



THESIS

**THE NEGOTIATION OF INDONESIAN WOMAN LEADER
STEREOTYPES REPRESENTED IN *RAKYAT MERDEKA.ID*:
A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON THE REPRESENTATION
OF RISMA-KHOFIFAH FIGURES**



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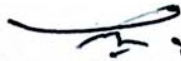
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DECLARATION

I, HUMAIRATUL HASANAH, hereby declare that this thesis has not been previously submitted in this university or any other University for the award of any other degree, diploma, associateship, fellowship, or other similar titles of recognition. Moreover, to the best of this candidate's knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published and written by other persons except where due to reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Surabaya, July 28, 2022



Humairatul Hasanah

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

COVER	i
INSIDE COVER	ii
THESIS ADVISOR’S APPROVAL PAGE.....	iii
THESIS EXAMINER’S APPROVAL PAGE	iv
DECLARATION	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	viii
Abstract	x
Abstrak	xi
CHAPTER 1.....	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background of the Study	1
1.4 Significance of the Study.....	10
CHAPTER II.....	12
LITERATURE REVIEW	12
2.1 Theoretical Framework.....	12
2.1.1. Theo Van Leeuwen’s Critical Discourse Analysis	12
2.1.2 Van Leeuwen's Framework of Social Actor Representation	14
2.1.3 The Visual Representation of Social Actors.....	23
2.2 Review of Related Studies.....	28
CHAPTER III.....	34
RESEARCH METHODS.....	34
3.1 Research Approach.....	34
3.2. Research Design	35
3.3 Source of Data	35
3.4 Methods of Data Collection.....	38
3.5 Method of Data Analysis.....	39
CHAPTER IV	41
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS	41
4.1 FINDINGS	41
4.1.1 The Representation of Risma’s Figure as Social Actor.....	41
2.1.2 The Representation of Khofifah’s Figure as Social Actor.....	112
4.2 Discussion	160
4.2.1. Tri Rismaharini Vs Khofifah Indar Parawansa as Regional Leaders	160
4.2.2 Tri Rismaharini Vs Khofifah Indar Parawansa as National Leaders	165
4.2.3 Representation of Women Leaders in Patriarchal Perspective	168
4.2.4 The Influence of Media Institutions on the Identity Contestation of Risma vs Khofifah.....	172
CHAPTER V.....	182
CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION.....	182
5.1 CONCLUSION	182
5.2 SUGGESTION	184
REFERENCES.....	185

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1 Socio-semantic Inventoy of Social Actor Representations	16
Table 1.2 Representation and Viewer Network.....	26
Table 1.3 Van Leeuwen’s (2008) Visual Social Actor Network	28

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 The Visual Representation of Risma.....	49
Figure 2 The Visual Representation of Risma.....	61
Figure 3 The Visual Representation of Risma.....	72
Figure 4 The Visual Representation of Risma.....	80
Figure 5 The Visual Representation of Risma.....	87
Figure 6 The Visual Representation of Risma	92
Figure 7 The Visual Representation of Khofifah.....	117
Figure 8 The Visual Representation of Khofifah.....	124
Figure 9 The Visual Representation of Khofifah.....	130
Figure 10 The Visual Representation of Khofifah.....	136
Figure 11 The Visual Representation of Khofifah.....	142
Figure 12 The Visual Representation of Khofifah.....	146

