"a future of peace"** while allowing the United States to **"wind down this war."** (4) **The deal does not commit the United States to any specific troop presence or spending. But it does allow the U.S. to potentially keep troops in Afghanistan after the war ends for two specific purposes: continued training of Afghan forces and targeted operations against al-Qaida. The terror group is present in neighboring Pakistan but has only a nominal presence inside Afghanistan.** (5) Obama said the deal was meant in part to pay tribute to the more than 1,800 U.S. troops who have died in Afghanistan since the war began. He also underlined his message to Afghans. **"With this agreement I am confident that the Afghan people will understand that the United States will stand by them,"** he said. (6) **Karzai said his countrymen "will never forget" the help of U.S. forces over the past decade. He said the partnership agreement shows the United States and Afghanistan will continue to fight terrorism together. The United States promises to seek money from Congress every year to support Afghanistan.**(7)

The datum above (1) is the speeches of Barack Obama in a swift and secretive trip to the war zone, Afghanistan. Obama used the strategy of euphemization to get a positive appreciation about his political choices to invoking Osama bin Laden. He used the paraphrase "there's a light on the horizon" to formulate a good situation. Based on van Dijk, the paraphrase is not independent, there is a certain message or ideology can be share. Moreover, Obama share about his political strategy to war every fundamentalist, such as Osama bin Laden. Moreover, the journalist used the illustration **"on the one-year anniversary of Osama bin Laden's death"**

that indicated the Obama's paraphrase is reflected to. Automatically, he derogate Osama as the persons who make "a darkness on the horizon", an enemy in global world.

The datum above (2) shows Obama rhetorically put his self as the part of the in-group of others. It is can be seen in the choices word "WE" instead "I". He also used the Topoi strategy to persuade others that his war is the way to make a peace. He claims as the ones that committed to replacing war with peace. Critically, we can see the America anti-terrorism war is to make a peace in the global world or make a new war. Contextually, since America declared them self as the guardian in anti-terrorism, the peace is never come in the Mideast.

Based on the datum (3), we can see that America puts his self as the dominant and superior group. They emphasize as the guardian to keep Afghanistan. They put them self as the positive actor that keep relationship with Afghanistan to give both political cover. Critically, we can see that Afghanistan be put as a sovereignty country. He derogates Afghanistan as the country that needs to keep. Furthermore, euphemistically Obama used disclaimer strategy to build others perceptions. He shows the positive side of "end combat mission in the long and unpopular war" to obscure the real meaning of "keep a foothold". It's indicated that America doesn't have a political will to set Afghanistan totally free.

The datum above (4) shows that Obama used the topoi strategy to get a positive attributed and persuades others to agree with his political choices. He declares that the agreement with Karzai is the positive way to develop a peace in the world. He shows a future of peace is depended on the America political choices. Furthermore, the topoi strategy euphemistically shows that America can be free to wind down this war.

The datum (5) shows the dominations of America in others. The agreement between America and Afghanistan is not have a meaningful for Afghanistan to free in definite their political choices. But, America can do anything, such as in to keep their troops in Afghanistan or not. Moreover, the local coherence strategy used to emphasize the potentially of U.S to keep their troops is for positive purposes, training Afghan forces and against al-Qaeda. In addition, he derogates others, Pakistan and al-Qaeda, as the target operations to end of war. He claims that al-Qaeda as the terror group has the little affiliations inside Afghanistan. It is why America has to keep their troops there.

The datum (6) shows the number game strategy that used to strengthen the illustrations of Afghanistan war. Obama used it to build a positive view about their deal with Karzai. He illustrates the Afghanistan war has killed 1.800 U.S troops and need to pay tribute to them. Then, where does the positions of Afghanistan troops in the Obama statements. Obama does not mention the total of Afghanistan troops who death since war began. We can criticize it as the euphemistic strategy of America to dominate others. Furthermore, he used word “I” instead we to emphasize him as the key actors in the agreement. He presupposes that Afghan people understand his political choices.

The datum (7) shows that Karzai used propositions strategy to get sympathy from America by saying, “will never forget” the help of U.S. He put America in a higher position by saying that. Contextually, America has the certain agenda to spread their expansions to the Mideast, such as in Afghanistan. In addition, Karzai used presupposition strategy to persuade other that his partnership agreement with America has a positive purpose, continued to fight terrorism. We can also criticize the last sentence in datum (7) about the political choices of

America to seek money from congress every year to support Afghanistan. Critically, we can doubt the basis of political choices is the humanitarianism value or a hidden agenda.

Data 8

Letters from Osama bin Laden's last hideaway, released by U.S. officials intent on discrediting his terror organization, portray a network weak, inept and under siege - and its leader seemingly near wit's end about the passing of his global jihad's glory days.(1) The Obama administration has refused to release a fuller record of its bin Laden collection, making it difficult to **glean any larger truths about the state of the terrorist organization.** (2) **Again and again in the letters, bin Laden and his inner circle struggle to keep the focus of Islamic terrorism on killing Americans and tamp down attacks by al-Qaida affiliates on Muslim innocents.** The documents describe the U.S. as **"a malicious tree with a huge trunk,"** and its allies as mere branches not worth al-Qaida's time.(3) **In other documents...** (4) **-It appeared bin Laden was unaware of the planned bombing of Times Square in New York in May 2010, by al-Qaida associates in Pakistan, but he was disappointed that it failed.** (5) Bin Laden warned the leader of the affiliate group in Yemen against attempting to take over the government and establish an Islamic state, instead saying he should **"refocus his efforts on attacking the United States."** (6)

The datum above (1) can be categorized as the local coherence strategy to attributed al-Qaeda with the bad attributed. Using Letters from Osama, U.S generalize the letter to lash al-Qaeda out with bad attribution. Such portray al-Qaeda as the organization that have a network weak, inept and under siege, etc. It is show the arrogance of US to derogate the other organization. The derogating others can make the contestation between The West and The East is more complex. Critically, with the released Osama bin Laden's letters that connected to al-Qaeda, U.S have made a new form of terrorism. What U.S said about al-Qaeda can triggers the certain organization to do a terrorist act.

The datum (2) can be analysis as the strategy of presupposition. The data presuppose that the secret of terrorist organization is depending on the America's data. There are many

mysterious truth about the terrorist organization which difficult to glen. The Obama administration show the domination of the others group by refused to release their fuller data about Osama bin Laden. They will show to the global world that the terrorist organization have the many mysterious truth to control it. By using presupposition strategy, media have been derogated terrorist organization based on America's point of view.

Based on the datum (3) we can see that media try to persuade reader by using hyperbole strategy. They repeated word "**again and again**" to catch up the reader perception about the content of the letter. Implicitly, based on the data of Obama's administrations the media show that America as the victims of Islamic terrorism agenda. Critically, we can doubt that America is the victims that we have to sympathize to. Therefore, the media used the paraphrase "**a malicious tree with a huge trunk,**" that attributed of America to reduce the fact. Euphemistically, the attributed of a malicious tree is come from the terrorist organization. In addition, the global have not to belief the negative attributed.

The phrase "in other document" can be classified as the strategy of derogation using topicalization. The media more comply with the America's strategy that build negative perception about al-Qaida by cited the information in other document. By list the information about al-Qaida in the other document; media have portrayed the negative image about that organization. Based on van Dijk, the phrase "In other document" could be included in the evidentiality strategy to give the strengthen point on certain information. In this case, evidentiality used to persuade the reader that the information below is come from a true reference.

The datum 5 shows the disclaimer strategy to build the negative image about certain person, bin Laden. At the first, the media show the positive attributed about bin Laden on his linkages in the bombing of Times Square in New York. The second, the media rejecting by negative attributed that bin Laden feel disappointed caused the field mission. I classified this datum as the strategy to derogate bin Laden. Critically, we can doubt that why the positive image not cited in other document.

The datum (6) shows the derogation strategy using propositional to underlying the information about the opposite of Islamic state and the United State. The media cites the information, give a quoted mark to strengthen, and built the global opinion about Islamic State that represent on bin Laden. The media chooses the word “attacking” to catch up the reader that bin Laden as the subject on the war. Automatically, the reader will be persuaded that the United State is the victims of the bin Laden affiliated group.

Data 9

Obama: Time to shift attention from wars to home . (1) "After more than a decade of war, it is time to focus on nation-building here at home," he said in his weekly radio and Internet address. (2) "That's why I've called on Congress to take the money we're no longer spending at war, use half of it to pay down our debt and use the other half to rebuild America," he said. (3)

The datum above (1) shows that The Media used the paraphrase of Obama's statement as the title of the news. The paraphrase gives us hidden information about the new strategy of America on the global political constellation. The phrase “from war to home” shows the superiority of US to change their political movement based on their political will. We know that on the recent decade America becomes a power on the world. They do the military expansion to

the others that does not match with their interest. However, the statement of Obama that cited by media, show that their political done is for “war”.

