CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

This present study was based on the theory of Critical Discourse Analysis proposed by van Dijk concerning socio-cognitive approach and the theory about gender in Indonesia. Thus, this chapter provides an overview about each theory which was applied to answer the research questions of this study. In addition, this chapter also provides information about *The Jakarta Post* and a review about some previous studies related to the portrayal of women politicians in the media.

2.1 Theoretical Framework
2.1.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an approach to discourse analysis which analyzes real and often extended instances of social interaction and takes a linguistic form such as the language used in speech and writing as a form of social practice (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Van Dijk (2001) stated that CDA focuses primarily on social problems and political issues, rather than on current paradigms and fashions. More specifically, CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society (van Dijk, 2001). In other words, the study of CDA also deals with discursive practices which have ideological effect in producing and reproducing unequal power relations between social classes, women and men, ethnic majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

Critical Discourse Analysis sees language as an essential factor to reveal the occurrence of power imbalance in society (Eriyanto, 2001). Fairclough and Wodak (1997) also stated that linguistic signs including words and longer expressions are regarded as an arena of class struggle. In this case, language is absolutely ideological because people use language as a tool to deliver certain ideology they believe. Therefore, Critical Discourse Analysis is beneficial as an approach to disclose power relation in every single process of language (Eriyanto, 2001). In terms of news articles, Eriyanto (2001) argued that power is an inherent aspect to define, represent, and even marginalize something.

There are numerous types of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which concern different features. Fairclough and Wodak (1997, pp. 262-268) noted that there are eight approaches to CDA. They are French Discourse Analysis, Critical Linguist, Social Semiotics, Socio-cultural Change and Change in Discourse, Socio-cognitive studies, Discourse-Historical Method, Reading Analysis, and Duisburg School. Among those eight approaches to CDA, van Dijk's theory of CDA concerning socio-cognitive studies was applied in this research because it is relevant to analyze the data in the form of news articles. Van Dijk himself investigated thousands of news reports in the British and Dutch press in 1991 and discovered that the most frequent topics in the press corresponded to prevailing ethnic prejudices expressed in everyday talk (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

Eriyanto (2001) noted that Critical Discourse Analysis proposed by van Dijk is the mostly used model in many discourse studies because it elaborates discourse

elements so that it can be applied and use practically. According to van Dijk (2001, p.352), Critical Discourse Analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. In this case, we will see that text and talk do not only include a group of words or grammatical sentences produced by human beings. Moreover, van Dijk (1997, p. 2) argued that people do many social and political things while engaging in text and talk.

2.1.2 Socio-cognitive Approach

In the concept of discourse, van Dijk (1997, p.2) explained that there are three main dimensions of discourse which are integrated each other: (a) language use, (b) the communication of beliefs (cognition), and (c) interaction in social situations. Among those three dimensions, cognition becomes the focus of van Dijk's approach to CDA. As a mental process, cognition is closely related to ideologies and knowledge which is socio-culturally shared by groups. Hence, there is a term social cognition which refers to the mental representations of abstract rules and other forms of knowledge that are consciously or unconsciously applied by language users in the production or understanding of sentences, topics, or stories (van Dijk, 1997). In this case, the language users are the journalists, as part of social members who socially share certain knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, goals, plans, or ideologies which then affect the way they write news articles (van Dijk, 1988a).

Van Dijk (1988a) pointed out that there are some specific functions of socio-cognitive approach which are beneficial for the study of CDA. This approach is able to relate cognitive processes with their social context, class, power, and ideology. Besides, only through such social cognitions can textual structures be connected with the features of the social context. Cognitive analysis is also beneficial to show exactly how the processes of source text understanding, representation, and summarization take place and how this information is used in the processes of news text production. Moreover, only in such a cognitive perspective are we able to make explicit how exactly a journalist makes sense of newsgathering and encounters news-making activities within the news room.

Van Dijk's idea on socio-cognitive approach is supported by other scholars on CDA. Fairclough & Wodak (1997) stated that cognition has the most power to control other dimensions of discourse. Moreover, Condor & Antaki (1997) also claimed that social cognition can contribute to the understanding of language in use because it attempts to apply basic rules of cognitive psychology to the perception and understanding of human beings. This mental process is necessary to analyze because everyone has their own knowledge in viewing particular things. In this case, journalists place important position because they are able to share ideology through certain points of view represented in a text (Eriyanto, 2001).