**THE NEGOTIATION OF INDONESIAN WOMAN LEADER STEREOTYPES
REPRESENTED IN *RAKYAT MERDEKA.ID*:**

**A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON THE REPRESENTATION OF
RISMA-KHOFIFAH FIGURES**

Abstract

Online media is now considered a tool used by a person or group who has the political power to shape public opinion. However, it is still considered not easy for women leaders to construct media discourse since the participation of women in the political field is still dominated by men. Thus, this study aims to reveal how women leaders' position as social actors is represented in two ways (linguistic & visual), whether it is marginalized or to be the center of attention in media discourse. This study focuses on two women leaders, Risma and Khofifah as an example of women leaders in politics who are currently in the spotlight of the public. This study adopted Van Leeuwen's (2008) social actor representation and visual representation of the social actor framework which comprises exclusion and inclusion. A qualitative approach was applied in this study. The data were collected from twelve selected news articles published by Rakyat Merdeka.id. The findings show that both Risma and Khofifah's figures are represented through both inclusion and exclusion discourse strategies in the news text. Rakyat merdeka represents these two women leaders with different strategies at regional and national leadership levels. In this study, both linguistically and visually, it is revealed that women's position as women leaders is represented as an active leader in handling various cases, such as natural disasters and covid-19. The representation of women leaders in a patriarchal perspective also negotiates the stereotype that women are weak and difficult to lead. This demonstrates that women's political participation should get high appreciation. Risma and Khofifah's leadership received a lot of positive feedback from the public and various groups, proving that women can also be role models as leaders. In conclusion, the political economy of media institutions also influences the discourse strategy in representing women's position as women leaders in the news report.

Keywords:

Representation, Indonesian Women Leaders Stereotypes, Van Leeuwen's social actor representation, Visual Representation, Critical Discourse Analysis

**NEGOSIASI STEREOTIP PEMIMPIN PEREMPUAN INDONESIA YANG
DIREPRESENTASIKAN DALAM *RAKYAT MERDEKA.ID*:
ANALISIS WACANA KRITIS REPRESENTASI TOKOH RISMA-KHOFIFAH**

Abstrak

Media online kini dianggap sebagai alat yang digunakan oleh seseorang atau kelompok yang memiliki kekuatan politik untuk membentuk opini publik. Namun, masih dianggap tidak mudah bagi pemimpin perempuan untuk mengkonstruksi wacana media karena partisipasi perempuan dalam bidang politik masih didominasi oleh laki-laki. Dengan demikian, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap bagaimana posisi pemimpin perempuan sebagai aktor sosial direpresentasikan dalam dua cara (linguistik & visual), apakah terpinggirkan atau menjadi pusat perhatian dalam wacana media. Kajian ini berfokus pada dua tokoh perempuan, Risma dan Khofifah sebagai contoh tokoh perempuan dalam politik yang saat ini menjadi sorotan publik. Penelitian ini mengadopsi representasi aktor sosial dan representasi visual dari kerangka aktor sosial Van Leeuwen (2008) yang terdiri dari eksklusi dan inklusi. Pendekatan kualitatif diterapkan dalam penelitian ini. Data dikumpulkan dari dua belas artikel berita terpilih yang diterbitkan oleh Rakyat Merdeka.id. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa baik figur Risma maupun Khofifah direpresentasikan melalui strategi wacana inklusi dan eksklusi dalam teks berita. Rakyat merdeka merepresentasikan dua tokoh perempuan ini dengan strategi yang berbeda di tingkat kepemimpinan daerah dan nasional. Dalam kajian ini, baik secara bahasa maupun visual, terungkap bahwa posisi perempuan sebagai pemimpin perempuan direpresentasikan sebagai pemimpin yang aktif dalam menangani berbagai kasus, seperti bencana alam dan covid-19. Representasi pemimpin perempuan dalam perspektif patriarki juga menegosiasikan stereotip bahwa perempuan lemah dan sulit untuk menjadi pemimpin. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa partisipasi politik perempuan harus mendapat apresiasi yang tinggi. Kepemimpinan Risma dan Khofifah banyak mendapat tanggapan positif dari masyarakat dan berbagai kalangan, membuktikan bahwa perempuan juga bisa menjadi panutan sebagai pemimpin. Kesimpulannya, ekonomi politik dari institusi media juga mempengaruhi strategi wacana dalam merepresentasikan posisi perempuan sebagai pemimpin perempuan dalam pemberitaan.

Kata kunci:

Representasi, Stereotip Pemimpin Wanita Indonesia, Representasi Aktor Sosial Van Leeuwen, Representasi Visual, Analisis Wacana Kritis.