The datum (2) gives us information about the using of propositional strategy to emphasize his self. Obama used “after more than a decade of war” to emphasize that America have done a war at a long time. Euphemistically, he continued with the statement about a time to focus on nation building. By using propositional structure, Obama show to the others that their political movement is not affected of the external condition.

On the datum (3), Obama used the word “I” instead “we” to show his self as the key actor on local and global politics. He built his self as the hero who has a concern to rebuild America. Obama built his self by using actor description strategy to portray his self with a positive image. But, critically we can see a proof of his political choice is material oriented. His political choices are depend on the financial condition. His statement “the money we're no longer spending at war” indicates that his consideration of war is “money”.

Data 10

Al-Qaeda bomb master: 'Brutality' and 'novelty'. (1) Before **those failed attempts, he staged an even more audacious attack**: Turning his own brother into a suicide bomber in a mission that injured Saudi Arabia's top counter-terrorism official and was later decried by the US State Department for **its "brutality, novelty and sophistication."** (2) **"You tyrants ... your bastions and fortifications will not prevent us from reaching you,"** said an al-Qaeda statement claiming responsibility for the August 2009 blast in Jeddah. (3) **"They put me in prison and I began to see the depths of (the Saudi) servitude to the Crusaders and their hatred for the true worshippers of God, from the way they interrogated me,"** he is quoted as saying in the September 2009 issue of Sada al-Malahem, or Voice of Battles, an Arabic-language online magazine put out by al-Qaeda's branch in Yemen.(4) **"I think it is safe to assume that in the nearly six years that he has been in Yemen, he has trained other individuals to replace him if he were to be killed,"** Johnsen wrote on his blog Tuesday. **"It is unlikely that Asiri is the only**

bombmaker AQAP has within its ranks — he is just the only name we know." (5)

The title of the news (1) used the topics strategy to persuade the reader. The media cited the statement of the bomb master of al-Qaeda with negative images, "brutality". The word brutality used to derogate the al-Qaeda as the brutal group. Contextually, we can doubt about the reality. There are many bias ideological spreading by using word "**brutality**".

The datum above (2) used the word "**before**" that continued by negative attributed "**audacious attack**" to derogate the al-Qaeda. The media used the local coherence to make a global meaning about al-Qaeda with his activity. The media also using the illustration strategy by mentioned "a mission that injured Saudi Arabia's top counter-terrorism official". In addition, the media derogate al-Qaeda with some bad attributed, "brutality and sophisticated". Critically, the using the word "brutality", can be change by the other word that not too hyperbole.

The datum above (3) shows that al-Qaeda try to derogate the Saudi by using the negative actor descriptions. He attributed the Saudi by the negative word, such as "tyrant". Al-Qaeda declare that their mission could not be prevented anything. Based on van Dijk theory, he also used polarization strategy to polarize "us" as in-group with "you" as the out-group.

The datum (4) shows us that after being jailed by Saudi, Jawahiri show the strategy of derogation to derogate the Saudi. At the first, Jawhiri used evidentiality by saying "they put me in prison and I began to see the depths.." to strengthen the opinion. He derogate the Saudi as the group that servitude to the Crusader. Based on van Dijk theory on discourse analysis, Jawhiri used the local coherence strategy to build a global meaning about the Saudi. He makes a global meaning by saying "**... From the way they interrogated me.**"

The datum (5) shows the strategy of using modality to legitimate Johnson's statement about Jawahiri. He wants to show to the public that Jawahiri is the organic person who spread his ideological to others. The modality is used to legitimate the presupposition of the Jawahiri's activity who trained other individual. Furthermore, Johnson's statement implying the information that AQAP has the many bomb-maker. By saying "...just the only name..." Johnsons persuade the reader or hearer to suspect AQAP as the danger organizations.

Data 11

The CIA had **al-Qaeda fooled from the beginning**. (1) **It was the latest misfire for al-Qaeda**, which has repeatedly come close to detonating a bomb aboard an airliner. **For the United State, it was a victory** that delivered the bomb intact to US intelligence. (2) **"I would not expect any real changes for the traveling public,"** said House Intelligence Committee Chairman Mike Rogers. "There is a concern that **overseas security doesn't match ours**. That's an ongoing challenge." (3) While airline checks in the United States mean passing through an onerous, sometimes embarrassing series of pat-downs and body scans, procedures overseas can be a mixed bag. **The US cannot force other countries to permanently adopt the expensive and intrusive measures** that have become common in American airports over the past decade. (4) **"We were nervous** — for a minute," said Nan Gartner, a retiree on her way to Italy from New York's John F. Kennedy Airport. "But then we thought, **we aren't going anywhere near Yemen, so we're OK.**" (5)

The media used the unnatural sentences (datum 1) on lead of his news. The media (Jakarta Post) used the strategy of topicalizations to attaches great significance of the positive side to The CIA. In addition, he states the word "fooled from the beginning". The media has opted the word "fooled" and not the some other word, such as "known" "heard" etc, which have been used to refer to the very same situation.

The datum (2) shows us the strategy of illustrations that used to derogate a certain group, al-Qaeda. On the other hand, it used to portray a positive side of US euphemistically. The first illustration states to convince the reader that al-Qaeda often detonates a bomb. Then, the media

utilize the term “the latest misfire” as the manner to the failed missions. Although, on the second illustration, The Media used the word “victory” that euphemistically has a positive meaning. In addition, the media used the strategy to emphasize good things and bad things, a form of polarization that is semantically implemented by contrast.

The sentences "I would not expect any real changes for the travelling public," on datum (3) clearly indicates how House Intelligence Committee Chairman Mike Rogers wants to portray himself positively and shows the audience or the reader that he is really in serious efforts to erase all kinds of dangerous for American. In this case, Mike Rogers employs the strategy of positive actor description through the use pronoun —I rather than —we to appear credible and caring for saving anyone. Furthermore, he continued his statement by saying "There is a concern that overseas security doesn't match ours. That's an ongoing challenge," to show his nations-superiority. He derogates the others as the nations that do not have the credible system to saving their visitors.

The datum (4) used the illustration strategy to show the superiority of the United States. The media describing the situations of airline checks in the US to emphasize that US the nations with a credible system airline. Furthermore, the media comparing the positive side of the US airlines system with the others by saying the term “...the expensive and intrusive measures...”. By saying that term, media show up the superiority of the US than the others. Critically, we can doubt it and see that the others nations also have the credible system which same as the US.

On the datum (5) we can see the disclaimer strategy that used by an American, Nan Gartner, to show his view about the other nations. He used the word “nervous” to emphasize his nations-glorifications rather than the some other word that have the same meaning to describe its

situations. Then, after he used euphemistic tone that shows the superiority of the US, he rejecting by saying a positive condition to derogate Yemen. Critically, we can see the American have judge that Yemen is the dangerous places.

Data 12

A course for U.S. military officers has been teaching **that America's enemy is Islam in general, not just terrorists**, and suggesting that **the country might ultimately have to obliterate the Islamic holy cities of Mecca and Medina without regard for civilian deaths**, (1) His war plan suggests possible outcomes such as **"Saudi Arabia threatened with starvation ... Islam reduced to cult status,"** and the Muslim holy cities of Mecca and Medina in Saudi Arabia **"destroyed."** (2) In what he termed a model for a campaign **to force a transformation of Islam**, Dooley called for **"a direct ideological and philosophical confrontation with Islam,"** with the presumption that **Islam is an ideology rather than just a religion. He further asserted that Islam has already declared war on the West and the U.S. specifically.** (3) **"It is therefore illogical"** to continue with the current U.S. strategy, which Dooley said presumes there is a way of finding common ground with Islamic religious leaders, **without "waging near 'total war,'"** he wrote. (4) In his July 2011 presentation on a **"counterjihad,"** Dooley asserted that the rise of what he called a **"military Islam/Islamist resurgence"** compels the United States to consider extreme measures, **"unconstrained by fears of political incorrectness."** (5)

On the datum (1), the media used the polarization strategy to polarize U.S. and Islam. By saying "... that America enemy is Islam in general, not just terrorist..." show us that the media try to share the certain perception about global constellation. The media persuade the reader that the global conflict is not just "WEST" and "NORTHENT", or "WEST" and "TERRORIST", but also more specifically the conflict between "WEST" and "Islam". The word "enemy" is chosen to strengthen the polarization between U.S. and Islam. Furthermore, the media show the presuppositions

strategy on the represent and depict U.S as the dominant group and Islam as the inferior ones. The media presuppose that U.S is very possible to obliterate the Islamic holy cities of Mecca and Medina.