This approach treats language users as social actors who have personal memories, knowledge and opinions, as well as those shared with members of the group or culture as a whole (van Dijk, 2001, p.354). In this case, a text is not only

seen from the surface structure, but also from the idea that lies beyond the production of a text. It is supported by Eriyanto (2001, p. 222), who stated that text is not an empty area, but a small part of big structure of society. Therefore, this study does not only deal with textual analysis, but also socio-cognition and societal analysis.

The first dimension of van Dijk's approach to CDA is textual analysis. This dimension deals with the surface structure of the text which is divided into three elements including macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure. Macrostructure is the global meaning of a text. In other words, it is the thematic element of the text which can be revealed after the writer reads news articles from the beginning until the end.

The second element is superstructure which is related to the schema of the text. According to van Dijk (1988a), such a schema consists of a series of hierarchically ordered categories, which may be specific for different discourse types. In terms of news article, the schema hypothetically consists of summary and story. Summary includes headline and lead which generally introduce the theme of the news article. First positions, on top, possibly across several columns, large and bold type are, for instance, the properties that signal the schema category of headline (van Dijk, 1988a). Regarding leads, he stated that leads may be expressed in separately and boldly printed leads or may coincide with the first, thematic sentence of the text. Next, story is the whole content of a news article which consists of other subcategories such as situation and verbal reactions. The

situation includes the episode or main events in the news while verbal reactions are signalled by names and roles of news participants and by direct or indirect quotes of verbal utterances (van Dijk, 1988a).

The last element of textual analysis is microstructure. It is the small part of a text including semantic, syntactic, stylistic, and rhetoric elements. Each element in the microstructure analysis consists of some points to analyze. Semantic element deals with the analysis of background, details, and presupposition. A background of a news article can be provided or not by the journalist based on his/her interest (Eriyanto, 2001). It may include the history of the actual events and their context (van Dijk, 1988a). The next point is details containing the control of information provided by the journalists about particular cases (Eriyanto, 2001). Furthermore, the last point is presupposition dealing with the assumptions that are built-in to an utterance rather than directly stated (Reah, 2002).

Syntactic element includes the analysis of sentence structure and coherence. The sentence structure covers the form of active-passive sentences and the complexity of sentences. In term of coherence, one of its types is conditional coherence. It is signalled by the occurrence of sub-clause which is connected to the first proposition by using conjunctions such as who, where, which, etc. (Eriyanto, 2001). In the stylistic element, the analysis is focused on the lexical choices. The choice of specific words may signal the degree of formality, the relationship between the speech partners, the group-based or institutional

embedding of discourse, and especially the attitudes and hence ideologies of the speaker (van Dijk, 1988a).

In terms of rhetoric element, the real rhetoric of the news seems to reside in conditions relating to emphasizing the factual nature of events by using direct descriptions of ongoing events, evidence from close eyewitnesses, reliable sources, quotations, and numbers that indicate precision and exactness (van Dijk, 1988a). In addition, rhetoric element was also signalled by the use of metaphors and word or sentence meanings that establish contrast or build a climax which further contribute to a tighter organization of news information and thus may lead to better memorization by the readers and to enhanced persuasion (van Dijk, 1988b). Another important point is pictures or photographs. Analysis of the pictures allows the researcher to draw further inferences from the ways the situation and their participants are represented (van Dijk, 1988b).

After conducting textual analysis, van Dijk's approach to CDA is continued by doing socio-cognition analysis. This is the most important part which differentiates van Dijk's theory from other scholars' theory of CDA. This dimension deals with the relationship between the texts produced by journalists with the mental awareness of the journalists themselves. In this case, journalists are considered as part of society where they socially share certain ideology (Eriyanto, 2001). Naturally, the ideology which has been stuck into the journalists' mind will affect the way they represent someone or something in their writings. Thus, the cognition of journalists is very essential in this case. However, the

cognition of journalists in producing news articles cannot be separated from vision and mission of the media as well as the media owner who significantly control the production of news in the company.

The last dimension of socio-cognitive approach proposed by van Dijk is societal analysis. It is an intertextual analysis because it relates the discourse in a text with the discourse developed among society. In other words, it is applied to identify how a discourse is produced and constructed in society (Eriyanto, 2001). According to van Dijk there are two important points in societal analysis, power and access (Eriyanto, 2001). Power and access influence how a discourse is produced and constructed in society. Those who have power, followed by having more access to the media, can easily construct a discourse in the society.

