



**THE APPRAISAL OF BIAS AND POWER AS EXPRESSED IN FOUR
INDONESIAN NEWS ARTICLES ABOUT INDONESIA NEW HOUSE
SPEAKER INAUGURATION**

THESIS

Written by:

**ISMI KUNTUM ZULAIKHA
NIM 120110101039**

**ENGLISH DEPARTMENT
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
JEMBER UNIVERSITY
2016**



**THE APPRAISAL OF BIAS AND POWER AS EXPRESSED IN FOUR
INDONESIAN NEWS ARTICLES ABOUT INDONESIA NEW HOUSE
SPEAKER INAUGURATION**

THESIS

Presented to the English Department,
Faculty of Humanities, Jember University as One of the Requirements
To get the Award of Sarjana Sastra Degree in English Studies

Written by:

**ISMI KUNTUM ZULAIKHA
NIM 120110101039**

**ENGLISH DEPARTMENT
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
JEMBER UNIVERSITY
2016**

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to:

- Moedji Boedi Atmadji my father, Sugik Wintariati my mother. You are my everything, my hero and my greatest support in my life, than kyou for your never ending love.
- My dearest sister Agustin Rahmawati for our happiness and beautiful time.
- My partners from Mojokerto who always cheer me up and bring me away from loneliness: Catur, Risma, Yuwe
- All of my precious friends who always give me an inspiration through our small chit chat: Fiyruz, Hanifa, Feny, Umayah, Fitriah, Lia, Puput, Deena and all my friends in English Department 2012.
- My Alma Mater

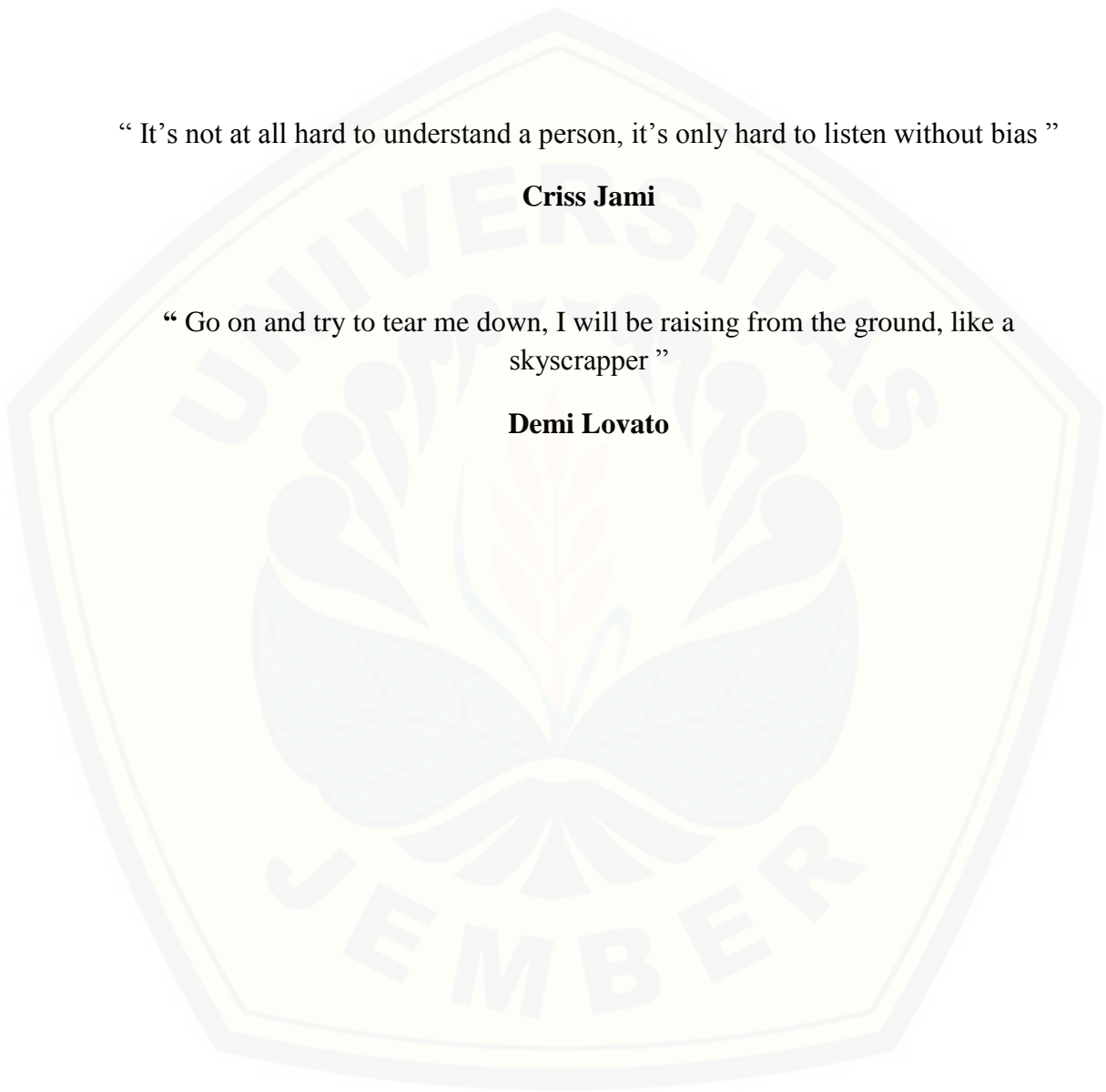
MOTTO

“ It’s not at all hard to understand a person, it’s only hard to listen without bias ”

Criss Jami

“ Go on and try to tear me down, I will be raising from the ground, like a skyscraper ”

Demi Lovato



DECLARATION

I hereby state that the thesis entitled **The Appraisal of Bias and Power as Expressed in Several Indonesian News Articles about Indonesia New House Speaker Inauguration** is an original piece of writing. I declare that the analysis and the research described in this thesis have never been submitted for any other degree or any publication. I certify to the best of my knowledge that all sources used and any help received in the preparation of this thesis have been acknowledged.

Jember,

The Writer,

Ismi Kuntum Zulaikha

120110101039

APPROVAL SHEET

Approved and received by the Examination Committee of English Department, Faculty of Humanities, Jember University.

Day/ Date : Friday, November 11th, 2016

Place : Faculty of Humanities

Chairman,

Secretary,

Drs. Albert Tallapessy, M.A., Ph.D
NIP 196304111988021001

Sabta Diana, S.S., M.A.
NIP 197308271999032004

The Members:

1. Prof. Dr. Samudji, M.A. (.....)
NIP 194808161976031002

2. Indah Wahyuningsih, S.S., M.A (.....)
NIP 196801142000122001

Approved by

The Dean

(Prof. Dr. Akhmad Sofyan, M.Hum.)
NIP. 196805161992011001

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All praises to the highest and the Almighty God to whom I ask and pray for his blessing and mercies so that I can finish my study. In this opportunity, I would like to express my deepest gratitude and appreciation to those who have given me a great helps and contributions in supporting my study. Thanks to:

1. Prof. Dr. Akhmad Sofyan, M.Hum., the Dean of Faculty of Humanities, and Dra. Supiastutik, M.pd., the Head of English Department for the chance to accomplish this thesis;
2. Drs. Albert Tallapessy, M.A., Ph.D., my first advisor and Sabta Diana, S.S., M.A., my second advisor who have given me advice, guidance and nutritional discussions along the writing of this research;
3. All of the lecturers of the English Department who have taught me precious knowledge;
4. The librarians of Faculty of Humanities and the Central Library of Jember University;

Every mistake in this thesis belongs to my being common creature. Hopefully, this research contributes to the development in English language.

Jember,

Ismi Kuntum Zulaikha

SUMMARY

The Appraisal of Bias and Power as Expressed in Several Indonesian News Articles about Indonesia New House Speaker Inauguration; Ismi Kuntum Zulaikha, 120110101039; 2016: 88 pages; English Department Faculty of Humanities, Jember University.

This thesis deals with the investigation of the way Indonesian news articles, *the Jakarta Post*, in informing the issue about the competition in nominating of new house speaker in 2016, between two bickering factions inside Golkar party. The main investigation is to reveal the bias and power enacted by the media to inform this issue. The media tend to gain a support upon one of the factions regarding to the nomination of new house speaker in early 2016. Since it investigates bias as one of the power abuse, this research is conducted under Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) proposed by Fairclough (1989). CDA deals with analyzing the relation between linguistic features enacted and the social context. Relating with the linguistic case, Appraisal theory, proposed by Martin and White (2005) is applied to reveal the linguistics choice enacted in the media.

Appraisal is the development of Systemic Functional Linguistics theory, especially in interpersonal meaning, proposed by Halliday. It consists of three sub-systems which are attitude, engagement and graduation. Those three sub-systems, actually, work simultaneously to determine the meaning conveyed as the choice of the writer in the text. They strengthen each other in the case of giving an amplifying or minimizing as well as positive and negative evaluation.

This research is conducted by qualitative method with documentary technique in the form internet based. Meanwhile, the data of this research is four news articles published by *the Jakarta Post* in the situation before the inauguration of new house speaker in 2016. The articles are in the form of online

news daily and it is provided in www.thejakartapost.com. Unfortunately, not all the sentences are analyzed. The selecting of the sentences that serve bias is applied. The total sentences analyzed from these four chosen articles are . The purposive sampling is applied in selecting the sentences that serve of bias-contained.

The result of this research are *the Jakarta Post* bias through enacting acknowledgment, countership, denial, entertain as part of heteroglossia in engagement system. In addition, the media also employs appreciation and judgment as the attitude system. The use of acknowledgment want to show that the media is neutral with involving the politician from two bickering faction, government and also the law. But the use of denial and entertain weaken the one of the faction, especially from Laksono's group existence. It, then, amplified with the entertain which deals with giving the possibility upon the Laksono's existence. It automatically scalling the authority of Laksono's group in the low median of graduation. On the contrary, positive appreciation and counter are delivered to Bakrie's group and government. It assigns that the media gains a support to Bakrie's group and maitain solidarity upon government.

The Jakarta Post itself is founded by Ali Murtopo, the politician of Golkar Party in the new orde. Thus, the media tend to support Golkar as the party which can be the sucessor of new house speaker than the other party in 2016. Besides, one of the editorial head of *The Jakarta Post*, has installed as new manager in Antara news after the Jakarta Post endorsing Jokowi in presidential election. This media becomes the media which is pro upon Jokowi's government. The support to Bakrie's group is given by this media in order to maintain political interest between government and Golkar party.