The datum (2) shows the strategy of derogation on negatives other representations. After, Dooley presumed, for the purposes of his theoretical war plan, that The Geneva Conventions that set standards of armed conflict, are **"no longer relevant,"** he said about the superiority of U.S. to attack Saudi Arabia. By saying **"Saudi Arabia threatened with starvation,"** he had derogated other in mediocre positions. In additions, he uses the lexical of **"destroyed"** than other word to attribute their war plan in the Muslim holy cities. This package of semantic features causes the meaning, effect, and interpretation of the word to be derogatory and negative.

The datum above (3) show the vague terminology that used by Dooley. He said about "a transformation of Islam" as the important agenda to done. Implicitly, he derogates Islam as the religion with negative position that need to change and transform. Furthermore, he states his statement by saying **"a direct ideological and philosophical confrontation with Islam,"** to derogate Islam on the inferior position. He used the contras strategy and show up his confrontations with Islam. He wants to confront his Ideology and philosophical with Islam directly. Furthermore, he makes a distortion about Islam as an ideology rather than a religion. Again in the sentence, **"that Islam has already declared war on the West and the U.S. specifically,"** Dooley put Islam as the negative actor, who caused instability in the West and the U.S. Euphemistically, he persuade to the reader about the positions of the West and U.S. as the victims of Islamic ideological and its agenda. He intentionally derogates Islam with negative representations, and the other hand he built his group as the positive ones.

By saying, "**It is therefore illogical**"(datum 4) Dooley strengthen his perception about Islam. He used the word "**illogical**" than the other word, such as difficult or hard that has the same meaning on that context is a strategy to underline about his strategy to confront with Islam. The word "**illogical**" used to negate the possible strategy on a diplomatic of finding common ground with Islamic religious leaders. Furthermore, he convinces the reader that there is not possible strategy except a total war. He shows his group superiority using hyperbole strategy to emphasis his readiness on the total war with Islam.

The datum (5) shows the superiority of U.S. as the group which do a counterjihad. By using the local coherence strategy, Dooley persuade the reader that the counter-jihad mission is depended on the rise of military Islam/Islamist resurgence. He built a self-positive representation in this part of discourse to legitimate his group to doing anything what they want. Moreover, he emphasizes the reader to approve of their agenda on a counter-jihad by saying, "**unconstrained by fears of political incorrectness.**"

Data 13

The White House called for Assad's ouster as recently as Saturday when **it blamed the Syrian government for killing more than 90 people, including 32 children, following peaceful protests in the town of Houla.** National Security Council spokeswoman Erin Pelton said the attack serves as a "**vile testament to an illegitimate regime.**" **The Syrian government has denied responsibility.** (1) Britain and France had proposed issuing a council press statement condemning the attack on civilians and pointing the finger at the Syrian government for Friday's attack. However, Russia told council members it could not agree to any statement until the council was briefed by the U.N. observer mission at session on Sunday. (2) The United States wants to avoid escalating a confrontation with Moscow over Syria, but wants Medvedev to hear the depth of international outrage. Specifically, the U.S. wants to prevent another Security Council showdown, in which Russia might feel it had to veto any anti-Assad proposals on principle and the U.S. would lose that

avenue as a practical alternative. Moscow and Beijing have already twice shielded Syria from U.N. sanctions over the crackdown. (3)

The datum (1) shows the media write the McCain statements used the number game strategy. The number game is used to derogate Assad's Group as the evil of war who killed people and children. McCain wants his audience to feel how big the victims and the costs of the wars and humanitarian crime that should be paid by Assad and its allies. Again, McCain built a negative attributed for Assad by saying "**vile testament to an illegitimate regime.**" The word "**regime**" has the negative connotation for a president who does not do humanitarian practices on his government administrations. To strengthen the negative meaning of regime, he states the word "illegitimate" as the modifier of "regime".

The datum (2) shows the strategy of contrast used to oppose the two big blocks on global constellation, after the U.N. Security Council held an emergency meeting Sunday afternoon to hear a briefing on the Houla massacre from the head of the U.N. observer mission in Syria. The media persuades the reader about the positive and negative ones based on the groups statements that automatically coherence with the previous paragraph.

The datum (3) shows the strategy of disclaimer on built a self positive representation and negative other representations. The U.S. Deputy National Security Adviser Ben Rhodes, presenting an idea as something positive about to avoid escalating a confrontation with Moscow, then he rejecting it by saying about negative sides of Medvedev. Euphemistically, he does not confront with Moscow directly, but he uses disclaimer strategy to refine it. Moreover, he used the local coherence strategy to persuade the reader cognitive about the Moscow and Beijing contribution on Assad regime. He derogates Moscow and Beijing as the group, which shielded Syria from U.N. sanctions.

Data 14

Obama said sending troops into harm's way was "**the most wrenching** decision that I have to make. And I can promise you I will never do so unless it's absolutely necessary." (1) Republican presidential candidate Mitt Romney, meantime, promised to maintain a dominant American military "**with no comparable power anywhere in the world.**" (2)

When Barack Obama paid tribute to the men and women who have died defending America, he used the hyperbole strategy to strengthen his feeling about sending troops. He used the word "**the most wrenching**" to show their sense of humanism and sympathy. She is trying to affect the people's mental model related to this specific situation and make it conspicuous and worthwhile. Furthermore, he the use of pronoun **I** instead of **We** here indicates how Obama wants to position himself as the one who really concerns with peace, love, and attention establishment among the others.

The datum (2) shows the superiority of U.S. on military. Mitt Romney used the strategy of self-positive representation to might lead the audience believe and feel attracted by his statement that America is the powerful ones. By doing so, he tries to make others portray U.S. as a power group who doesn't have any comparable power in the world. Additionally, Romney want to say implicitly that every group in the world have to fear be faced with U.S.

Data 15

US clears China, Singapore from Iran oil sanctions (1). Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton commended the two Asian countries for "**significantly**" reducing the oil purchases and she announced a six-month exception for them to continue buying Iranian crude at lower levels. (2) **The U.S. penalties are intended to pressure Iran to prove it is not trying to develop nuclear weapons.** (3) Iran's oil exports are **down about 40 percent**, while its currency has **fallen sharply**. **European penalties coming into effect next week will further raise the economic pressure.** (4)

The datum above (1) shows the topicalization strategy that used to represent the gist or most important information of a discourse, and tell us what a news 'is about', globally speaking. The title of the news can be seen as the strategy to portray the US as the superior and dominant group. The topics is produced the global meaning that US as the dominant groups to determine thither groups get sanction or not. Additionally, the title represents a positive actor description about US. By showing the positive representation about US, automatically it makes the other group, such as China, Singapore, and Iran be inferior groups.

Again, on the datum (2) gives us information about how a US politician spread a hidden meaning rhetorically. The word “**commended**” is used to show how the US will include the other groups, which have same perception with them. The strategy also can be categorized as the in-group strategy. Then, Clinton used the word “**significantly**” to enhancing and exaggerating meaning. On the other hand, that word has the implicit meaning on the two Asian countries choices to stop processing petroleum transactions with Iran. Additionally, Hillary put the Iran as the out-group who has not makes oil transactions with other countries. Its show how does dominant the US in multilateral relations.

On the datum (3), the US persuades the reader cognition to have a perception that what the U.S. political choices is caused by Iranian nuclear weapons. The strategy of presupposition is used to presuppose information that is not generally shared or accepted at all. Critically, the U.S. tries to convince the reader to pressure Iran on their nuclear weapons development.

The use of number game here “**down about 40 percent**” enables audience to imagine about how bad economic multilateral of Iran. This may lead the audience to see the global perceptions on Iranian Nuclear activities. Again, the sentences states by the following adverbial

phrases “**fallen sharply**” to gives it a euphemistic tone creating feelings of how bad Iran conditions. It can be categorized as the hyperbole strategy. Moreover, to show their domination, Hillary emphasize that the European will raise the economic pressure to Iran.