2.1.3 Gender in Indonesia

As a result of social and cultural construction, concept of gender is not universal because it varies from time to time and from society to other society (Nugroho, 2008). Concept of gender is defined by Fakih (as cited in Nugroho, 2008) as everything that can be exchanged between female and male personality trait, can be changed from time to time, from one place to another place, and from one class to another class. For instance, women are considered as nurturing, emotional, and soft-hearted persons while men are considered as strong, rational, and powerful persons. However, sometimes those characteristics can be exchanged. There are men who are nurturing and emotional while there are women who are strong, powerful, and rational. Therefore, in Indonesia, every

ethnic has their own concept of gender based on their own culture (Nugroho, 2008).

Among Javanese, there is a famous proverb *suwargo nunut nerok katut* which indirectly places women as the second sex in society (Nugroho, 2008). This statement means that women do not have any right and power to make their own decision. In family, this proverb means that either the happiness or the sadness of a wife depends on the husband. Nugroho (2008) also noted that in Minahasa, although women are also placed in the second position, they should be grateful that they still can make friends with men whether it is inside or outside the house, in the field, or in a party. Women in Minahasa have strong and healthy body so that they can do many works quickly. In Bali, women are also being oppressed by men. Balinese women hold many responsibilities in their life. They are responsible to both family life and working life (Nugroho, 2008).

In some ethnics such as Batak and Minangkabau, men dominancy still occurs although their kinship is actually based on matrilineal structure. As stated by Nugroho (2008), formerly, a woman in Batak was considered as a factor who rules everything, but nowadays, she is called as someone who is bought by the process of marriage. He also noted that although children in Minangkabau belong to mother's family, but men are still the dominant persons who can treat women at their will.

Based on those evidences, we can see that although matrilineal structure still exists in some regions in Indonesia, the truth is man power still holds the

dominant position in daily life. Matrilineal structure is only considered by some ethnics as a concept which has no influence for their cultural image as a whole which tends to be masculine. As a result, men act as the dominant group in society who are superior to women. It is supported by Mulia and Farida (2005), who argued that mostly in our culture, men still consider women as incompetent and weak person. Therefore, in daily life, it is not surprising that most women only deal with such activities related to reproduction, domestic area, taking care of children, etc. Besides, our society also treats women to be submissive persons because there is a dogma which is socially shared among society that men are responsible to take the final decision in every aspect of life.

The concept of patriarchy in which men stand on the higher position than women also limits the space of women in their career. Soetjipto (2005) stated that patriarchy is considered as a barrier for women to get involved in politics. It is because traditional gender roles in patriarchal culture do not define women as someone who deserve to hold an authority. The classic stereotype of women and femininity, which is only related to defenselessness, submissiveness, loyalty, tenderness, childishness, and cordiality, does not include the idea of authority (Mulia and Farida, 2005). On the other hand, authority is always identical with masculinity, which is related to rigidity, power, and ability to influence someone (Mulia and Farida, 2005).

Patriarchy as the dominant concept of gender in Indonesia also spreads widely through the media, including TV shows, movies, newspapers, magazines,

advertisements, etc. In this case, most of the media portray men and women stereotypically according to traditional gender roles that have been believed by society for a long time ago. Men are always portrayed as rational, strong, protective, and decisive persons who dominate position in economic, political, and social power. On the other hand, women are always identical with some personality traits such as emotional, irrational, weak, nurturing, and submissive. Besides, the portrait of women in the media is closely related to sensuality (Baria, 2005). According to him, sensuality is always related to women because it is also related to dominant ideology in society, in this case is patriarchy which positions woman as the object and a commodity to make a big profit.

2.2 *The Jakarta Post*

In the official website of *The Jakarta Post*, it is noted that *The Jakarta Post* was born in 1983 when Suharto's repressive New Order regime was at its height and the media was muzzled. The occurrence of The Jakarta Post was closely related to politics and authorities at that time. The history of the newspaper dates back to a conversation between the Minister of Information Ali Moertopo and Jusuf Wanandi, who represented the government-backed Golkar newspaper *Suara Karya*. Minister Moertopo mentioned the possibility of publishing an English-language newspaper of the highest editorial quality to serve up to date information to foreigners in Indonesia and expatriates. Thus the company, PT Bina Media Tenggara, was founded by four competing media groups publishing

some of the leading national publications: *Suara Karya, Kompas, Sinar Harapan and Tempo.*