In conclusion, the media of *the Jakarta Post* bias upon one of the faction between two bickering faction in Golkar party in order to maintain the simbiosis mutualism relationship between government and Golkar party, since the *Jakarta Post* still has the background from Golkar party as the founder and Bakrie has the

powerful figure in Golkar party in backing the financial case. Additionally, the main interest is because political interest between media and the governmental line, since this media also accept the reward from the Government after supporting the Jokowi as the next president in presidential candidate in 2014.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-------------|
| FRONTISPICE | i |
| DEDICATION | iii |
| MOTTO | iv |
| DECLARATION | v |
| APPROVAL SHEET | vi |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENT | vii |
| SUMMARY | viii |
| TABLE OF CONTENTS | xi |
| PART 1. INTRODUCTION | |
| 1.1 The Background of Study | 1 |
| 1.2 Research Topic | 7 |
| 1.3 Research Problem | 6 |
| 1.4 Research Questions | 6 |
| 1.5 The Goals of Research | 7 |
| PART 2. LITERATURE REVIEW | |
| 2.1 Previous Research | 8 |
| 2.2 The Review of Related Theories | 10 |
| 2.2.1 Media Discourse and Bias | 10 |
| 2.2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis..... | 12 |
| 2.2.3 Power in Media..... | 13 |
| 2.2.4 Systemic Functional Linguistics..... | 15 |
| 2.2.5 Appraisal..... | 16 |
| 2.2.5.1 Attitude | 17 |
| 2.2.5.2 Engagement | 19 |
| 2.2.5.2.1 Dialogically Expansive | 19 |
| 2.2.5.2.2 Dialogically Contractive..... | 20 |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| 2.2.5.3 Graduation..... | 20 |
| 2.2.6 Situational Context..... | 23 |
| PART 3. RESEARCH METHOD | |
| 3.1 Type of Research..... | 26 |
| 3.2 Research Strategy | 26 |
| 3.3 Data Collection | 27 |
| 3.4 Data Processing | 27 |
| 3.5 Data Analysis..... | 28 |
| PART 4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION..... | |
| 4.1 Result..... | 30 |
| 4.1.1 The Result of Attitude Analysis..... | 34 |
| 4.1.2 The Result of Engagement Analysis..... | 35 |
| 4.1.3 The Result of Graduation Analysis..... | 37 |
| 4.2 The Discussion of Bias in the Jakarta Post Discussed about the Candidacy of New House Speaker | 38 |
| 4.2.1 The Discussion of Bias in the <i>Power Vacuum to Affect Poll Dispute Outcome</i> | 39 |
| 4.2.2 The Discussion of Bias in the <i>Govt Accused of Having Complicated Legality of Golkar</i> | 47 |
| 4.2.3 The Bias Explanation in <i>Golkar's Splinter Faction Questions Legal Status of Party Members at House</i> | 56 |
| 4.2.4 The Discussion of Bias in the <i>Ade Komarudin Inaugurated as New House Speaker</i> | 61 |
| 4.2.5 The Discussion of Bias Occured in the Media using Fairclough's Three Dimensional Element of Critical Discourse Analysis..... | 68 |
| PART 5. CONCLUSION..... | 75 |
| REFERENCES..... | 78 |
| APPENDIX | 82 |

PART 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of Study

Language exists as the instrument of communication used by human being. The meaning conveys as the information to deliver to. However, language is not only used for communication, but it is also used to do something (Wetherell, 2001:3). It means that, using language with lexico-grammatical choices, people enable to do something upon the other in which they can persuade somebody else (Halliday and Hasan, 1989:22) in order to maintain the interaction between the speakers/writers and the hearers/readers. Thus, the communication involves maintaining interaction between one another. Nowadays, the interaction between one another is not only chatting directly in face-to-face type, but also through the media such as newspaper as the medium to share with, especially to the author and the reader. Since the media is easily broadcasted through technological term.

Media has a tight relation with the language's role, because the content of the media includes language as the communication instrument to make meaning (O'Keffee, cited in Simpson, 2011:67). The reason of the media using language to inform the news is because language can represent the events that occur in the world. Meanwhile, the making of the meaning means the mass media represent the world in the text based on their point of view. The way of the media represent the point of view is through the linguistic choice exploited and enacted in the text by the journalist in the media.

The exploitation of linguistic choice by the journalist enables the media to reshape and reproduce the world event based on their point of view. This process also considers its situational context as the representation of daily experience in the world. The production and reproduction of the world event in the text shape the discourse in the media. This discourse is also the production of social practice (Fairclough, 1989:17) in which language shares the social belief and attitude through the media as the medium to share with.

The discourse practice of the media in informing the news is simultaneously produced through the text production and that is called “discursive practice” (Fairclough, 1992:78). The simultaneity of the producing in mass media involves sorting, writing and reproducing the information in which it considers socio cultural context and it is produced by the publisher institution, staff editor and reporter as the producer. It is then broadcasted to the readers as the consumer. In other word, the discursive practice is the effort of the producer of the media to process the news informed in media to the reader.

Because all the processes are handled solely by the producer, automatically media has a power to select the best part of the news based on their point of view. As Fairclough (1989: 50) says that the media is able to exercise power to the reader through the discursive practice. The media solely write and select the news based on their necessary and interest. It is asserted implicitly in the media. Furthermore, the limited space and time make less feedback between the reader and the author. Therefore, it may lead the reader to take for granted easily the news informed in the media. The taking for granted of the reader assigns that the reader has a less of awareness to the media reported. The reader who less of awareness is easily provoked to the news reported because the media have already determine the news.

The determination and selection of media in writing the matter issued as the news possibly makes the media supporting or opposing one particular side of the issue. According to Fairclough (1989:49), this ability is called one-sidedness of the media. The media tend to impose one side of the news and oppose the other side of the news. It leads the bias, because bias is defined as “a strong feeling in favour of or against one group of people, or one side in an argument, often not based on fair judgment” (Oxford Advanced Learner’s dictionary, 2010:128). The unfair judgment upon case informed is the power abuse done by the media that leads bias. Thus, bias is the social problem in representing the social event informed by media instead of media should have the neutral information.

Since the neutrality is one of the media ethics, it is necessary applied by the producer of media. Yet, as the institution, the media producer tends to do bias

because of certain interests. The stronger interests are caused of political and economical interest. The media inform the news that mostly attracts the reader to read. It gives the economic benefit for the media producer because the media get the profit from its successful trading. Additionally, in informing the news media, especially about political event, the media also consider the political interest because of supporting certain elite group such as political party or certain group in the government.

The one of the political events in Indonesia is the internal dispute inside the big party in Indonesia namely Golongan Karya (Golkar). It becomes the controversial issue as it involves several well-known political figures in the government. All of Indonesian media have reported this issue. One of the media that informs this issue is *the Jakarta Post*. *The Jakarta Post* is one of the English language news daily in Indonesia which is initiated by four big Indonesian Media. There are *Kompas*, *Suara Karya*, *Sinar Harapan* and *Tempo* under one company namely PT. Bina Media Tenggara. In informing the political issue of internal conflict in the Golkar, *the Jakarta Post* tends to inform bias upon one particular group of the Golkar Party.

The internal conflict inside the Golkar Party is about two dispute camps within the Golkar party which want to nominate their members as the new house speaker to replace Setya Novanto, the former of house speaker. They are Aburizal Bakrie's camp and Agung Laksono's camp. However, those two camps have been competing for government recognition. Meanwhile, the government is still confused to determine which camps that deserves for legality. The dispute within Golkar caused the split up of the fraction into two. It then leads the two candidates from each fraction to be the successor of Setya Novanto. They are Ade Komarudin, from Aburizal Bakrie fraction, and Agung Gumiwang Kartasasmita from Agung Laksono fraction. Since the legality between the two camps is still questioned, the media of *the Jakarta Post* tends to emphasize the information on Aburizal Bakrie camp as the legal camp within Golkar party. This causes the Agung's camp to be seen as the illegal one.

The rivalry between the two camps in Golkar has begun since the presidential election of 2014 was nominated by two pairs of candidates, Jokowi-JK and Prabowo-Hatta. The different visions between Aburizal Bakrie, as the chairman of Golkar party, and Agung Laksono, as the deputy of chairman in Golkar, to support one of the presidential candidates wreck this party into two camps. Agung Laksono criticizes Aburizal Bakrie who prefers support Prabowo-Hatta rather than Jokowi-JK. This critic brought Agung in dismissal position from Golkar Party. Then, Agung decided to create new camp in which it is still under Golkar Party. It then got the acknowledgment by Kementrian Hukum dan Hak Asasi Manusia (Law and Human Rights ministerial). Yet, Aburizal's camp denied it to the extent they report it to the court and result the revocation of Agung's camp. Furthermore, the time period of Aburizal leading the party expired on December 2015. Therefore, it is necessary to regenerate the new leader of the party. Yet, because of the internal conflict is still ongoing, the national assembly to make the regeneration of organization is impeded to arrange.

After all, the legality of both camps is still questioned because the government did not give the recognition to one of the two camps inside Golkar. This legality is necessary as a golden ticket for Golkar party to nominate their candidates as the new house speaker. However, the legality of Agung's camp in the news articles in *the Jakarta Post* is hardly pushed. The authors of five chosen articles of *the Jakarta Post* tend to do bias upon Aburizal's camp legality instead of neutral to both camps.

The bias done by media namely *the Jakarta Post* is the beginning reason of this research to reveal it under Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA approach is applied to detect the tendency of bias through language that is used to write the news articles by the media. Van Dijk (1998a) states:

“Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a field that is concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias”.

This means that under CDA, the revelation of implicit bias led by certain power can be conducted in the text whether written or spoken. Since the object of this

study is five chosen articles from *the Jakarta Post* that discuss about the inauguration of new speaker of the House of Representatives, the power of media may lead the bias in the text.

Since this research is conducted under CDA which reveals the bias in the text, the stance upon the object discussed is necessary for the sake of looking for the neutrality based on the evidences in social practice. The object discussed is the bias of the Jakarta Post upon Aburizal's Bakrie camp as the legal one to nominate Ade Komarudin as the successor of Setya Novanto, former house speaker. On the other hand, this research put a stance in which *the Jakarta Post* should be informs both of two camps legality in neutral way instead of bias.

The bias in the text is emerged by the way of the author to put a position upon the issue discussed subjectively. This subjectivity is distributed to the linguistic choice enacted in the news articles. Thus, in analyzing this research, linguistic instrument is necessary to help investigate the linguistic phenomena in the news articles. Since the text analyzed is a discourse, the situational context is considered. The linguistic instrument used in this research is Appraisal theory proposed by Martin and White (2005). The appraisal is the development framework under tenor which construes interpersonal meaning. It helps to investigate the attitudinal and evaluative language enacted by the author in the news article. Moreover, the appraisal theory helps to reveal the real evaluation of the media upon the matter discussed. Since appraisal not only concern on the lexico grammatical case but also the meaning beyond the clause (Martin and White, 2005: 9)

1.2. Research Topic

The object of this research is four news articles in news media entitled *Power Vacuum to Affect Poll Dispute Outcomes, Govt Accused of Having Complicated Legality of Golkar, Golkar's Splinter Faction Questions Legal Status of Party Members at House* and *Ade Komarudin Innaugurated as New House Speaker*. Since this research tends to reveal the amplification and the engagement of the

author upon the issue, the appraisal framework is a helpful instrument to detect the bias implied in the text. It also analyzes the power of the media upon the readers through the linguistic choices constructed in the text. Thus, the study of bias and power are appropriate to put under (CDA).

1.3. Research Problems

The four chosen news articles from *the Jakarta Post* were published in the competition atmosphere between two camps within the Golkar Party in order to recognize the legality and nominate the candidates for new house speaker as the replacement of Setya Novanto. The problem in this research comes with the assumption that the news articles produced by *The Jakarta Post* contain bias in informing the two camps legality within the Golkar Party. As the product of discursive practice, these news articles tend to reproduce, classify, and broadcast the information to the readers. Through its discursive practice, the power is also reproduced within the text articles that are in line with the Fairclough and Wodak statement (1997:258).

The news articles tend to evaluate subjectively which consist of bias in order to enhance the power in informing the issue inequitably. However, the readers who consume the information media are expecting to get the neutral information. Therefore, to explore the bias and the power abuse implied through subjective evaluation by the author, the appraisal is applied.

1.4. Research Questions

Based on the background of study and the problems explained above, this research makes two questions as below:

- a. How does the appraisal works on the four of *the Jakarta Post* news articles?;
and
- b. How do the news articles of *the Jakarta Post* take a position upon the dispute issue inside Golkar Party?