Data 15

US, China begin annual human rights dialogue (1). Human rights groups urged **the U.S.to press China** over a crackdown on rights lawyers and activists and repression in Tibet —where dozens of Buddhists have set themselves on fire in the past year to protest Beijing's **authoritarian rule**. (2) The Obama administration says **human rights are central to its foreign policy toward China**, but as the Asian power's international stature has grown, America's leverage in pressing individual cases appears to have diminished. (3) She said Washington's ability to broach such issues with Beijing "**speaks to the maturing of our relationship.**" (4) ---that China is willing to engage with the U.S. on human rights as long as the talks are done "**on the basis of equality and mutual respect. We hope such discussions can help our American friends have a more accurate understanding of China.**" On datum (5)

This title of the news can be categorized as the topicalization. The title on datum (1) represents the global meaning about the communications between US and China is a dialogue on the human rights issues. That strategy is chosen to catch up the reader that US and China has the same perception and purposes to uphold the human rights. However, critically we can doubt that their communication is a dialogue. Based on the following paragraphs, we can see that the reporting is not about how the course of the dialogue and not about the obstacle of the dialogue. Critically, we see the dialogue is the way how the US defences itself and represses China.

The datum (2) shows the positive actor and negative actor representations. The sentence “**the U.S.to press China**” represents US as the positive actor who gets the urge to press the negative representation, China. China represents as the human right violent who have to get a pressure from a domination groups. Again, to build a global meaning to strengthen US pressure to China, the media show the local coherence strategy on the example of the impact of the

authoritarian rule. The media bring the reader to trust that Beijing is authoritarian group who have caused Buddhists to set themselves on fire.

On the datum (3) we can see the topoi strategy that used by The Obama administration. Topoi is the strategy that used to show about universal value, humanism, human right, etc. On that sentence the topoi is about the human right on China. Contextually, we can see the foreign policy of US is for human right or for domination. We can see the global economic constellation, China grown as the enormous on global economic. Therefore, critically, we can doubt the sentence below is the rhetoric strategy to dominate China.

The datum (4) shows the paraphrase strategy to pressure and dominate the other. State Department spokes-woman Victoria Nuland told reporters about the Washington's ability by saying the paraphrase "**speaks to the maturing of our relationship**". Implicitly, the paraphrase pressure China to show their maturing dialogue with the US. On the other hand, that paraphrase can be read if China cannot follow the US idea on their dialogue, so, China is the amateur groups in the global relations. Then, that strategy also shows the positive actor representation, the US as the mature group.

We can see the evidentiality strategy that used by Chinese vice Foreign Minister Cui Tiankai who told to reporters. By saying "**on the basis of equality and mutual respect**" he tries to strengthen and support his following idea. The used of that strategy show us that China want the dialogue is happen based on the equality and mutual respect principles. Then, his following idea "**We hope such discussions can help our American friends have a more accurate understanding of China**" can be categorize as the implication strategy. He implicitly said that America and their friends do not have the accurate understanding of China. Implicitly, China

wants America and his friends have to understanding of China and positioning dialogue on the neutral positions.

Data 16

Clinton challenges Africa to embrace democracy. (1), "There are still too many places in the region and across the continent where democracy is threatened, where human rights are abused, and the rule of law is undermined," Clinton said. "Too many Africans still live under autocratic rulers who care more about preserving their grip on power than promoting the welfare of their citizens. Violent extremism, transnational crime and rampant corruption all threaten democracy." (2) Beijing has been criticized for ignoring human rights concerns, local laws and environmental regulations as it boosts investment in Africa in search of energy and resources to fuel its exploding economy. By contrast, she said the United States is committed to "a model of sustainable partnership that adds value, rather than extracts it" from Africa. "The days of having outsiders come and extract the wealth of Africa for themselves leaving nothing or very little behind should be over in the 21st century," she said. (3) Without mentioning China by name, she maintained that unlike other countries, "America will stand up for democracy and universal human rights even when it might be easier or more profitable to look the other way, to keep the resources flowing." "Not every partner makes that choice, but we do and we will," she said, calling support for democracy and human rights the "heart of the American model of partnership." (4)

The datum (1) is the title of the news shows the global meaning of the news. That strategy can be categorized as topicalizations strategy. The title shows us that Clinton as an American politicians try to spread their ideology and national system to be adapted in the other country, such as Africa. On the other hand, the title shows the topics and content of the news is around the America with their democracy and Africa with their autocratic rule.

On the datum (2) we can find the topoi strategy that used by Clinton. First, Clinton said about the condition of humanism value around the world. She mentions three main points to strengthen their idea; democracy, human right, and the rule of law. Then, he shows all of that in a negative position. By saying "**There are still too many places in the region and across the continent...**" Clinton give a hard fact as the illustrations and uphold his following idea. Furthermore, Clinton shows that Africa stand on bad condition which Africans still live under autocratic rulers who care more about preserving their grip on power than promoting the welfare of their citizens. Violent extremism, transnational crime and rampant corruption all threaten democracy. Implicitly, he emphasize Africa to adopt the America system of Democracy which promoting the welfare of their citizens. She builds positive representations about democracy and derogates authoritarian rules as the negative system that caused violent, crime, and corruptions.

The datum (3) shows the actor description strategy which represent China (Beijing) as the negative actor. Beijing has described as the actor who ignores human rights, local laws and environmental regulation. Critically, we can doubt the Hillary Clinton statement about Beijing by asking the real fact and the China-America global constellations. Moreover, Hillary used the kontras strategy that emphasizes the difference between Us and Them. We have already seen that the overall strategy of ideological discourse is to emphasize our good things and their bad things, a form of polarization that is semantically implemented by contrast. Such, on this utterance, Hillary shared a good thing about US by saying "**United States is committed to "a model of sustainable partnership that adds value, rather than extracts it" from Africa,**". Hillary tried to persuade the reader that US is a good partner who will build Africa together. On the other hand, Hillary derogates the other as the bad group who just exploit the wealth of Africa without leaving anything. Her utterances also can be categorized as the strategy of polarizations. She

polarizes rhetorically enhanced when expressed as a clear contrast, that is, by attributing properties of US and Them that are semantically each other's opposites.

On the datum (4) the media tries to share the hidden message by using implication strategy. By saying "**Without mentioning China by name,**" the media implicitly say that the countries which mentioning by US is China. The utterance shows the media purposes to contrast US and China. Then, Hillary states his statement by showing the US as the positive actor. She described that US is the group who "**...will stand up for democracy and universal human rights even when it might be easier or more profitable to look the other way, to keep the resources flowing.**" She emphasizes that what she says is the fact about why the US has come to development other countries. In addition, she also slightly justifies that the cause of the US global discretions is about the humanity's values in the world manifested in the way how the democracy is running. In addition, he used the utterances "**heart of the American model of partnership,**" as the strategy to strengthen and legitimate the global political discretion of the US. She want the reader can be trust and be in-group.

Data 17

"I ask President Obama to do the right thing. The United States must renounce its witch hunt against WikiLeaks," Assange said, wearing a formal blue shirt and red tie in front of the Ecuadorean flag. (1) The U.S. risks "**dragging us all into a dark, repressive world in which journalists live under fear of prosecution,**" Assange said. (2)

The datum (1) shows the strategy of self-representations by putting himself on the mediocre positions. Julian Assange portrayed himself as a victim of an American "witch hunt" over his secret-spilling website in a defiant address from the balcony of an embassy where he has holed up to avoid extradition to face sex assault allegations. He wants America as a dominant group to end the hunt against WikiLeaks. By saying that, he shows that he as the

victims who positioned on the inferior positions. It is not deal, if America as the superpower groups, will continue their hunt to Wikileaks.

On the datum (2) Assange used the presuppositions strategy to emphasize their opinion about the US. He presupposes what America have done is a way how the America dominate the Journalist as the freedom writer. Based on his utterances, he persuades the reader to see what America is doing for the drugging journalist into a dark, repressive world, and live under fear of prosecution. Then, he persuades the reader to be in-group by saying, “drugging us”.

Data 18

She made the comments after talking about the arrest of three members of the punk-rock female band Pussy Riot. The women were sentenced to two years in prison after performing a "punk prayer" at Moscow's Christ the Savior cathedral in which they called on the Virgin Mary to deliver Russia from its leader, Vladimir Putin. (1) **"In my travels around the world the one thing I truly witnessed** is we in America have freedom of speech, freedom of expression," the singer said. (2) **"I don't think that** it's a coincidence that I'm in the city where the Declaration of Independence was signed," Madonna said at the Wells Fargo Center to nearly 20,000 fans. **"We are in the land of democracy."** (3)

The datum (1) is about the comments of the pop icon, Madonna, who kicked off the U.S. leg after touring Europe for three months. She gives example about the freedom conditions on the others country. By giving example that represent Russia as the negative ones, Madonna has derogated Russia. Her example of the freedom in the Russia could be justification for his following opinion about Freedom and liberalizations. She wants the reader to follow and imitate the true model of freedom and liberalizations in America.