In 1994, *The Jakarta Post* became the first newspaper in Indonesia, which went under the international project called "Go International". Three global companies provided database services from three different places in the world so that *The Jakarta Post* can be accessed by thousands of customers around the world for 24 hours. This project was the real embodiment of *The Jakarta Post*'s mission to bring Indonesian perspective into national and international issues. *The Jakarta Post* is a daily English-language which has survived from Asian financial crisis in 1997 and has had 41.049 subscribers in December 1998. *The Jakarta Post* also has Sunday and online edition which are not found in the daily print edition. The Daily attempts to target foreigners and educated Indonesian citizens even though the number of middle-class readers in Indonesia also continues to increase.

In addition, The Jakarta Post was awarded an international award from the International Marketing Association - Editor and Publisher as the first winner among the newspapers which were able to circulate less than 50.000 copies per day in the public relations category. The Jakarta Post also received several other awards that make it the only Indonesian newspaper which is internationally recognized today.

2.3 Related Studies

Concerning the portrayal of men and women politicians in the media, there are some previous studies which were conducted by several researchers overseas.

However, none of them discussed about the portrayal of women politicians involved in corruption. Bystrom, Robertson, and Banwart (2001) conducted a study on media's portrayal of female and male candidates in primary election at two levels of political leadership, state governor and U. S. Senate. By applying the theory of content analysis, they analyzed some articles from major national newspaper and representative major regional newspaper. The finding shows that men and women candidates were framed differently by the media during the general elections even when vying for their own party's bid.

In 2003, Bystrom et al conducted another research on media's portrayal of candidates in mixed-gender gubernatorial and U. S. Senate. They used quantitative as well as qualitative method in this research and then applied content analysis data to analyze 1285 articles from major newspapers. They found that female candidates continue to face some stereotypical biases in the news coverage of their campaigns. In this case, female candidates were significantly more likely than were male candidates to have their gender, children, and marital status mentioned across both primary and general election coverage (Bystrom et al, 2003).

Another research was conducted by Katembo (2005) who analyzed the representation of South African Women Politicians in the *Sunday Times* during the 2004 presidential and general elections by using both quantitative and qualitative method. It is the combination of content analysis to obtain the findings and Fairclough's CDA to analyze and interpret the data. By applying content analysis, Katembo (2005) found that presentation of women politicians in the

Sunday Times tended to focus more on their personality traits, followed by their potential for office, physical attributes and family relation. Moreover, by applying Fairclough's CDA, it can be revealed that lexical signs and metaphors played important role in the *Sunday Times'* construction of different personalities for women politicians which tend to be negative and for men politicians which is predominantly positive.

In 2011, Wasburn and Wasburn conducted a case study about media coverage on Sarah Palin, the candidate of vice president from Republican Party in 2008. The data was obtained from *Newsweek* and *Time Magazine* which discussed Palin and her opponent Democratic Senator, Joe Biden, from September 1 until November 3, 2008. By combining quantitative and qualitative method, they found that *Newsweek* and *Time* discussed Palin's positions on issues related to triviality and family life more frequently than her positions on other issues such as economic policy and international matters which only involved her rival, Joe Biden.

These findings are congruent with those of Media Monitoring Project Zimbabwe [MMPZ] (2012) who conducted a study on media representation of women politicians in Zimbabwe. This is a two-month investigation, conducted from October 1 to November 30, 2012. It focused on 10 of Zimbabwe's 16 mainstream media outlets, both private and public (state-owned). Quantitative method was used by applying voice/source-coding mechanism which is then continued by applying qualitative method to analyze the findings as well as

deduce the diction and pictorial presentation of women in the surveyed media. Based on this investigation, it shows that media's attention of female politicians was often focused not on their intellectual substance but more on their gender and womanhood such as portraying women politicians as political ornaments, party support structure, victims of family baggage, and victims of negative politics and power struggle (MMPZ, 2012).

While there have been some studies on media's portrayal of women politicians overseas, little has been written about the portrayal of women politicians in Indonesia. In addition, none of the previous studies provides an analysis of media's portrayal of women politicians involved in committing crime, especially corruption. Since many corruption cases were done by politicians in Indonesia and many news reporting them in the media, it is a matter of concern to discover how the media portrays women politicians involved in corruption cases.