1.5. The Goals of Research

- a. To appraise the means of language use intended in the news articles; and
- b. To explain the position of *the Jakarta Post* upon the issue of dispute group inside Golkar Party in the four chosen articles.

1.6. Scope of the Study

The four articles taken from *the Jakarta Post* become the subject of this research. The articles are analyzed under Critical CDA that is especially proposed by Fairclough's theory. Furthermore, to identify the power and bias, the linguistic instrument is necessary in this research. The linguistic tool applied is appraisal framework. The appraisal framework reveals the operation of evaluative language constructed in the text. "It realizes tenor at the level of discourse semantics" (Martin and White, 2005:31) which means that appraisal deals with interpersonal relations of writers and readers.

PART 2. THEORETICAL REVIEW

2.1. Previous Research

This research uses three previous researches to support on. The first is written by Wati (2015). Her research focuses on revealing the tendency of bias and power through implicit meaning that is expressed in language use in the media. She employed her research under Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), especially Fairclough's conception of CDA to reveal the language and social context that affect bias and power in the news articles. These articles discuss about the candidates of presidential election 2014, Jokowi-JK and Prabowo-Hatta. The bias is done through imposing and adding several resources which support one of them. She uses Systemic Functional Linguistics as the linguistic instrument to analyze the implied meaning of the text through dominant verbal and mental processes which indicate power effect. Then appraisal is applied as the instrument to explore the external resources to support the authors' stance and position in detail.

The second research is written by Warsono (2008). He uses the appraisal framework as the linguistic tool to analyze the text that is published by *International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS)* newsletter of the United Kingdom. His research employ Critical Discourse Analysis of Fairclough's three-dimensional conception in order to reveal ideological stance implied in the media. The newsletter discusses about Al-Qaeda group that becomes the most wanted for the western people and it publishes for educated and elite group. As the result, this research shows that the IIAS newsletter mostly use affect especially negative attitude directing to Al-Qaeda. Furthermore, this media is relating Al-Qaeda in which it has Islamic background. Thus, the judgment of the media shows that both of Islam and Al-Qaeda are the dangerous case for the peace in the world. Yet, the engagement in this research is less found because the text does not apply the external resource intensely. Whereas this research employs appraisal to reveal the

bias and power constructed by the media through construing engagement, graduation and affect in the text.

The last study used is written by Tallapessy (2015). He discusses political issues of the discourse of corruption that is freely informed in Indonesian media after it is forbidden to publish in new order regime. The media of *the Jakarta Post* becomes the object to analyze which informs the corruption case in Indonesia. He applies three sub-systems of appraisal such as engagement, graduation and attitude as the linguistic instrument to reveal the pattern of discourse of corruption in Indonesia constructed in this media without asserts critical stancing. As the result, the most dominant of sub-system of appraisal applied in Tallapessy's research is attitude especially judgment type. Then, the absence of modality in constructing discourse of corruption indicates that the media specifically look for the support from the public through the construing of gradable positive or negative judgement in media.

All of those previous researches contribute a lot to this research in sorting the data, working with the appropriate methodologies, and applying the appraisal theory as a tool. The work of appraisal on those three researches is shown through the simultaneous work of three sub-systems of affect, engagement and graduation in examining the linguistic features that helps my research to reveal the author's evaluation. Yet, there are differences in my research with those three previous researches. This research examines power and bias done by the media through the subjective stance of the author. It will be examined through the amplify or minimize of the statement and giving the positive and negative judgment upon matter discussed in the media constructed by the author. This research is also conducted under critical discourse analysis which asserts a critical stance upon the analysis of discourse in revealing bias and power of media.

2.2. The Review of the Related Theories

2.2.1. Media Discourse and Bias

According to O’Kefee (2011:1) everything that is related to the broadcasting and printing genre as the media both of written and spoken are what so called media discourse. This media discourse relates to the unavailable reader, listener, viewer and producer of the discourse altogether. Thus, media discourse is, basically, the media for interaction in writing or spoken with the absence of the audience and the producer of the discourse’s making (Fairclough, 1989: 49).

Since media discourse, especially news articles or news paper, is part of the media for interaction, it has the communicative value. It is the value of the communicative purpose in which involving the speaker and hearer in maintaining the interaction whether directly or indirectly. However, there are some differences of communicative value between media discourse and the direct interaction. According to Bednarek (20016:14) there are four features of communicative value that characterize media discourse, considering that it is printed and indirectly maintaining interaction. There are multiple news producers, the absence of direct feedback, stereotyping and embedding.

The producer of the media discourse not only consists of one journalist but all of the media crew such as sub-editors, editors, chief reporters, journalists, etc (Bell cited in Bednarek, 2006:14). They work simultaneously to produce and reproduce the news in media. Additionally, the existence of media discourse as the media interaction is also absent from direct feedback of the producers and the readers which means that the reader is hard to complain or consult about the case discussed to the authors directly because of the limited availability of time and space. The stereotyping, then, deals with the reader who claims that the producer of media is only one institution under the one brand name, whereas the producer also has the suspicion that the reader is as the social group instead of individual reader. It means that the media for reader is claimed as an institution under the branded name for instance *The Jakarta Post* itself. The last character of media discourse is embedded. It means that the media discourse always put a quotation

from the other resource that is embedded in the text to support the author's opinion and point of view in the news.

The effort of media to add a quotation from external resource such as from interviewee's opinion is the basic of media in getting the information. It helps the news producer get the supporting stance to deliver their evaluation upon issue discussed in the media. This effort is used by the media to determine the appropriate external voice to support their opinion. Thus, the determination of media in selecting such as figure to interview, language choice to write in media and the additional quotation put from the one particular media are the crucial one in determining the media position because Martin and White (2005:92) says that the way of author adding and adopting external voice referenced to their point of view is to support it with respect to those they address.

The external voice informed by the particular figure in one issue may vary one another. The determination of the external voice, then, is the way of media selecting the appropriate one as the quotation. This effort also makes the media possibly impose one particular voice rather than the other that is informed under one issue. As Davenport (2010:29) says that as the media, all the events covered in the articles are not fully informed in it. It means that media obviously impose one side and ignore the other side as the opposition one. It makes a possibility of media to oppose one particular group with unfair judgment and impose the one other particular group that lead the bias.

There are several ways of media in doing bias. There are gatekeeping bias, coverage bias and statement bias as categorized by White et.al cited in Ariyanto et.al (2008). The gatekeeping bias deals with how the editor and journalists as part of publisher's institutions select the news story in one side of the event with emphasizing one particular rather than the other. The next is coverage bias which deals with the author's position in news article which provide two arguments but one is coverage others consciously. The last is statement bias which deals with the opinion of the authors as the strong statement that influence in the articles. Basically, all those ways to do bias is based on the way of author enacting the

language choice in the news and selecting the external voice to impose mostly in the quotation to support in.

The language choice exploited by the authors and possibility of media in enacting the external voice in the news to support their opinion is also accounted in the object of the research. There are five chosen articles as the object and those are analyzed as the news media indicated applying bias. The five chosen articles discuss about the legality of the two camps to propose their member as nominates of the new house speaker. The linguistic features exploited and additional external voice become the key of this research in revealing the bias applied

2.2.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

Basically, CDA is defined as the analytical approach to investigate the language used of the discourse. Furthermore, the discourse of representation, whether written or spoken, is as the social practice (Fairclough, 1995:54). CDA sees the situational and socio cultural context to establish the pattern that is endeavoured to construct the discourse as the social practice in which implies in discursive practice (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997:258).

The discursive practice in media enables them to exercise and enact the power to the readers (Fairclough, 1989:430). The discursive practice itself is produced simultaneously by the publisher's institution. As the simultaneous production of discursive practice, automatically the power of publisher's institution in discourse itself may emphasize in the production. Fairclough and Wodak (1997:258) wrote that "discursive practices may become the medium of a certain elite media to produce unequal power relationship" which means the news media have an effort to produce and reproduce discursive practice intensely to enhance the bias and power implicitly.

In this case, the five chosen news articles in *the Jakarta Post* attempt to be a media of power to produce bias. Their attempt is to support one of the figures of candidates from two dispute camps in Golkar Party in the political issues. Since bias is the product of inequality and unfairness of the power controlled, it relates to

the social problem in the social practice produced in the text. Therefore, this research is conducted under CDA as the approach to reveal the production of power and bias through relating the situational and social cultural with the language constructed by the media.

The revelation of power and bias in this research is conducted by Fairclough's three-dimensional concept of discourse that relates to the socio cultural and linguistic features in the text. Through this conception of discourse, the dominant power can be investigated critically through the linguistics features that are enacted in to construct bias. Those three-dimensional are the description, interpretation and explanation of the language text (Fairclough, 1995:97). Relating to this research those three dimensional concept is applied to analyze the language and social practice. The description deals with linguistics features description that are provided in the news articles in which discuss about two dispute camps of Golkar Party in grabbing house speaker position. The next is interpretation of the relationship between the text's construction as the discourse and the discursive practices (Fairclough, 1995:97), the discursive practices in this subject observation are ministry's legalization upon one of two camps in the party, the most legal camp than another in the party in the chosen news articles in this research. The last is critically explanation of the discursive practices which is related to the social process that explain the standard of the media in which should be neutral in informing the issue of dispute camps legalization in the articles.

2.2.3. Power in Media

News article is one of the media discourse in which it is reported by the journalists and it is processed by media crew to produce becomes the news. The media crew acts as the authors as well as the producers of the discourse. The authors tend to produce the discourse through linguistic features in the text. In producing the text, the authors solely decide what news that should be represented in the text. Here, the authors themselves have the authority to determine the

appropriate news to assert in the articles as in line with Fairclough's statement (1989:50):

“we can say that producers exercise power over consumers in that they have sole producing rights and can therefore determine what is included and excluded, how events are represented, and (as we have seen) even the subjects positions of their audiences”.

Clearly, the statement above means that the media is as the institution which has a power to determine their news by themselves through the structuring and reproducing the discourse in the text.

The way of determining their news, the media also have a choice to evaluate the issues informed subjectively. The subjectivity of the author to evaluate the issues informed is through the enacting language implicitly in which it also one way to gain power. As Fairclough (1995b:103) argues that the text produced in media as the discourse is the representation of the writer's opinion. It is clearly giving the explanation that the media, as the institution, have the power to determine the discourse based on their subjective opinion and evaluation that informs to the reader.

Through the subjective evaluation, media is able to handle and control world upon the reader's knowledge. Bednarek (2006:20) also says that subjectivity is the self expression from the author to express their opinion trough attitudinal language, judgment and perspective. The subjective evaluation also gives a chance for media to determine language choice especially attitudinal and evaluative language to use in shaping the discourse practice in media. It possibly makes the media doing bias in the judgment for some reason. According to Richardson (2015:9) we may identify bias through the way of the journalists in pushing one side of certain agenda. It means that the media possibly have a power to give and push huge proportion in informing one side of institution and giving small proportion to the other side through the linguistic choice exploited.

In this case, *the Jakarta Post* has a power to determine five chosen articles that discuss about the internal dispute of political party namely Golkar which want to grab the seat oh house speaker through its evaluative and attitudinal language. Both are Ade's fraction of Abu Rizal Bakrie and Agung Gumiwang from Agung

Laksono fraction. However, the government still makes no decision, while *the Jakarta Post* tends to blow up the information on Aburizal camps as the legal one intensely. Thus, the framework of power of media here is necessary to put in this research since the media abuse their power to claim the Aburizal's fraction as the legal one.