Then, on the datum (2), she uses the evidentiality strategy to give the hard references to legitimate and justify her opinion. She said **"In my travels around the world... ,"** to strengthen their following opinion to catch up the reader cognitions. She wants influence the reader to trust

her opinion. Furthermore, used the hyperbole utterances by saying “**I truly witnessed...**,” for enhancing and exaggerating meaning. The, he states her utterances by showing the in-group strategy. She included the others by saying “**we**” to have the same sense about the freedom in the US. Madonna shares her ideology of liberalizations by showing the humanitarian values on freedom of speech and expression. Those utterances could be categorized as the Topoi strategy, where the speaker used the humanitarian values to state his argumentations.

On the datum (3), firstly Madonna states her statement by using modality strategy. She said “**I don't think that,**” to declare about her lucky to live in the US. She wants to persuade the hearer to imagine how lucky who can life in the Independence City. Madonna shows that he actually happy and enjoying to stay in the city where the Declaration of Independence was signed. Then, she states following statement using proposition strategy. She expresses that they life on the land of democracy. Madonna depicts her land as the ideal land that everyone dreams it to life. Additionally, she derogates the other land or city which not adopted system of Democracy, such as Monarchy, Theocracy, etc.

Data 19

Libyan officials said Wednesday that Ambassador Chris Stevens and three other embassy employees were killed **during the mob violence, but U.S. officials now say they are investigating whether the assault was a planned terrorist strike linked to Tuesday's 11-year anniversary of the Sept. 11 attacks.** (1) The man who identified himself as Bacile defiantly called **Islam "a cancer,"** and...(2) Klein told the AP that he promised to help Bacile make the movie but warned him **that "you're going to be the next Theo van Gogh."....."We went into this knowing this was probably going to happen,"** Klein said. (3) **"This is a political movie,"** Bacile told the AP. **"The U.S. lost a lot of money and a lot of people in wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, but we're fighting with ideas."** Bacile said he believes the movie will help his native land by exposing **Islam's flaws** to the world. **"Islam is a cancer, period,"** he said repeatedly, his solemn voice thickly accented. (4)

The datum (1) shows the little illustration why that Ambassador Chris Stevens and three other embassy employees were killed. The Libyan officials said that they were killed by mob violence. The illustration gives us the cruelty of the Libyan, who has killed the Chris Stevens and employees. Then, the media rejects the Libyan statement with the statement of the U.S officials. The U.S officials compare the mob violence with the tragedy of the September 11 attacks (09/11). The officials presuppose that the mob violence have the same connections with the actor on the tragedy (09/11). Critically, we can see that U.S tries to derogate the Libya as the group who has the history on the violence.

On the datum (2), we can see how Bacile described Islam. In the brief interview with AP, Bacile show the vagueness strategy by saying Islam as “a cancer”. He does not show the certain meaning “a cancer”. He just wants the reader or the hearer to define Islam as the dangerous religion that has the same meaning with “a cancer”. Moreover, Bacile represents Islam with negative-representations. He provokes the reader to hate Islam as the dangerous religion. However, several facts Bacile provided about himself soon proved false or questionable. Moreover,

On the datum (3) Klein, a Riverside, Calif., Christian activist who said he was a consultant and worked with Bacile on the film, used the implication strategy to mitigate his hard statement. He said, "you're going to be the next Theo van Gogh," to warn Bacile that Islam will kill you. In addition, Van Gogh was a Dutch filmmaker killed by a Muslim extremist in 2004 after making a film that was perceived as insulting to Islam. Implicitly, Klein shows that Islam has the history about their killing actions to someone, who have insulted Islam as a pure religion. Moreover, Klein implicitly warns to the Bacile that what happened to van Gogh was probably happen to him. He positioning as the actor who gets defeat the killing action to Bacile.

On the datum above (4) Bacile shows the vagueness attributed to categorize the film that he made. He said, **"This is a political movie,"** to mitigate the provocations impressions of the film. Contextually, the film, which depicts Muhammad as a feckless philanderer who approved of child sexual abuse, could not be categorized as the political movie. Bacile does not describing briefly about what the meaning of "political movie."

Then, he states the following statements using disclaimer strategy. He shows the negative conditions of the U.S, which lost a lot of money, and many people in wars in Iraq and Afghanistan then reject it by showing the positive ones, fighting with ideas. He positioned the Afghanistan and Iraq as the groups who do not fighting with ideas. Additionally, he used the movie as the way that will help his native land to fight with Islam.

Furthermore, he shows the vagueness strategy by saying about what he exposes to the public is **"Islam Flaws."** Contextually, we can see that Bacile wants to the reader belief Muhammad as the immoral Prophet. Critically, we can doubt that what Bacile exposes about Muhammad is only provocations. Again, he derogates Islam as the cancer. He represents Islam as the negative ones that caused something unhealthy.

Data 20

Afghan protest over anti-Islam film turns violent (1). "This is not the first time," he said. "All of the time, they (Americans) are creating so much anger among the Muslims by insulting the Koran, insulting Muslims and the prophet of the Muslims."(2) "People around the world are angry," he added. "It is the responsibility of all Muslims to show reaction whenever they hear any disregard and disrespect." (3)Obama has vowed that the attackers would be brought to justice but also stressed that the U.S. respects religious freedom. (4)

The datum (1) is the title about Afghan protest caused the Film "Innocence of Muslim". On the datum, one the media wants to build a global meaning about the whole news. There is the

bias perception on the title. The title can be read that the protest of the Afghan is over and turn violent. Critically, we can see that Afghan as the part of Muslim countries positioned as the negative groups who does not protest peacefully. Then, we can compare the title with other possible title (eg; “Anti-Islam Film caused violent in afghan protest).

On datum (2) Mohammad Humayun, a 28-year-old protester, called on President Barack Obama to bring those who have insulted the prophet to justice. He gives a hard illustration that the insulting Muslim and the prophet is not the first time. He shows all of the time, America do it to provoke the Muslim world. By giving illustration, Humayun reduced the brutality of the violent. He wants what their actions is something possible to response the provocations of America. He persuades the reader to feel the serious insulting, which insults the Koran, Muslim, and the Prophet of Muhammad. By doing so, he positions him-self as the victims of America’s provocations. He portrays America as the out-group who has done the bad propagandizes to provoke Muslim World.

The datum (3) shows the using of consensus strategy or in-group strategy. He builds consciousness that “**people around the world...**” or the in-group is angry. Humayan emphasizes the solidarity of Muslim when they get disregard and disrespect. Furthermore, he portrays the out-group who has done the provocations, as the groups who just make the people around the world are angry. By doing so, Humayan wants to derogate and worsen the image of the outsiders by presenting what out-groups have done and, conversely, what in-groups response.

In the abovementioned datum (4), Obama shows the disclaimer strategy to mitigate the meaning and reactions. Firstly, he states the hard opinion that the attackers would be brought to justice. Obama wants the world to understand that every violence have to brought to justice.

Additionally, Obama does not agree with violence, although the violence has the hard proof as the reactions and response to the disregard and disrespect. Then, Obama rejects his hard opinion with the acceptable opinion. He shows that the U.S is the country who respects religious freedom. He persuades the reader to don't accuse America as a religious provocation. By doing so, Obama implicitly said that the disrespect and disregard is not America traditions.

Data 21

“Now, **I have made it clear that** the United States government had nothing to do with this video. **It is an insult not only to Muslims, but to America as well,**” Obama went on, in a move to ease global rage at his country as part of the fallout of the circulation of the video. (1) Why? **“The answer is enshrined in our laws: Our Constitution protects the right to practice free speech.** In the US, countless publications provoke offense. **As the President of our country, I accept that people are going to call me awful things every day and I will always defend their right to do so,**” Obama said, which came to the laughter of the audience. (2) Yudhoyono said that the video, which he called another “ugly face” of defamation of religions, could not be served as a form of freedom of expression like Obama had said. **“The Universal Declaration of Human Rights underlines that in exercising their freedom of expression, everyone must observe morality and public order. Freedom of expression is therefore not absolute,”** Yudhoyono argued.(3) **But Obama said he understood the stance of Indonesia and many other countries. “I know that not all countries in this body share this particular understanding of the protection of free speech. We recognize that. But in 2012, at a time when anyone with a cell phone can spread offensive views around the world with the click of a button, the notion that we can control the flow of information is obsolete. The question, then, is how do we respond?”** Obama said in a defense to his previous argument.(4)

The datum (1) shows that Obama try to convince the public that the United States government had nothing to do with this video. He states his statement by using modality strategy **“I have made it clear that...”** to make his statement more reliable. Additionally, Two weeks ago, US Ambassador to Libya John Christopher Stevens and three other US Department of State employees were killed during an assault on the US consulate in Benghazi, Libya by an angry

mob in a protest at the video, which the Muslim world has said is ridiculing Prophet Muhammad. By saying that, Obama clarifies that US government have not connections with the video producers. Then, he states his following statement by showing in-group strategy. He says that what video done was insult to US as well as Muslim feel.