2.2.4. Systemic Functional Linguistics

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is the conceptual framework proposed by M.A.K. Halliday which investigates the language use in the text through its grammatical patterns. According to Halliday, a functional grammar is essentially a 'natural' grammar that always create a meaning through the grammatical choices that are exploited and modified based on situational and cultural context (1994:xiii). Furthermore, Martin and White (2005:12) state that Hallidayan SFL gives a contribution for grammatical theory to enact the meaning through its grammatical features. Clearly that SFL is the linguistics instrument to identify lexico-grammar that is constructed its function in the text based on both of cultural and situational context. In other words, it is not merely revealing the structure of language, but also the function of the language in revealing the meaning beyond the lexico-grammar based on the three features of context.

According to Halliday (1989:9), there are three features of context of situation of meaning in English language. There are field of discourse, mode of discourse and tenor of discourse (Halliday and Hasan, 1989:9). The field deals with the experience of the participant included in the text. The focus in field discourse is on the experience of the participant which realizes in the process and the participant itself. Furthermore, tenor deals with maintaining the social relationship between speaker and hearer through the establishment of mood and modality. Mood deals with the function of language in maintaining the relationship such as declarative, imperative, question etc. Whereas modality deals with the probability and certainty of the speaker express the statement. Meanwhile mode deals with the role that language played in which it is concerning with the cohesiveness of

the text (Halliday and Hasan, 1989:22). Those three contexts are expressed in the different meaning each others. However, this research is only concerned in the tenor of discourse to reveal the interpersonal relationship.

Tenor is motivated in the meaning of interpersonal in SFL. According to Halliday and Mathiessen (2004:107) what are we called by maintaining the relationship is maintaining the speaker/writer relation with listener/reader in enacting the interaction. Therefore, the interpersonal meaning is the meaning of personal behavior upon the others. The reason of this research concerns to the interpersonal meaning because interpersonal is the main framework of the development of appraisal. The appraisal is the model of framework which concerns with the writer taking position to the reader through the text in the term of interaction. Therefore, the next subchapter discusses about appraisal as the new development framework from interpersonal meaning that is applied in this research.

2.2.5. Appraisal

Appraisal is the development of SFL, especially interpersonal meaning. It realizes tenor at the level of discourse semantics (Martin and White, 2005:31). The appraisal is the theory to reveal how the writer or speakers/writers giving opinion and positioning themselves emotively and engaging the other resources to evaluate something or somebody that are realized in evaluative language. This theory relates with the interpersonal meaning which involves writer/speaker and reader/hearer relationship. Additionally, the speaker/writer put their position in relation with the hearer/reader against the case matter discussed through the evaluative language (Martin and White, 2005:1). The evaluative language uttered contain of subjective evaluation from the author which is construed in varying forms. In appraisal, there are three main sub-systems that are construed in appraisal theory such as Attitude, Engagement and Graduation. The further explanation about those three evaluative resources will be served bellow.

2.2.5.1. Attitude

Attitude resource deals with the way the speakers/writers evaluate in negative or positive feeling against somebody or something ethically and aesthetically. The evaluation of matter discussed through attitudinal case is the important one. It is able to show the author position in the text through the attitudinal language. The position of the author upon the matter discussed may influence the reader. According to Tallapessy (2015, 457-463) the dominant of attitude especially in judgement type and less of the modality in the text proves that the author attempt to search public support. It means that the resources of the attitude in the text become the attractive one for the public to pay more attention on them. Thus, the attitude is one of sub-systems in appraisal which cannot be disparaged. Those three resources of attitude consist of affect, judgment, and appreciation.

Affect deals with the expressing negative or positive feelings upon something. The emphasizing of affect's assessment lies in the positive and negative feelings. Whereas, the judgment resource deals with the "construing our attitudes to people and the way they behave" (Martin and White, 2005:52). It means that we assess the people's behavior, whether it is praising or mocking and it concerns to the ethics morally. The judgment splits up into two based on social rule, such as social esteem and social sanction.

The social esteem deals with unconventional or orally judgment and it consists of normality, capacity and tenacity. The normality deals with the extraordinary usuality appraised to the person, capacity deals with the capability of the person and tenacity deals with the dependability of the person. Meanwhile the social sanction deals with the conventional or legal judgment which has two resources such as veracity which deals with how honest of person and propriety that deals with someone's ethics, so he/she deserves a reproach.

The last is appreciation. It deals with the reaction of the speakers/writers upon something's value or performance that is made by somebody. It divides into reactions, composition and valuation (Martin and White, 2005:56). Reaction deals

with the assessment upon something's impact and quality. Then, the composition deals with the remark on the something's balance and complexity. Meanwhile, the valuation deals with the assessment of the worth value. The examples of attitude resources are explained in the table below.

Table 1. Example of Attitude

| No | Types of Attitude | Examples |
|----|--|--|
| 1. | Affect | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. She feels happy toward Jeremy b. She feels sorry because of Jeremy |
| 2. | Judgment: | |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Social esteem | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Ana is fashionable (Normality) b. Dana is the powerful leader of the group (Capacity) c. She drives the car carefully (Tenacity) |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> b. Social sanction | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. The prime minister has an honest question (Veracity) b. That is a selfish decision (Propriety) |
| 3. | Appreciation | |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Impact b. Quality c. Balance d. Complexity e. Valuation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. The party is boring b. Her gown is lovely c. Her reaction is exaggeration d. The writing is unclear to read e. The machine is original from Japan |

(Martin and White, 2005)

2.2.5.2. Engagement

Engagement deals with the additional of attitudinal resources such as projection, modality, polarity and concession, and external resources through its quotation, acknowledgment and abjuration in the text engaged by the authors to adopt the same stance with them (Martin and White, 2005: 36). Based on Martin and White (2005:3), it relates with the dialogistic performance which deals with the assertion of the other quotation or resources to support the statement's writer. The scope of the dialogistic performance does not merely represent the narrow scope of direct verbal communication but also non-direct of dialogistic performance in the text (Martin and White, 2005:92). Furthermore, the dialogistic performance in engagement is also the important one because it shows whether the statement is arguable or not. The proposition in the statement is able to adjust the statement or negotiate the statement through its dialogical statement.

There are two kinds of dialogical model namely heteroglossia and monoglossia. Heteroglossia deals with the dialogistic alternatives with adding a reference to positioning point of view. Furthermore, there are two kinds of heteroglossia such as dialogically expansive and dialogically contractive (Martin and White, 2005:202).

2.2.5.2.1. Dialogically Expansive

It deals with giving the looseness, sag and possibility of the statement as the references. Thus, the expansive dialogically gives the allowance to open the discussion and less authoritative. It also divided into two, such as entertain and attribution. Entertain deals with the textual voice that is represented by possible position for instance 'It seems my parents lying to me'. The word 'seems' is to represent the probability or unsure of the statement.

Meanwhile the attribution deals with the external voice asserted to give the possible point in the statement. The instance of dialogically attribution is 'both Aburizal and Agung claimed that they had authority as Golkar Party chairman'. The word 'claim' is involved in dialogically expansive which is referred to

whether the statement contain of doubtfulness and still open to question (Martin and White, 2005:103).

2.2.5.2.2. Dialogically Contractive

Different to dialogically expansive, dialogically contractive deals with the restriction sense in the statement that is uttered. It leads the strong statement and rather insists the hearers/readers to allow the statement from the speakers/writers. It is also divided into two such as disclaim and proclaim. Disclaim deals with the rejection of case matter (Martin and White, 2005:97) for instance ‘The president does not give the amnesty to the convict’. Meanwhile the proclaim deals with the proposition that provides valid external voice in the statement and it allows the reader to agree in the statement for instance ‘there can be no doubt that this building is sold’. The word of ‘there can be no doubt’ is undeniable word to explain that the statement of the sold of the building is a fact.

The other resource of engagement is monoglossia. It deals with the bare-opinion, without adding any references. It categorizes in the term of “bare assertion” which means that there is no additional external voice to positioning the writers/speakers.

2.2.5.3. Graduation

The last resource in appraisal is graduation. It deals with the gradual evaluation, which is related to giving a stance in scaling and grading. The graduation has two types such as force and focus. The force source deals with giving the opinion in the scale of intensity and quantity (Martin and White, 2005:141) which evaluates something on the quantitative scale. Thus, the types of force are divided into intensification such as (e.g. slightly happy, very happy) and quantification such (e.g. a small issue, great issue). Whereas the focus deals with exacerbate (e.g. it is a massive problem) and disparage the issue (e.g. it is just a quiet simple problem).

Those three main resources of appraisal are the instrument to reveal the pattern of linguistic features in the five chosen articles that discuss about two dispute camps in Golkar party in competition to grab the house speaker position. The goal of the research is to reveal the bias and power upon one camp through the enacting linguistic choices in the news articles. The linguistic choices can be detected through the enacting linguistic instrument namely appraisal system which consists attitude, engagement and graduation in the five news articles.

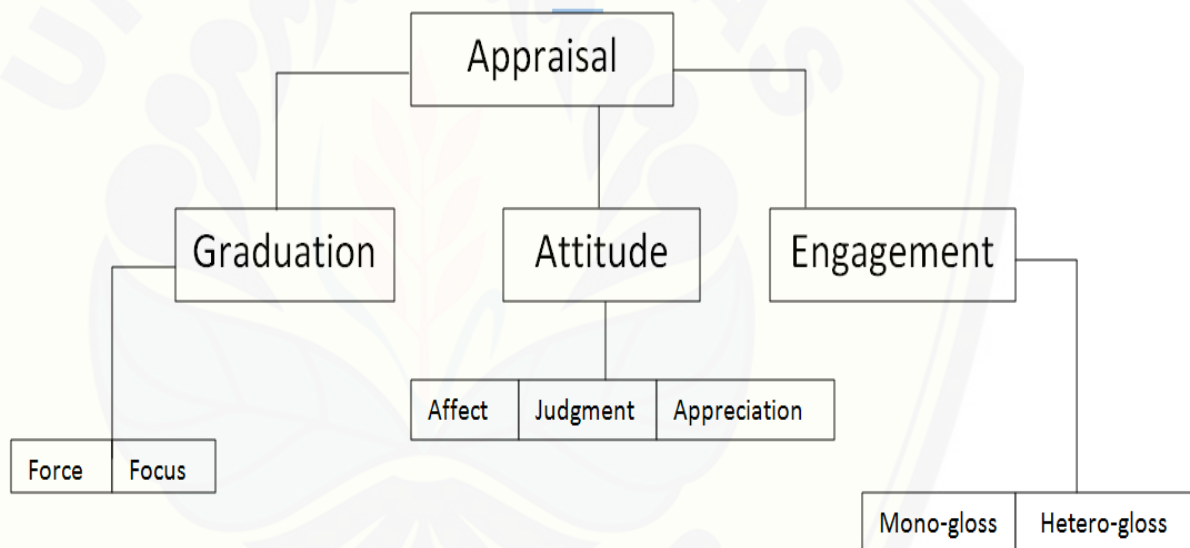


Figure 1. The Appraisal System

Bednarek (2006:27)