Datum (2) is the answer of Obama about the Video. Despite acknowledgement that conflicts and violence may appear because of a publication of such “blasphemy”, Obama said the US could not ban such a video. His answer using evidentiality strategy, he gives hard references based on their laws to protect the right to practice free speech. He used the word “**our constitutions...**” to polarize the in-group who respect to practice free speech and the out-group who practice authoritarianism and exclusives. Additionally, Obama imply that what happens about the video is a something natural on the country where everyone can practice free speech and expressions. Then, he gives illustrations that Obama as the president accepts the people are going to call him awful every day. He shows it as the consequence of the freedom country, and he will defend their people to do so. By doing so, Obama implicitly derogates the out-group who practices extremism and exclusive.

On the Datum (3) Yudhoyono as the President of Indonesia, shows the opposite opinions with Obama. He used the synonym “**ugly face**” to strengthen the impressions of the video on the defamation of religions. Yudhoyono emphasizes that the video as the “**ugly face**” could not be served as a form of freedom of expression. Then, he states his following statement by using evidentiality strategy. He used the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as the proof to refuse the video as a part of the freedoms expressions. He underlines about morality and public order to be important thing in a freedom expressions. Yudhoyono derogates the out-group who practices and adopts freedom expressions absolutely.

The datum (4) Obama polarizes his with Indonesia and many other countries. He emphasizes Us (in-group) with Them (out-group) have the different understanding about freedom. He derogates the others (out-group) as the groups who do not have the particular understanding of the protections of free speech. In additions, he states his following statement by using disclaimer strategy. Firstly, he recognizes that not all countries share the particular understanding of the protection of free speech. Then, he rejects it by showing the illustrations of the conditions on 2012, when anyone can do anything with their cell phone. By doing so, Obama strengthen his statement that everyone cannot control the freedom of expressions and freedom of speech. Euphemistically, he refuses the Yudhoyono and others countries opinion to control the freedom of speech and expressions based on morality and public order. Then, he underlines that based on “**how do we respond?**”

Data 22

Obama summons world leaders to reject extremism.(1) **Confronting global tumult and Muslim anger, President Barack Obama exhorted world leaders** Tuesday to stand fast against violence and extremism, arguing that protecting religious rights and free speech must be **a universal responsibility and not just an American obligation.** (2) **The gloomy backdrop** for Obama's speech — **a world rived by deadly protests against an anti-Islamic video, by war in Syria, by rising tension over a nuclear Iran and more** — marked the dramatic shifts that have occurred in the year since the General Assembly's last ministerial meeting, **when democratic uprisings in the Arab world created a sense of excitement and optimism.** (3) He warned that while there is still hope of resolving the dispute over Iran's nuclear program **through diplomacy**, **"that time is not unlimited."** Without laying out specifics, he added: **"The United States will do what we must to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon."** (4)

The datum (1) is the title of the news can be categorized with Topicalizations strategy. The media abstractly characterizes the meaning of a whole discourse or of a larger fragment of discourse that formulated in the titles of the news. The titles “**Obama summons world leaders**

to reject extremism” show the superiority of the U.S to control and ask the world leader to reject extremism. The other world leaders is positioned on the inferior positions. The title is chosen insult “Obama and world leaders reject extremism” that has the more neutral meaning. By doing so, the media was positioned Obama more powerful than the other leaders.

On the datum (2) the strategy of local coherence is used to shows that confronting global tumult and Muslim anger is the proof of Obama to exhorted world leader. The global meaning of the local coherence is not about Obama and world leader to stops and bane the video. It’s the strategy of Obama to share their ideology about freedom, which has to against violence and extremism. Additionally, Obama imply that confronting global tumult and Muslim anger is the pars of violence and extremism which need to protect it together. Then, Obama try to persuade the others to be in-group who has to reject violence and extremism. Furthermore, Obama includes the others to protecting religious right and free speech. Moreover, Obama puts the America as the actor who has an obligation to protect religious rights and free speech. By saying “...**not just an American obligation,**” Obama shows his superiority to persuade the others to adopt what America obligation on it.

On the datum (3) the media shows the hyperbole strategy for enhancing and exaggerating meaning by saying “**the gloomy backdrop,**”. It states to build a certain perception about how important the Obama speeches on the global conditions. Then, the media shows the Obama speeches is very urgent when a world rived by deadly protests against an anti-Islamic video, by war in Syria, by rising tension over a nuclear Iran and more. Obama positioned the East or Muslim world as the sources of a world rived. Additionally, by showing examples of democratic uprising the Arab world, Obama shares their ideology about democracy. Critically, Obama implicitly said that what happen in the Arab World is caused they do not adopt democracy.

The datum (4) shows the using of the vagueness strategy by saying “**through diplomacy.**” The meaning the word diplomacy there is not certain and vague. Based on the Oxford Dictionary diplomacy is management of relations between countries. Contextually the relations between the U.S and Iran are not representing the diplomacy. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad as the president of Iran, in an interview with The Associated Press, dismissed the question of Iran's nuclear ambitions is for weapon. Ahmadinejad declare that Iran’s nuclear is for welfare. On the other hand, Obama pressures the Iran have to stop their nuclear program in spite of any proof.

Then, he strengthens his opinion about diplomacy by saying that there is unlimited time for diplomacy. Additionally, Obama had strong words for the leaders in Iran about any actions the U.S. might take. He shows his superiority to warn the Iran that the U.S will obtain Iran to get nuclear weapon. Euphemistically, Obama says that America can do anything what we want to a certain purposes. By doing so, he derogate Iran on the mediocre positions who have to obey the America’s instructions.

4.2 Discussions

From the data analysis, the researcher found the using of Euphemization and Derogation in the Jakarta Post about the American Issues. The media, American, politicians, world leaders, shows uses the Euphemization and Derogation that represent on the Jakarta Post. On the basis of data description presented above, it is obvious that this research has found the use of derogation and euphemization as discursive strategies on the Jakarta Post.

In the present study, I have found that Jakarta Post has represented the derogatory and euphemistic discursive strategies manifested in the variety of tactics giving strong tone of derogation and euphemization. Specifically, though the producers (writer or speaker) of the

euphemistic does not employ an obvious set of euphemistic features in the discourses, the euphemistic tone respectively comes up and appears as the reciprocal effects of exercising the derogatory tactics themselves. In other words, as the example, Hillary used the *contras* strategy that emphasizes the difference between Us and Them. Euphemistically, she said that America is a good partner for Africa on the development on Africa. On the other hand, she derogates the others as the bad group who just exploit the wealth of Africa without leaving anything.

According to the data analysis above, there are some discursive strategies of derogation and euphemization represented in the Jakarta Post on the American issues. Such as; **(Topics)** “*US making sure no countries dominate South China Sea*”, “*RI hopes for US policy consistency in Asia-Pacific*”, “*Al-Qaeda bomb master: 'Brutality' and 'novelty'*”, “*The CIA had al-Qaeda fooled from the beginning*”, “*US clears China, Singapore from Iran oil sanctions*”, “*US, China begin annual human rights dialogue*”, and “*Clinton challenges Africa to embrace democracy*”. The using of the topics as the discursive strategy, which manifested on the titles of the news is to build a global meaning. The topics represents the gist or most important information of a discourse, and tell us what a discourse 'is about', globally meaning. Topics abstractly characterize the meaning of a whole discourse or of a larger fragment of discourse, they may also be concretely formulated in the text itself, for instance in titles of the news. The ideological functions of topics directly follow from the general principles mentioned above is positioning US as the dominant group.

(Actor) *President Barack Obama exhorted world leaders, As the President of our country, I accept that, America will stand up for democracy and universal human rights, the most wrenching decision that I have to make, vile testament to an illegitimate regime, military Islam/Islamist resurgence, and You tyrants ... your bastions and fortifications.* From the data

description in this research, the exercise of actor description is one of the most direct and definite strategy of either derogation or euphemization. Through such strategy, the US very often exposes and depicts the out-groups respectively as aggressive, conquering, and racist countries by which he is able to marginalize them and shape the bad image of them in the audience's mind, while he depict positive actions of the in-groups to appear good, wise, and in line with the issues being talked in the discourse. By doing actor description, the out-group or the others is positioned more mediocre and inferior than the US.