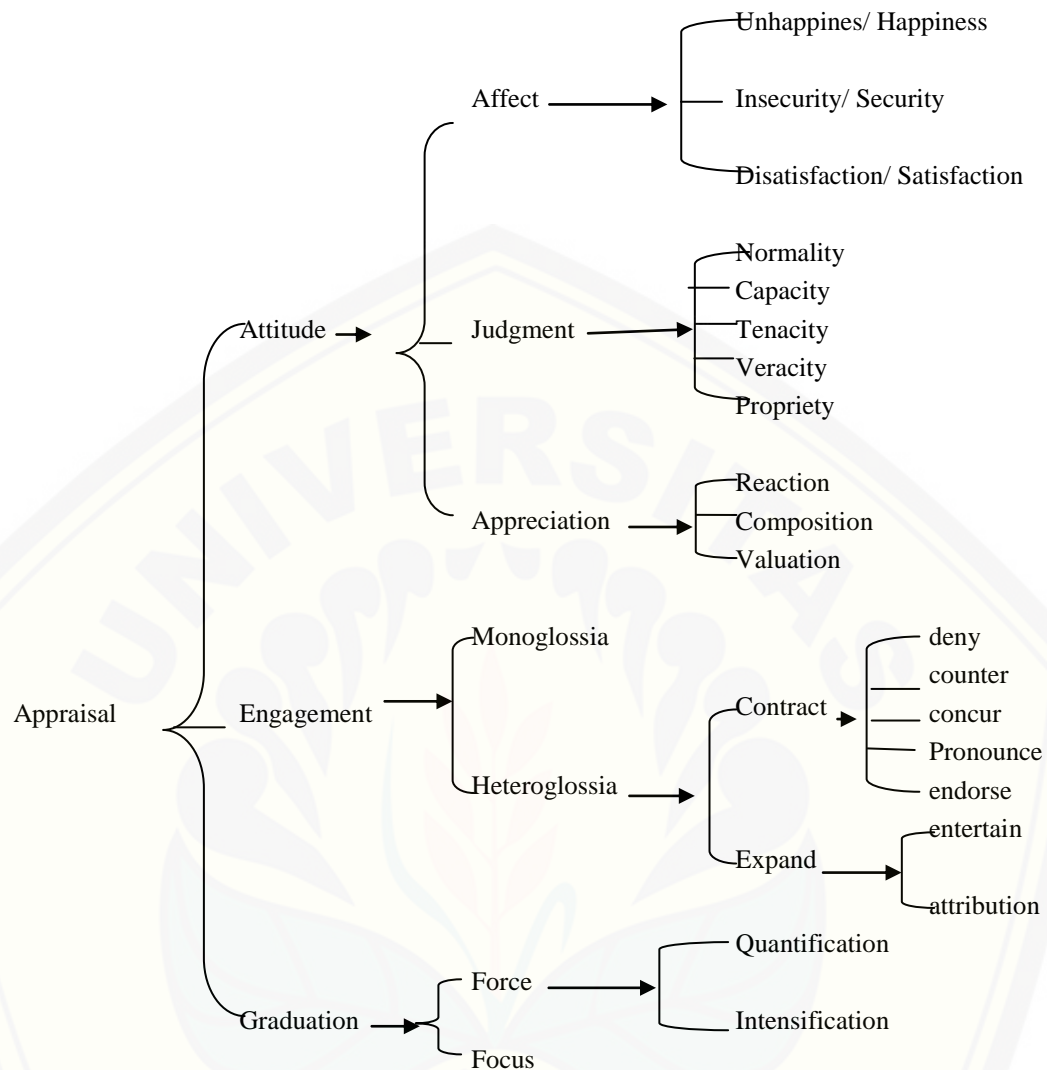


Figure 2. Appraisal Network
(Martin and White, 2005)

2.2.6. The Ongoing Internal Polemic within Golkar Party

As the democratic country, Indonesia applies electoral system to choose the leader as well as the governmental member, especially parliamnet, through the band of organization namely political party. It is in line with “political parties can simply define as political organizations with an official label that present the candidates for elections (competitive or non-competitive), with the goal of placing these candidates for public office” (Sartori and Puhle cited in Tomsa, 2008:1). The candidates of the political party, then, are installed as the parliament member

and run their duty to determine every single decisions made by president based on citizen necessary.

Inside the political party, the different opinion is the ordinary case that is often emerged as the symbol of democracy culture applied within the body and regulation. However, the diverse opinion might lead to disunity if there is no resolution in it. The locked of resolution is caused by certain elite's effort to defend the dominance inside the managerial party for the sake of fulfilling their elite interest (Budianto, 2014: 154-168). One of the biggest parties in Indonesia, Golkar, experiences the dispute inside its body. The polemic inside this party began in the last presidential election in 2014. All of the reasons are relating with maintaining power. Golkar party under the Aburizal Bakrie (Ical) leadership at that time decided to support couple candidate of presidential, Prabowo Subianto and Hatta Rajasa (Prabowo-Hatta). The reason is that his political interest in the case of wanting the position of vice president of Jokowi is ignored. It then leads him to oppose Jokowi's coalition for the sake of maintaining his power and look for the support to establish his high position in Golkar. He was promised by Prabowo to install him as the Menteri Utama (Cabinet Minister) (Asril, 2014). Yet, not all of the members followed the choice of Aburizal Bakrie.

However, the other members prefer to support another couple candidate, Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla (Jokowi-JK), as the next presidential candidate. One of the members is Agung Laksono (Agung), the deputy chairman. As well as the others, the political interest also becomes the main interest lingering to Agung to support Jokowi-JK. JK, the vice of the presidential candidates, is one elder member of Golkar party. In relation with this, both of them, Agung and JK, seemingly have a win win solution in their relationship. Agung put a support upon JK to look for a support for his effort in registering the next leader of Golkar party. Meanwhile, JK also needs a support from Golkar party to strengthen his position. Thus, both of them, Ical and Agung, as the Pengamat Politik from Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia said, are in the polemic because of strong political interest that should be mantained by those groups (Zuhro, 2016)

The Golkar polemic is, then, causing by the expelion of four cadres of Golkar by Ical, as the chairman of the party, after they decided to have different choice about presidential candidate they support to. Meanwhile, the politician, Hanan, said through BBC news media that the leader of the Golkar has no capability to resolve the internal conflict democratically (BBC Indonesia, 2014). The dismissed member, then, has a plan to rebuild the new factions still under the Golkar Party. Both rebuilt new factions inside the Golkar with holding two different congresses to determine the chairman of both factions. Ical's faction was held the congress earlier in Bali while Agung's congress was held in Jakarta. Both are claim that each of them has the legitimation to run the party.

Meanwhile, on March 23rd, 2015, the Law and Human rights ministerial had decided to install Agung's camp as the legal camp ruling Golkar Party (Prabowo, 2015). However, Ical's camp was disappointed upon ministry's decision. They filed sue in the court against the Law and Human rights ministerial choice as the next step. As cited by *Kompas*, the Court puts off the recognition towards Agung's camp on Dec 30th, 2015 (Prabowo, 2016). The recognition between two camps was not made by the Government until now.

The next problem seemingly does not stop to linger into the Golkar's way in getting solution resolving the problem. Ex-house speaker of Indonesia House of Representatives, Setya Novanto, who is the member of Golkar's party, was dispelled because of the ethics violation. The successor should be replaced from the same party. Since the dispute of the two camps still continuing, the candidates that were nominated by the party consist of two candidates from Ical's camp and Agung's camp. Each of them are in the competition to grab the position of house speaker since it becomes the strategic position in the government since all the decisions are determined through the parliament led by house speaker. Ical tend to keep the position under his faction with registering Ade Komarudin (Akom) as the successor. Again, the bargaining politic is happened here through one of the Golkar's partisan, namely Fahri Hamza. He claimed that he did not receive the letter of registration by Agung's group, he only received the letter from Ical's

group (Ahmad, 2016). It, then, leads the installation of House speaker under Ical's group represented by Akom.

The recognition has not given yet to both camps by the government until the replacement for new house speaker was held. It is because the dualism of leadership inside Golkar party is still remained. The dualism leads the stagnation of leadership considering that the way to solve the dispute are not resulting a good agreement (Zuhro, 2016). Next, it, then, leads Ical's group to create new strategy with joining the Jokowi-JK coalition to get the legalization from the government. The joining of Golkar party with the government, especially Jokowi-JK coalition, will help the coalition and government is stronger in deciding the rule of the constitution. Meanwhile, the profit of Golkar party joining government is that Golkar itself can easily access the position in the government (Fernandes, 2016).

However, the mass media blow up the pro and against opinion between the two bickering camps inside the Golkar party. *The Jakarta Post*, one of the mass media which publishes this issue tend to do bias in informing the issue. The power of mass media tends to reach the readers' mind through the bias that was served through its discursive practice (Fairclough, 1992:78). *The Jakarta Post* media tend to support Ical's group considering that Ical is the leader of Golkar party and his party is helpful for Jokowi's government. *The Jakarta Post* itself put a stance in informing this intricate and implied conflict. This media gives the support upon Ical in order to support Jokowi's government. The support of *the Jakarta post* upon Jokowi's government is proved since this media clearly published an editorial column for endorsing Jokowi's government in July 4th, 2014. The leader of namely Meydatama Suryodiningrat, then, got the reward from the government, especially from BUMN ministry. He installed as the managing director of government's news media institution namely *Antara*. This becomes the reward as his loyalty upon Jokowi's presidential election. The political interest is still linger in all of the political case. The dispute inside Golkar becomes the intricate political case informed in the *the Jakarta Post*.

PART 3. RESEARCH METHOD

3.1. Type of Research

The type of this research is qualitative research because the objects of this research are several news articles which contain of the text. Thus, the concern is the clauses in the text as linguistic features. Therefore, the interpretation and description methods are needed to describe how the linguistics features in the text articles construct the bias applied by the author. As Denzin and Lincoln states in Marlengen that the process of interpretation is covered in qualitative types (2014:23). Meanwhile, Denscombe also reinforces that qualitative data take the form of words (spoken or written) and visual images (observed or creatively produced) (2007:248).

3.2. Research Strategy

The object of this research was taken from news articles. The news articles here published by newspaper as daily news in Indonesia namely *the Jakarta Post*. The issue informed by *the Jakarta Post* is political issue which concerns about the dualism candidacy from two bickering factions inside Golkar party which want to be the next sucessor of new house speaker in 2016. The construal information made by *the Jakarta Post* bias towards one particular group. The bias becomes the case in in this research since it needs the extend experience through the situational context and cultural context to prove the bias made by the media. It is in line with Denscombe (2007:35) that case study concerns at the certain phenomenon with particular experience to be analyzed. Since this research concerns at the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which deals with revealing the relation between language and social context, this strategy of the research also count on the situational context or the experience to determine the phenomenon as the subject

matter informed in the media. In sum, this research conducts case study as the research strategy.

3.3. Data Collection

As mentioned above, the object of this research is news articles namely *the Jakarta Post*. The news articles are provided in online and printed. Meanwhile, in this research, the articles are gathered from the internet. They are accessed from www.thejakartapost.com website page. Since this object is in the form of the newspaper, the documentary research is used in this research. As MacCulloch cited in Marlengen stated that data collected from documentary sources, such as government paper, diaries, newspaper and so on (2014: 23). Since the internet is also compatible and efficient instrument of the documentary source, the case of documentary not always archived in the form of paper. Additionally, there are four news articles gathered as the object of the research which discuss about the competition between two dispute camps in the Golkar Party to grab the house speaker position. The news articles were accessed on January 28th, 2016. Meanwhile, to detect the bias, the linguistic features in the text also needed to analyze. Thus, the selecting of the clauses are necessary since not all clauses are sorted to be analyzed. Then, the purposive sampling is applied in this research. According to Denscombe (2007:17), purposive sampling is applied in the research when the researcher has already comprehend the subject matter case and deliberately put the subject matter as the valuable data. Here, the selected clauses is sorted based on the clauses that serve bias. As the result, there are 23 clauses that serves as the data contained bias.

3.4. Data Processing

The concern of this research is on the way of authors expressed their evaluation that indicate their assessment upon matter discussed. Since the object of the study is linguistic features, the data which are taken from the articles

focuses on the power and bias served in the clause. There are 40 clauses that will be analyzed based on the bias served in the clause. The several steps to process the data will be explained below:

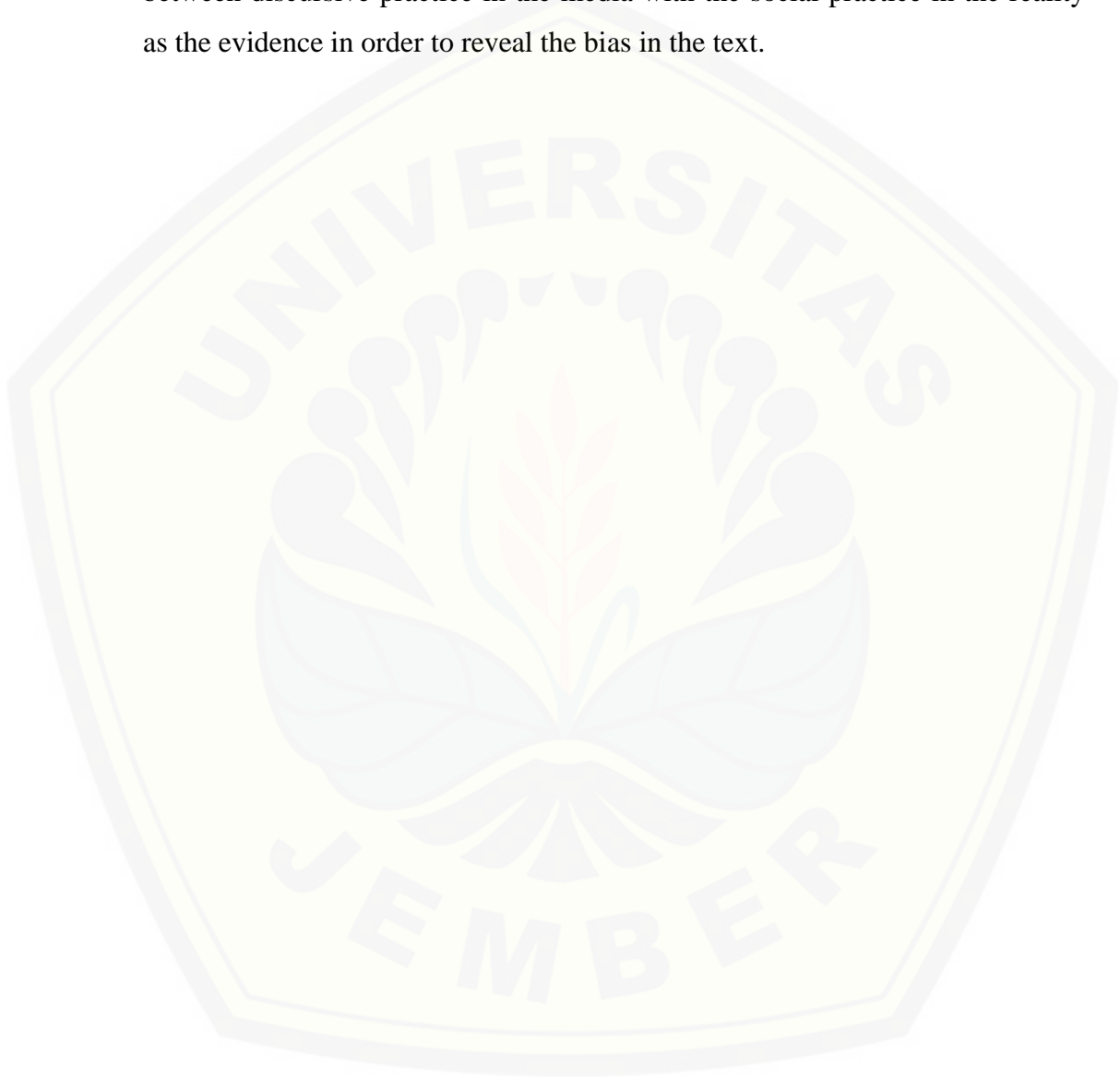
1. Sorting the clauses that serve bias;
2. Categorizing the structure using three resources of appraisal proposed by Martin and White (2005) such as attitude, engagement and graduation. Then, labelling the word served bias and power using those three resources of appraisal in the clause with closer examine of naming of appraisal framework. Those three appraisal sub systems will be categorized in this way: Attitude which consists of affect, judgement and appreciation will be labelled on the quality expressed in adjective and adverb, process expressed in verb and comment expressed in modal adjunct. Engagement which consists of proclaim, disclaim, attribution and entertain will be labelled on the verb and modality. Graduation which consists of focus and force will be labelled in the intensity of the evaluative word; and
3. Interpreting the data to make the plain explanation of bias in the text.

3.5. Data Analysis

In order to reveal the bias in the media, this research applies three-dimensional analysis proposed by Fairclough (1989) which deals with analysing the relation between social practice and linguistic features in the text. The explanation will be drawn below:

1. Micro analysis which deals with describing the selected clauses analyzed using appraisal system by considering the evaluative and attitudinal language in appraisal system such as engagement which consists of proclaim, disclaim, attribution and entertain, attitude which consists of affect, judgment and appreciation and graduation which consists of focus and force proposed by Martin and White (2005);

2. Mezzo analysis which deals with interpreting the data by looking closer to the discourse practice and its relation with linguistic choice in news media in order to reveal the real position of media in informing the issues; and
3. Macro analysis which deals with explaining the conclusion of the relation between discursive practice in the media with the social practice in the reality as the evidence in order to reveal the bias in the text.



PART 5. CONCLUSION

The main problem discussed in this research is the bias and power enacted implicitly by the media namely *the Jakarta Post* upon the issue of the two bickering factions which want to nominate their candidate as the successor of new house speaker. Since the neutrality becomes the standard of the media, the bias upon one particular group, then, is the problem for media. The goal of this research is to disclose the implicit bias enacted in the four chosen news articles. In order to reach the main goal, two research questions are designed. This chapter emerged in order to provide the space to elaborate the answers of the questions.

The first research question is to describe how the Appraisal theory works in the four chosen articles published by *the Jakarta Post*. The appraisal consists of three sub-systems. They are attitude, engagement and graduation. The sub-systems are distributed to the linguistic features. The attitude is distributed in the adverbial, adjectival or phrases that are expressed in negative or positive way. It uses to express the attitude of the writer through the text in which it is delivered the negative or positive evaluation as the attitude of the media. Then, the engagement is realized into the proposition by the external voice, rhetorical statement and modality. It construes the dialogical interaction provided by the authorial voice and external voice for the reader to receive the statement whether authoritative or open to discuss. It also construes the probability or certainty of the statement through the feature of modality. Lastly, the graduation deals with up-scaling and down-scaling the sense of the statement. All of them have different function in each system.

Based on these functions of appraisal, it can be explained each of linguistic features enacted in the news article can be investigated its function in the news articles themselves. Then, the implicit meaning and implicit pattern of

bias in these news articles can be revealed clearly. Thus, we can see the real evaluation of the media upon the issue. The real evaluation of the media is the media tend to do bias upon Aburizal Bakrie's group with delivering the employment of negative appreciation upon Agung Laksono's group and deny the existence upon the existence of Agung's group.

To know the pattern bias in the news, the delineating of the most frequently systems used in news articles are necessary. The most frequently used in the four news articles are acknowledgement. It is included in the system of heteroglossia of dialogically expansive which deals with adding external voice as the source. The dialogically expansive is sometimes followed by the entertain as the realization of modality. It shows that the external voices deliver the statement in high certainty or possibility in the system of entertain.

The second sub-system frequently used in the news articles is appreciation. It follows the acknowledgment. It means that the external voices expand the appreciation upon the issue informed. The most appreciations delivered in the selected sentences that serve bias are negative appreciation. The negative appreciations are employed to the Agung's group. It is delivered by the external voices. However the authorial voices, then, also give the negative judgment upon Agung's group implicitly. The authorial voices are involved here since mostly the sentences are in indirect speech which has the influence of writer's subjectivity.

Countership also becomes the mostly used in the linguistic choice. The countership deals with providing two contradictory propositions with the preposition as the connector. The first proposition contains of confessing the government authority and power. On the contrary, the second proposition, the statement mostly contains of blaming the government for not installing Bakrie as the continue effort implicitly. However, the media is still gaining the solidarity upon government with confessing the authority of the government.

Additionally, the reason of media support Bakrie's group and gain the solidarity to the government is because of political interest. The media of *the Jakarta Post* takes a side to the government since the media endorse Jokowi's government. Then, the media, especially the head editor, Meidyatama, has got the allocation to position the head of Antara news. The relation with Golkar party is because this party affects the Jokowi's government. Therefore, the media tend to gain bias upon Bakrie in order to maintain the power of government and solidarity to the government to get political interest. Still, the bias done by the media is still not neutral because it can gain the different effect for the reader's interpretation from the real event and true culture in the social practice. The balance of the information should be the standard of the media in informing the fact because we live in a democracy country as our culture and ideology in which the justice is highly respected. However, the neutrality as the symbol of fairness in informing the information in media is not really considered because of political or certain interest by the producer. However, as the media, even the perfectionist of neutrality cannot be reached, at least the approximate to reach balance information is need. It is because, the journalistic principal is objectivity, fairness, balance and neutrality (Prastyia, 2013).

REFERENCES

Books:

- Bednarek, M. 2006. *Evaluation in Media Discourse: Analysis of a Newspaper Corpus*. London: Continuum.
- Davenport, C. 2010. *Media Bias, Perspective and State Repression: The Black Panther Party*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Denscombe, M. 2007. *The Good Research Guide: For Small Scale Social Research Project*. Third Edition. McGrawHill: Open University Press.
- Denzin, N.K. and Yvonna S.L. 1994. *Introduction: Entering the Field of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publication.
- Fairclough, N. 1989. *Language in Power*. New York: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. 1992. *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. 1995. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. New York: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. 2003. *Analysing Discourse*. London: Routledge.
- Halliday, M. A. K. & Hasan, R. 1985. *Language, Context, and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective*. Melbourne: Deakin University.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1994. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. Second edition. China: Edward Arnold Ltd.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 2004. *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar*. Fourth edition. Revised by Christian M. I. M. Matthiessen. Routledge.
- Hornby, A.S. 2010. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*. Eight edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Martin, J.R and White, P.R.R. 2005. *The Language Evaluation: Appraisal In English*. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Martin, J.R and Rose, D. 2003. *Working with Discourse: Meaning Beyond The Clause*. London: Continuum.
- Mayr, A. 2008. *Language and Power: An Introduction to Institutional Discourse*. London: Continuum

McCulloh, G. 2004. *Documentary Research in Education*. London: Routledge.

O’Keeffe, A. 2011. *Media and Discourse Analysis*. Limerick: University of Limerick.

Richardson, J.E. 2007. *Analyzing Newspaper: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Simpson, J. 2011. *The Routledge Handbook of Applied Linguistics*. Oxford: Routledge.

Tomsa, D. 2008. *Party Politics and Democratization in Indonesia: Golkar in the Post-Suharto Era*. Canada: Routledge.