(Topoi) is like *in promoting peace and stability, a combination of deliberation and decisiveness, a future of peace, human rights are central to its foreign policy toward China, democracy and universal human rights, and respects religious freedom.* Topoi are typically used as 'ready-mades' in argumentation. Topoi are referring to general humanitarian values (equality, tolerance, hospitality, unity and sisterhood, and so on). Based on the datum above, Topoi used to share the certain ideology and purposes of the dominant group. It euphemistically builds a positive self-representation and derogates the others. Such as, the US shows the others are not really adopt the democracy and universal human rights values. **(Evidentiality)** is like *in other documents, from the way they interrogated me, in my travels around the world, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights underlines that.* The mentioned datum is the example of the evidentiality strategy to strengthen a certain ideology or opinion. It is hard references to share a certain purposes and persuade the others. **(Modality)** is like *it's very important, I think it is safe to assume that, It is unlikely that, and the most wrenching decision that.* The modality used as the way we represent the world and its event. Its can manipulate the certain meaning based on the group dominant wants.

(Vagueness) is like *Obama "understood Israel's position", an imminent threat, plotting violence, a gusty political call, and Islam as "a cancer"*. The vagueness shows the uncertain meaning. It used for political reasons, for instance when precise statements are contextually inappropriate or simply "politically incorrect". Moreover, both in the media and in political discourse, we may precisely witness the use of vague terms such as "popular discontent" or "resentment" instead of using the more specific term. Obviously, vagueness may imply mitigation, euphemism and indirectly also a denial. **(Local coherence)** is like this paragraph *Al-Qaeda's loyal offshoots are still dangerous, especially Yemen's al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, or AQAP. While not yet able to carry out complex attacks inside the US, such groups are capable of hitting Western targets overseas and are building armies and expertise while plotting violence, according to senior US counterterrorist officials who briefed reporters Friday, and a world rived by deadly protests against an anti-Islamic video, by war in Syria, by rising tension over a nuclear Iran and more — marked the dramatic shifts that have occurred in the year since the General Assembly's last ministerial meeting, when democratic uprisings in the Arab world created a sense of excitement and optimism.* The local coherence strategy is used to build a global meaning about the discourse of the text. Local coherence is a very general condition of discourse, and whether one is left or right, man or woman, racist or antiracist, one needs to respect some basic conditions of coherence in order to be meaningful.

(Disclaimer) *"... China's rise provides a unique challenge and opportunity for ASEAN countries, but as when China blocked rare earth trade to Japan to protest the detainment of a Chinese boat captain it sometimes causes tension and anxiety in the Pacific region,"*, *Not every partner makes that choice, but we do and we will , and The U.S. lost a lot of money and a lot of people in wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, but we're fighting with ideas.* This strategy is used to

mitigate the certain purposes. Presenting an idea as something positive and then rejecting it by the use of terms such as 'but' in the second sentence. The negation in such a case primarily serves as a form of positive self-presentation. **(Implications and presuppositions)** is like *speaks to the maturing of our relationship, Without mentioning China by name, she maintained that unlike other countries, and you're going to be the next Theo van Gogh.* To predict that within our general schema, people tend to leave information implicit that is inconsistent with their positive self-image. On the other hand, any information that tells the recipient about the bad things of our enemies or about those we considers our out-group will tend to be explicitly expressed in text and talk. A well-known move is to presuppose information that is not generally shared or accepted at all, and thereby introduce it so to speak through the backdoor.

(Hyperbole) is like *strong position, again and again, the most wrenching, fallen sharply, and the gloomy backdrop.* It is a device for enhancing and exaggerating meaning. It can be done through various ways, such as presenting intensifiers, such as the datum above. The hyperbole is euphemistically to strengthen a following statement. Moreover, it derogates the other hardly. **(Example and illustrations)** is like *a year after the Navy SEAL raid that killed Osama bin Laden, the al-Qaeda that carried out the Sept. 11 attacks is essentially gone but its affiliates remain a threat to America, US counterterrorist officials say, Obama brought attention to his three chief foreign policy achievements: ending the Iraq war roughly as he promised in 2008; killing bin Laden, whose terrorist organization killed nearly 3,000 Americans on Sept. 11, 2001; and setting a timetable for ending the increasingly unpopular Afghanistan war, "There's a light on the horizon," he told U.S. troops on the one-year anniversary of Osama bin Laden's death, and turning his own brother into a suicide bomber in a mission that injured Saudi Arabia's top counter-terrorism official and was later decried by the US State Department for its "brutality,*

novelty and sophistication. The strategy of example and illustrations is characterized in the form of stories, about Our good deeds and Their bad behaviour. Functionally, such propositions (or whole stories) serve to support another, mostly previously expressed proposition, for which it may give proof or evidence (as we have seen above). In other words, stories may serve as premises in an argumentation.

(Polarization and contras) is like *US consider Iran to be an enemy, Israel is their only reliable democratic ally in the Mideast, and that Iran sees the two countries as inseparable enemies, It was the latest misfire for al-Qaeda, which has repeatedly come close to detonating a bomb aboard an airliner. For the United State, it was a victory that delivered the bomb intact to US intelligence and Islam has already declared war on the West and the U.S. specifically*. It is a strategy of categorizing people as belonging to US with good characteristic and THEM with bad attributes. Polarization may also apply to good and bad, sub-categories of out-groups, as is the case for friends and allies on the one hand and enemies on the other.

Additionally, the messages behind those strategies can be correlated with the global constellations. The strategy of euphemizations and derogations as the findings of this study corroborated the fact that Critical Discourse Analysis can be an appropriate method for the detection of biased and manipulative language. In this framework, the dichotomous categorization of euphemization and derogation turned out to be a very effective discursive strategy at the disposal of the dominant group. In the texts analyzed, language has been used as a shield and weapon to support the West (specifically the U.S) ideologies, West domination, and the strategy how the West (the U.S) hegemonic others. Other word, the whole strategy which represented on the Jakarta Post can be correlated with some hidden messages.

Based on the interpretive approaches, there three possible hidden messages behind those strategies; at the first there are clash of interest between the U.S as the dominant groups who try to dominate the others, specifically the East and Muslim world. Based on Edward Said, the model of the relations on dominations can be seen on the language determinism. The discursive of the language used to portray and imagery the others based on what they want, not based on the reality.¹ The second, there is a neo-imperialism who practiced the U.S to spread their domination to the others, especially on the countries who grow up, such as China, India, and Iran. The U.S practiced the four models of domination which proposed by Gramsci, the political dominations, intellectual dominations, cultural dominations, and moral dominations.² The models are reflected on the language discourse on the news. The third, the strategies that emphasize the freedom, democracy, human rights, and universal values is not neutral on the global constellations. It is only the way how the superior groups occupy the inferior groups.

Eventually, from all data analysis above, I have found that those strategies of euphemization are primarily employed to establish or enhance the positive image of the in-group members. Conversely, the strategies of derogation are practically exercised to marginalize, discriminate, show injustice and express inequalities caused by the out-groups, and downgrade their authority and power in the audience perception. The strategies proposed by van Dijk such as topics, topoi, actor, modality, kontras, etc , are some discursive strategies of derogation and euphemization represented on The Jakarta Post.

¹ Edward Said, *Orientalisme: Menggugat Hegemoni Barat dan mendudukan Timur Sebagai Subjek*, (terjemahan Pustaka Pelajar : 2010), 74

² Darma, Yoce Aliah, *Analisis Wacana Kritis*, (Bandung : Yrama Widya, 2009), 103-104



CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter consists of conclusion and suggestions that are related to the research findings.

5.1 Conclusion

From the findings of this study corroborated the fact that Critical Discourse Analysis can be an appropriate method for the detection of biased and manipulative language. In this framework, the dichotomous categorization of euphemization and derogation turned out to be a very effective discursive strategy at the disposal of the dominant groups. In the texts analyzed, language has been used as a shield and weapon to support the dominant group's ideologies about democracy, liberalism, inclusive, universal values, and human rights.

Based on the CDAs conducted, the discourse which represented on the Jakarta Post were seen to have avoided certain words, for the purpose of soothing and propitiating or inculcating certain ideologies, and reinforcing particular feelings such as disgust, excitement, sympathy, respect, etc. In the texts analyzed, a number of discursive structures, and most prominently euphemization and derogation, have been exploited for materializing the main ideological function of Negative Other Representation vs. Positive Self- Representation. This dichotomy is inextricably tied up with other discursive structures of Polarization (US-THEM Categorization, In-group vs. Out-group) which is a semantic strategy in assessments about others. Based on the whole finding of the study, euphemization and derogations is revealed through some strategies such as topic, actor, topoi, evidentiality, modality, contrast, hyperbole, hedging and vagueness, polarizations, local coherence, presuppositions, and propositions.

In conclusion, the usage of derogatory and euphemistic strategies have been produced some possible messages. At the first, there are clash of interest between the U.S as the dominant groups who try to dominate the others, specifically the East and Muslim world. The second, there is a neo-imperialism who practiced the U.S to spread their domination to the others, especially on the countries who grow up, such as China, India, and Iran. The third, the strategy which emphasize the freedom, democracy, human rights, and universal values is not neutral on the global constellations. Positive self-representation and Negative other-representation lead to inclusion and exclusion. In this respect, we tend to use political and religious solidarity and homogeneity or, conversely, difference and heterogeneity to establish the perspective that our religious or political views are superior. The insights gained from this study show that the information presented and the perspective developed in the Jakarta Post. Therefore, this study has provided the descriptive knowledge of euphemization and derogation strategies in Jakarta Post about the American Issues.

5.2 Theoretical Contributions

The findings of the study thus enrich the research literature on CDA and Euphemization and Derogation strategies which proposed by van Dijk. The findings also illustrate that these strategies serve a number of linguistic and non-linguistic functions, such as political, sociological and religious functions. However, the monolithic approach or theoretical framework for this critical analysis is not sufficient to discover whole language phenomena, which entail familiarity with linguistic and non-linguistic facts. The researchers needs some socio-political information about the text in the news as well as a good grasp of the religious, economic, historical, political and social conditions of the setting. Therefore, this idea can be an important consideration for the future researchers to use in their focus of the study.

5.3 Suggestions

After doing this research, I admit that there are some weaknesses and limitation of this study that should be covered by the next researchers. As the present research uses the whole theories of derogation and euphemization strategies proposed by Teun van Dijk, hence I believe that the result of analysis is still too general. Moreover, I suggest the next researcher to do the more deeply research using the same theory on the news available on the mass media such as news paper. News are far from ideologically neutral rather they are replete with ideologically charged materials which can be brought to the readers' and listener's views through CDA studies.

Additionally, CDA puts forward an insight into the discursive structures of various texts and genres together with their religious-socio- political effects. Critical analysis of the text can be described deeply, if the researchers understand about the global condition as the setting of the news. I believe that my research is not comprehensive. By applying this suggestion, the next study is more tangible, critical, and comprehensions together with religious-socio-and political effect.

The study also raises some interesting and challenging questions for the continued research on:

1. What other functions are served by derogation and euphemization?
2. What is the role of derogation and euphemisation (positive self-representation and negative other representation) in enhancing 'critical thinking'?



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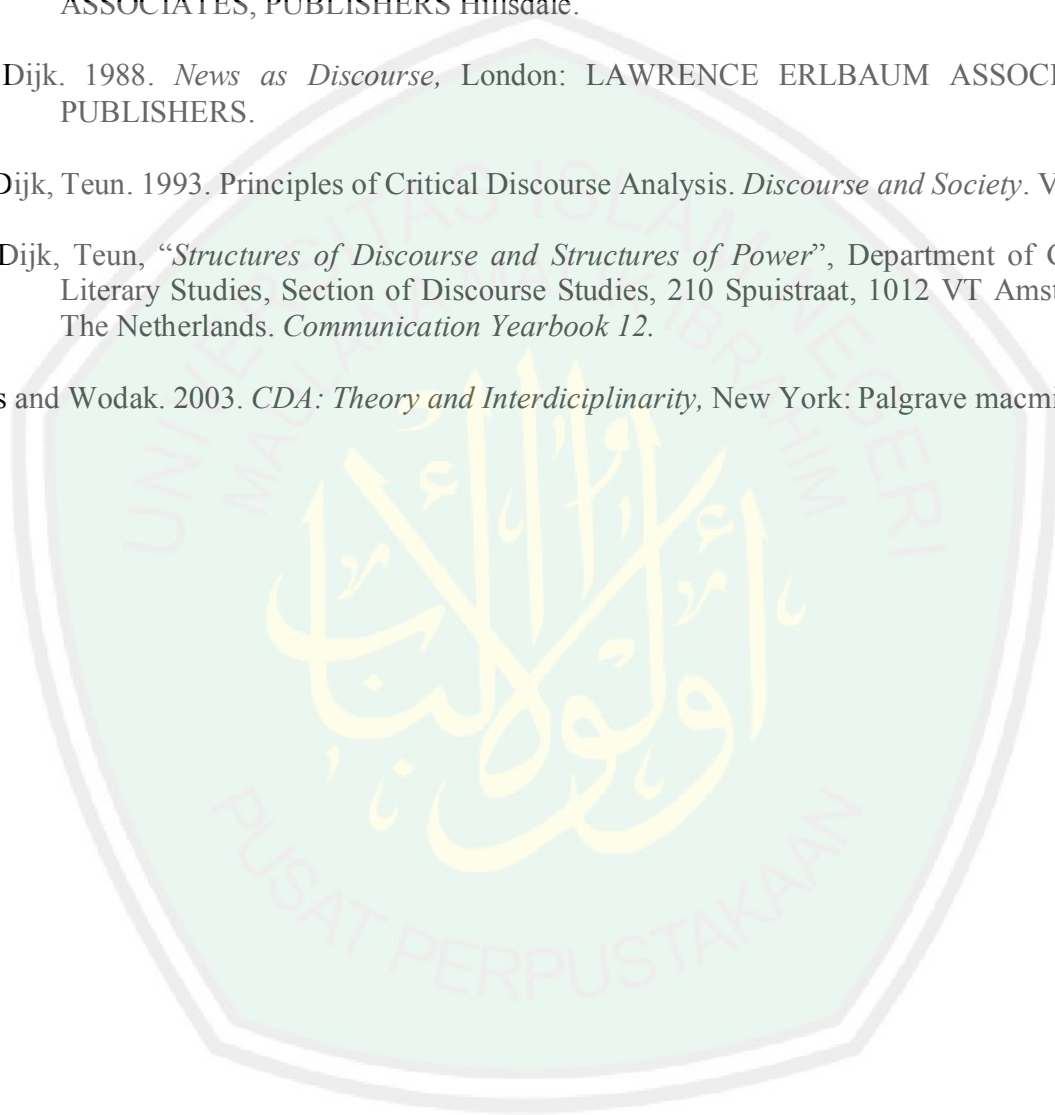
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Curriculum Vitae

Nama Lengkap : Hayyik Ali Muntaha Mansur
Tempat tanggal lahir : Madiun, 16 Februari 1990
Alamat Lengkap : Rejosari Kebonsari Madiun
Domisili Sekarang : Jl. Candi VI A Gasek Karang Besuki Malang
Pekerjaan : Divisi Advokasi Malang Corruption Watch (MCW)
Jenis Kelamin : Laki-laki
Agama : Islam
Status : Mahasiswa
Nomer telepon : 085655919999
Email : Hayyik1922@gmail.com

Riwayat Pendidikan :

1. Formal:

MIN Rejosari Madiun (lulus 2003)
MTSN Rejosari Madiun (lulus 2005)
SMA A.W.H Tebuireng Jombang (lulus 2008)
UIN MMI Malang (2008-sekarang)

2. Non-Formal :

LK-1 HMI (2008)
Pelatihan Jurnalistik (2010)
Magang sebagai wartawan (2011)
Pelatihan anti korupsi (2012)
Pelatihan <i>Community Organizer</i>

Ringkasan Pengalaman :

Presidium Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (HMI)
Komisariat Bahasa (2009-2011)
MPKPK HMI Cabang Malang Komisariat Bahasa

(2012-sekarang)
Kepala Unit Pengorganisasian div. Advokasi Malang Corruption Watch (2012- sekarang)
<i>Community Organizer</i> dalam program “Menumbuhkan Budaya Akuntabilitas Masyarakat melalui Pemanfaatan Ruang-Ruang Partisipasi Masyarakat dalam Kebijakan Penyelenggaraan Pelayanan Publik” kerjasama MCW, YAPPIKA dan USAID
Riset, studi lapangan, dan analis kebijakan Malang Corruption Watch
TIM tracking calon Komisioner Komisi Informasi Publik pusat bersama IPC
Koordinator Program Pendidikan Pemilih kerjasama dengan TAF