VanDijk, T. 1998a. *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. London: Sage.

Wetherell, M. 2001. *Discourse as Data*. Milton Keynes: The Open University

Journals:

Ariyanto, A., Hoernsey, M.J., and et.al. 2008. *Asian Journal of Communication Vol 18. No 1 (16-31)*. Media bias during extreme intergroup conflict: The naming bias in reports of religious violence in Indonesia.

Gowhary, H., Rahimi, F., and et.al. 2015. *Journal of Social and Behavioral Sciences Volume I No. 1*. A critical discourse analysis of the electoral talks of Iranian presidential candidates 2013.

Tallapessy, A. 2015. *Journal of Sino-US English Teaching Vol 12 No. 6 (457-463)*. The discourse of corruption: Appraisal in Indonesian media

Warsono. 2008. *Journal of Humaniora Volume 20 No. 2 (191-199)*. A critical discourse analysis to unmask the ideological stance behind “Al-Qaeda in the Asia Pasific: Origin, Capability and Threat”

Theses:

Marlangen, Niken W.K. 2014. *A Critical Discourse Analysis on Implicit Opinion of Russian Dissatisfaction Upon Putin Regime as Expressed in Article “The Civil Archipelago: How Far Can The Resistance to Vladimir Putin Go?”*. Jember: Jember University.

Wati, E.P. 2015. *Bias and Power: Appraisal in Media Discourse*. Jember: Jember University.

Websites:

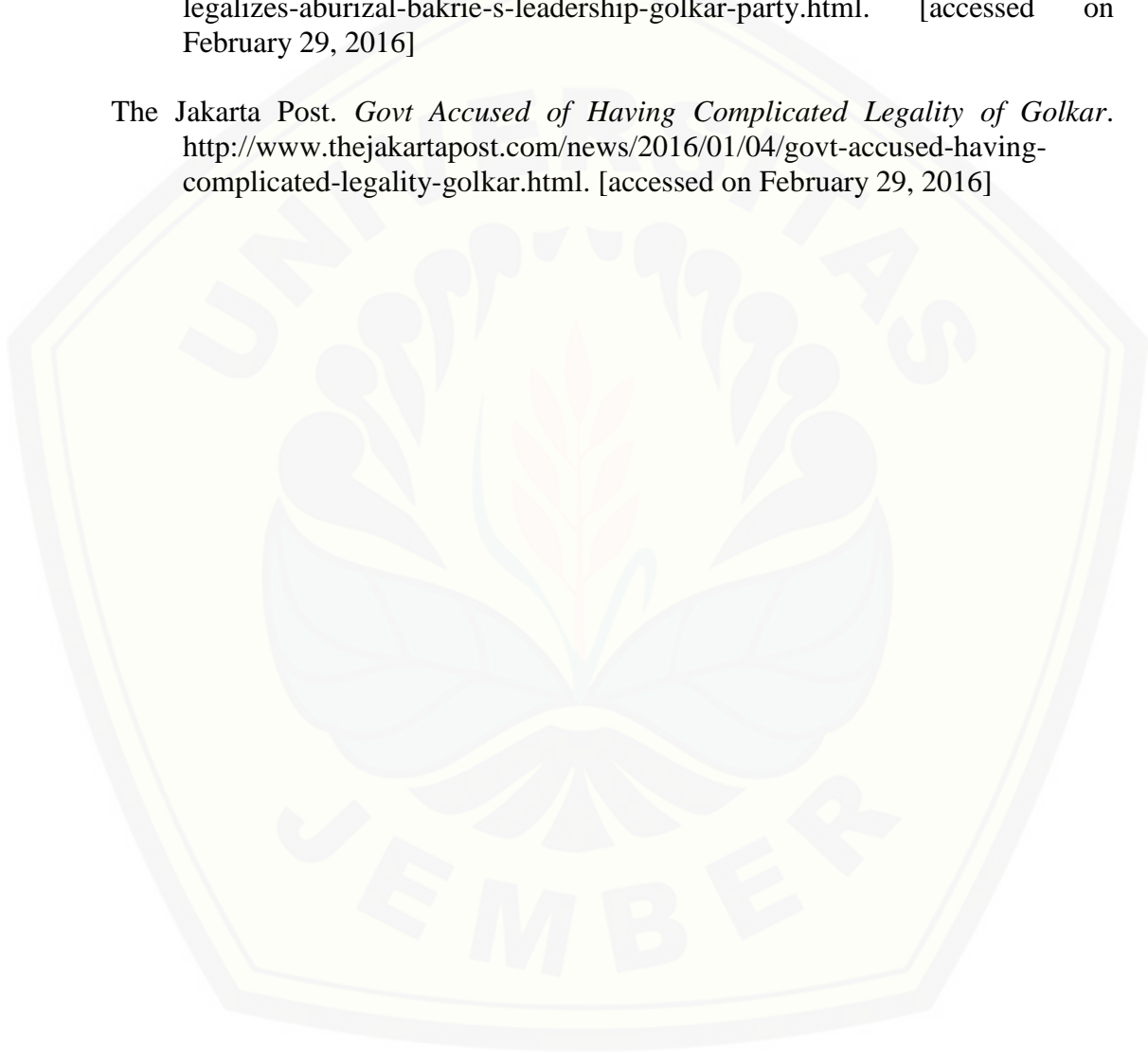
Aditya, Rizal. 2016. *Perseteruan Agung Laksono VS Aburizal Bakrie, Siapakah yang Sebenarnya Pantas Memimpin Golkar?.*

- <http://www.idntimes.com/rizal/perseteruan-agung-laksono-vs-aburizal-bakrie-siapakah-yang-sebenarnya-pantas-memimpin-golkar>. IDNtimes 27 Jan. [accessed on February 24. 2016]
- Anindita, E. 2016. *Ade Komarudin Inaugurated as New House Speaker*. <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/01/11/ade-komarudin-inaugurated-new-house-speaker.html> [accessed on March 3, 2016]
- BBC Indonesia. 2014. *Konflik Partai Golkar Terburuk*. http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita_indonesia/2014/12/141207_golkar_konflik. [accessed on February 23 .2016]
- Hardiyana, Y. 2016. *Dukung Jokowi, Pemred The Jakarta Post Jadi Dirut LKBN Antara*. <http://finansial.bisnis.com/read/20160122/309/512115/dukung-jokowi-pemred-the-jakarta-post-jadi-dirut-lkbn-antara.html>. [accessed on February 29, 2016]
- Jong, H.N. 2016. *Power Vacuum to Affect Poll Dispute Outcomes*. <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/01/03/power-vacuum-affect-poll-dispute-outcomes.html>. [accessed on February 29. 2016]
- Prabowo, D. 2015. *Ini SK Menkumham yang Cabut Pengesahan Kepengurusan Kubu Agung Laksono*. <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2015/12/31/15223631/Ini.SK.Menkumham.yang.Cabut.Pengesahan.Kepengurusan.Kubu.Agung.Laksono>. [accessed on March 4. 2016]
- Salim, T. 2016. *Aburizal Has The Upper Hand in Golkar*. <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/01/02/aburizal-has-upper-hand-golkar.html>. [accessed on February 29. 2016] < >
- Setyawan, F.A. 2013. *Isi Lengkap SK Menkumham Golkar Kepengurusan Agung Laksono*. <http://news.okezone.com/read/2015/03/23/337/1122947/isi-lengkap-sk-menkumham-golkar-kepengurusan-agung-laksono.html> [accessed on March 3. 2016]
- Prastyia, D. 2013. *Media Massa Sebagai Alat Pertarungan Politik*. <http://www.berdikarionline.com/media-massa-sebagai-alat-pertarungan-elit-politik/.html>. [accessed on October 1, 2016]
- Rahmat, B. 2016. *Golkar Punya Posisi Sangat Strategis di Pemerintahan Jokowi*. <http://m.cnnindonesia.com/politik/20160516165300-32-131081/golkar-punya-posisi-sangat-strategis-di-pemerintahan-jokowi/>. [accessed on September 20, 2016].

Siswanto. 2015. *Apa Persamaan dan Perbedaan Agung Laksono dan Aburizal?*. http://m.suara.com/news/2015/03/11/112132/apa-kesamaan-dan-perbedaan-agung-laksono-dan-aburizal&ei=m3lqw7gE&lc=id-ID&s=1&m=781&host=www.google.co.id&ts=1476662137&sig=AF6NedmQdw1YgTNavyJhqmRchA0SC_Fpa. [accessed on March 20, 2016].

The Jakarta Post. 2015. *Ministry Legalizes Aburizal Bakrie's Leadership of Golkar Party*. <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/12/31/ministry-legalizes-aburizal-bakrie-s-leadership-golkar-party.html>. [accessed on February 29, 2016]

The Jakarta Post. *Govt Accused of Having Complicated Legality of Golkar*. <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/01/04/govt-accused-having-complicated-legality-golkar.html>. [accessed on February 29, 2016]



APPENDIX

Power Vacuum to Affect Poll Dispute Outcomes

Hans Nicholas Jong, The Jakarta Post, Jakarta | Headlines | Sun, January 03 2016, 2:30 PM.

1) The power vacuum within the Golkar Party following the Law and Human
2) Rights Ministry's decision to revoke a decree previously recognizing the
3) chairmanship of Agung Laksono could trigger disputes on the results of the
4) Dec. 9, 2015 regional elections.

5) The secretary-general of the Agung-led faction, Zainudin Amali, said on
6) Saturday that the revocation of the decree could prevent both the Agung-led
7) faction and its rival faction led by Aburizal Bakrie from making key decisions,
8) especially regarding the results of last year's regional elections.

9) "Now if there's an election dispute, who [will settle the problem]
10) representing the Golkar Party? Because the central executive board [DPP]
11) doesn't exist anymore," he said.

12) Amali said the Agung-led faction initially expected the ministerial decree
13) to be revoked only after all stages of the regional elections wrapped up,
14) including election dispute settlements. During the registration period for the
15) 2015 regional elections dispute at the Constitutional Court from Dec. 16 to 22,
16) the court registered 144 reports.

17) "But suddenly the ministry decided to revoke it before the entire process
18) was finished. Then who can finish [the election disputes] because the decree
19) was revoked while the new party lineup decided during the 2015 national
20) congress in Bali has not been officiated yet," he said.

21) Constitutional law expert Refly Harun said Agung's camp was
22) overreacting to the minister's 24) decision and that there was no cause for
23) concern about a power vacuum.

24) "That's an exaggeration. In this country, the only institution that shouldn't
25) have a power vacuum is the presidency. Even if the Golkar Party disbands, it
26) wouldn't be a problem because the registration period for the election dispute
29) is over," he told *The Jakarta Post* on Saturday.

29) Refly said that to avoid a power vacuum, the Law and Human Rights
30) Ministry could simply issue another decree to extend the current
31) management structure of the party.

32) “The Law and Human Rights Ministry could use its discretionary powers
33) to avoid a power vacuum until the new party’s management structure is
34) registered,” he said.

35) Following the revocation of the ministerial decree, the secretary-general of
36) the Aburizal-led faction, Idrus Marham, said his camp would discuss with the
49) Law and Human Rights Ministry whether it should re-register the party’s
40) management structure.

41) “Our plan is to discuss it on Jan. 4,” he said on Saturday.

42) Idrus also denied that there would be a power vacuum within Golkar
43) following the minister’s decision.

44) “The only official management structure now is the one agreed upon
45) during the Bali national congress,” he said. Registering the party’s new lineup
46) with the Law and Human Rights Ministry was merely a formality, said Idrus.

47) “It’s just a matter of registering,” he said.

48) Idrus earlier said that Golkar was scheduled to hold a national consultation
49) meeting in Bali on Jan. 4, where party leaders from across the country were
50) expected to discuss the party’s plans.

51) The meeting will also set a date for a national executive assembly.

52) Members of the opposition camp are to be accommodated on the new
53) central board lineup, to honor previous attempts at reconciliation initiated by
54) Vice President Jusuf Kalla.

Govt Accused of Having Complicated Legality of Golkar

thejakartapost.com, Jakarta | National | Mon, January 04 2016, 11:49 AM

1) Although Law and Human Rights Minister Yasonna H. Laoly has revoked
2) a decree that previously recognized the Golkar Party leadership established by a
3) national meeting (Munas) at the Hotel Mercure in Ancol, Jakarta, in December
4) 2014, his action has not yet resolved internal problems in the party, a party
5) politician has said.

6) “The government has instead escalated the internal conflicts within the
7) party,” Golkar treasurer Bambang Soesatyo said as quoted by *kompas.com* on
8) Monday.

9) The politician said that up until now, the state had yet to announce its
10) clear stance over the legality of either of the Golkar leaders: Aburizal Bakrie,
11) who was proclaimed during the Munas Bali in November 2014, or Agung
12) Laksono, who was elected in the Munas Ancol.

13) He added that [*expand: acknowledge*] after the law and human rights
14) minister revoked the decree, the state did not directly follow up with an
15) acknowledgment of Aburizal's leadership.

16) “It means that in the Golkar Party case, the government has chosen to
17) abstain. With such a stance, the government has not only sharpened problems,
18) but has also complicated the legality of the Golkar Party leadership,” said
19) Bambang.

20) He went on to say that the government actually had authority to settle the
21) internal conflicts currently affecting the Golkar Party. However, he added that
22) the government had instead used its authority as a political tool to complicate
23) the problem.

24) “The public can now see that the government’s position of abstaining is
25) just a move to engineer and escalate internal problems within the Golkar
26) Party,” said Bambang.

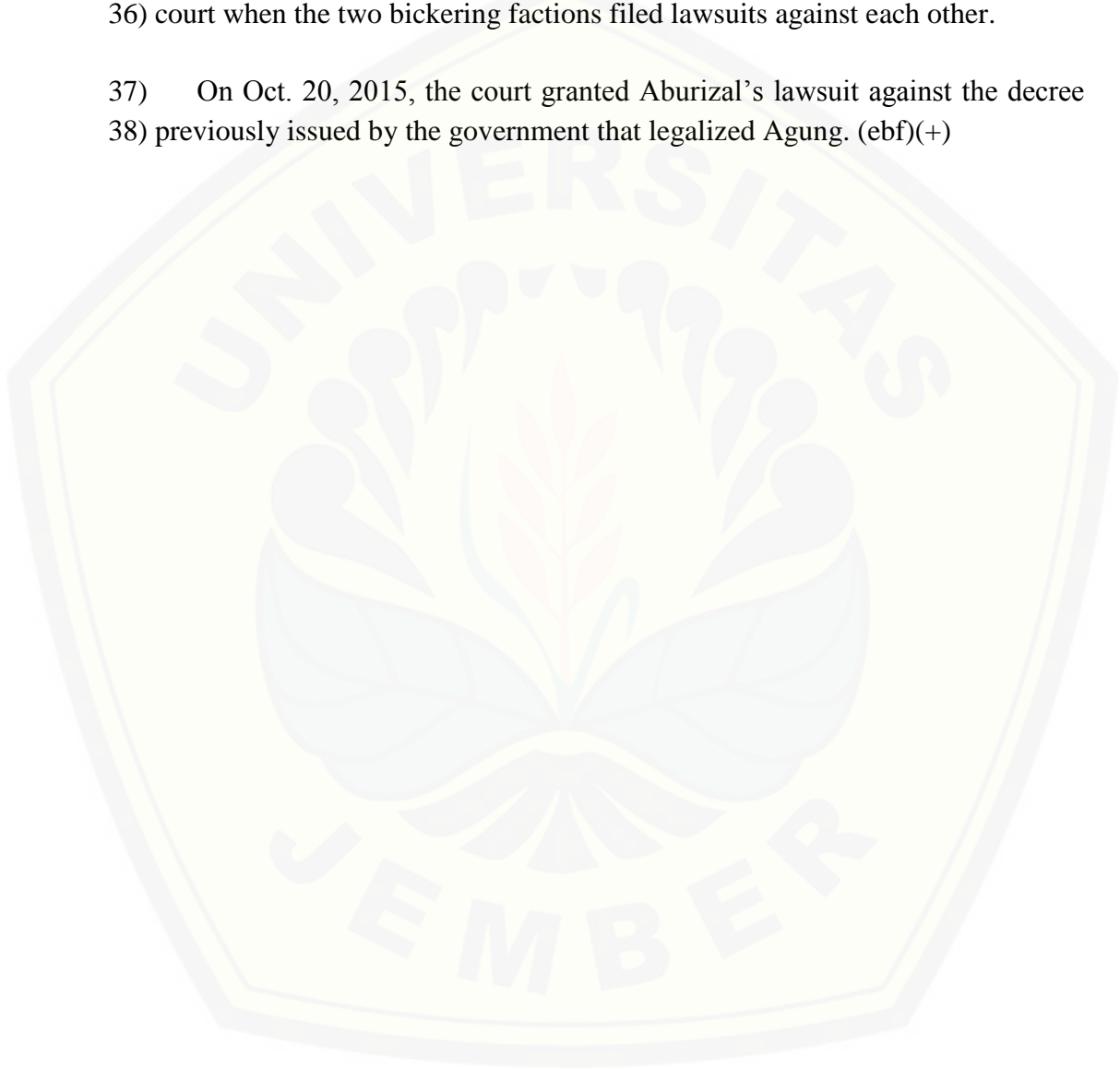
27) Nurdin Halid, deputy chairman of the Golkar Party’s central executive
28) board (DPP), which was elected in the Munas Bali, earlier confirmed that the
29) Law and Human Rights Ministry had revoked the decree recognizing the
30) leader chosen during the Munas Ancol and issued a new decree recognizing

31) Aburizal on Dec. 31. The revocation paved the way for the camp of Aburizal
32) to take full control of the party.

33) Nurdin said decree was issued to implement the Supreme Court ruling that
34) legalized Aburizal's leadership of Golkar.

35) The dispute over the leadership of the Golkar Party was brought before the
36) court when the two bickering factions filed lawsuits against each other.

37) On Oct. 20, 2015, the court granted Aburizal's lawsuit against the decree
38) previously issued by the government that legalized Agung. (ebf)(+)



Golkar's Splinter Faction Questions Legal Status of Party Members at House

1) Law and Human Rights Minister Yasonna H. Laoly's decision to revoke a
2) decree that previously recognized the Golkar Party leadership formed in a
3) national meeting in Ancol, Jakarta, in December 2014, has triggered a new
4) problem in the party's faction at the House of Representatives, a Golkar
5) politician has said.

6) "Who controls the faction now? Legally, there is a problem in the Golkar
7) faction at the House," Priyo Budi Santoso, deputy chairman of Golkar's central
8) executive board, which was elected at the meeting in Ancol, said as quoted by
9) *kompas.com* in Jakarta on Tuesday.

10) Priyo said that when a party's central executive board was in a vacuum of
11) power, the party faction at the House would automatically be placed in a
12) similar situation.

13) Priyo further said that apart from the status of the Golkar faction, the
14) submission of a House speaker candidate to replace Setya Novanto, who
15) resigned in December last year due to mounting pressure over his alleged
16) involvement in a Freeport-related ethical violation case, would also face
17) problems because the two candidates being proposed as House speaker were
18) from different Golkar factions.

19) Ade Komarudin has been proposed by the Aburizal Bakrie-led Golkar
20) leadership, which was formed in a national meeting in Bali in November 2014,
21) and Agus Gumiwang Kartasmita from the party's splinter faction led by
22) Agung Laksono.

23) According to the 2014 Legislative Institutions (MD3) Law, Setya's
24) replacement must be from the same House faction.

25) Separately Bambang Soesatyo, treasurer of the Golkar leadership elected
26) in the Bali meeting, said Golkar elected in the Ancol meeting did not have a
27) right to propose a candidate to replace Setya as a House speaker.

28) Bambang said faction officials from the Golkar leadership elected in the
29) Ancol meeting had no legality.

30) "The answer is simple. The Agung camp does not have a faction that is
31) legal and acknowledged by the state," said Bambang on Tuesday, referring to
32) the revocation of a decree that previously recognized the Agung-led Golkar
33) leadership. (ebf)

Ade Komarudin Inaugurated as New House Speaker

Erika Anindita, thejakartapost.com, Jakarta | National | Mon, January 11 2016,

3:36 PM

- 1) The House of Representatives (DPR) installed on Monday Ade
- 2) Komarudin as the new House speaker, replacing Setya Novanto who stepped
- 3) down on Dec.16 over an alleged ethics breach.

- 4) “We, House executives, congratulate the new House speaker. Hopefully,
- 5) his inauguration will [*expand: entertain*] strengthen our institution,” House
- 6) Deputy Speaker Fahri Hamzah said after Ade’s inauguration on Monday
- 7) afternoon. He was inaugurated during a House plenary meeting that marked the
- 8) first plenary meeting in the House's new hearing session this year, at the House
- 9) complex in Senayan, Central Jakarta, on Monday afternoon.

- 10) The House's consultative body (Bamus) chose Ade as House speaker to
- 11) replace Setya in a meeting on Monday morning.

- 12) The meeting, which was led by House leaders, faction leaders and the
- 13) House secretary-general, reportedly did not discuss a letter from the Golkar
- 14) Party’s splinter faction led by Agung Laksono that nominated Agus
- 15) Gumiwang Kartasmitas as House speaker.

- 16) “The letter was not discussed because the leadership meeting result
- 17) included as a consideration a letter submitted by the Golkar Party with
- 18) chairman Aburizal Bakrie and secretary-general Idrus Marham,” said the
- 19) House’s NasDem Party faction deputy chairman, Johnny G.Platte, as quoted
- 20) by *kompas.com* after the Bamus meeting at the House complex on Monday.

- 21) Prior to his appointment as House speaker, Ade served as deputy chairman
- 22) of the Golkar Party’s central executive board (DPP), which was elected at the
- 23) party’s national meeting (Munas) in Bali in November 2014 and led by
- 24) Aburizal.

- 25) Johnny said the House's decision to appoint Ade was in line with Article
- 26) 87 (4) of the 2014 Legislative Institutions (MD3) Law. The article stipulates
- 27) that if a House speaker steps down, he or she shall] be replaced by a successor
- 28) from the same political party.

- 29) Johnny further explained that shortly after Setya resigned from his
- 30) position over the alleged misuse of the names of President Joko “Jokowi”
- 31) Widodo and Vice President Jusuf Kalla in an attempt to renegotiate Freeport
- 32) Indonesia’s mining contract extension, the Aburizal camp proposed Ade as his

33)successor.

34) Johnny explained that when the Setya case occurred, the DPP Golkar
35)formed at the Riau Munas in 2009, which was led by Aburizal, was still valid
36)and Ade's nomination was therefore valid.

37) “No faction rejected [Ade]. We agreed that this process could continue,
38)including considering formal and procedural principles on the need to fill
40)House leader positions, so that the House’s work could run well and meet
41)public expectations,” said Johnny.

