IJELTAL

The Image of Public Officials in the Headline "Hedonic Officials: The Seed of Corruption That Butchers the Prosperity of the People" in Online Mass Media

Nira Kusumawati[1], Else Liliani[2], Zamzani[3]

[1] FBSB Yogyakarta State University. e-mail: nirakusumawati.2022@student.uny.ac.id
[2] FBSB Yogyakarta State University. e-mail: else_l@uny.ac.id
[3] FBSB Yogyakarta State University. e-mail: zamzani@uny.ac.id

ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
Keywords: *Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, official image, hedonism, corrupt behavior* *DOI:* http://dx.doi.org/10.21093/ijeltal.v8i2.1497	*In recent years, online mass media has made a significant contribution to explaining events and how these events are interpreted and understood by the public. One of them is the incident regarding the case of public officials with a lifestyle of hedonism (those familiar with corrupt behavior). The purpose of this study is to examine the image of officials built by the Tirto.id mass media in an editorial on "hedonic officials." The analysis in this study uses qualitative methods. Data analysis was carried out descriptively. This type of research is content analysis with the data source in the form of news text produced and published by the mass media Tirto.id on March 15, 2023. The discourse is entitled "Hedonic Officials: The Seed of Corruption That Butchers the Prosperity of the People." Data collection techniques were carried out by reading discourses and noting excerpts of sentences related to research problems. The research procedure was carried out using three stages (methods) suggested by Norman Fairclough: description, interpretation, and explanation. The validity of the data was carried out by testing referential validity and intra-rater reliability (observing and reading data carefully and persistently). The results of the analysis show that the Tirto.id mass media gives a negative image to several public officials, especially the Directorate General of Taxes (DGT). This negative image can be seen from the use of words that have a negative connotation and contain controversy. Public officials are described as figures who have a hedonistic attitude that is often close to corrupt behavior, entities that are rotten, dirty, disgusting, dilapidated, damaging, and/or butcher people's prosperity.*

1. Introduction

In recent years, online mass media has made a significant contribution to explaining events and how these events are interpreted and understood by the public. Amaliah et al., (2021) reveal that the mass media has the power to construct and build the perceptions it wants to display because the mass media itself is in a social reality full of complex and changing interests, conflicts, and facts. Mass media is a representation of public space and can be studied as a place of struggle and social power. Society can further reveal the abuse of power, domination, and injustice implemented and produced subtly through news texts in the mass media.

Even though the reality and facts conveyed in the news must be clean and pure, in the mass media, it is not uncommon to find facts or events resulting from the construction so that they have multiple or multiple meanings (Putra & Triyono, 2018). In line with Mahpuddin (2009), economic interests and political power will determine whether the information conveyed by the mass media is true or false, conveys objectivity or subjectivity, is neutral or impartial, represents facts or distorts them, and describes reality or simulated reality.

On the other hand, Niklander (2015) views mass media as involving mechanisms intended to reach a wide audience through certain forms of communication. The mechanism referred to in this article is through internet communication. Regardless of the form of communication used, the mass media is a special platform for distributing information. They are responsible for providing an appropriate perception of news related to various fields, such as politics, business, crime, technology, sports, and entertainment. However, these perceptions are often manipulated by handling speech, context, and images to accommodate information according to specified criteria.

On the other hand, Cahyaningsih & Pranoto (2021) argue that the media has an important role in directing and shaping people's perspectives so that many perspectives arise when people understand discourse in the mass media. In line with Afzaal et al., (2019), the media—television, press, and online resources—play a central role in conveying to the public what is happening in the world.

The existence of discourse in the mass media is not only a tool to describe a reality but can also determine the image meaning of events that will appear in the minds of readers (Badara, 2012). This was also stated by Sobur (2015) mass media is a social reality-related phenomenon rather than a free and independent entity. Discourse in the mass media is especially scrutinized as a place of power, a place of struggle, and also as a place where discourse is often seen as transparent. Sari (2020) refers to mass media as a form of discourse that functions as a means of social practice and can form very effective public opinion, especially in online newspapers. This happens because of technological advances that enable forms of discourse in cyberspace to disseminate information more quickly in society.

The mass media (in the online form) aims to convey information about current events to the public, both by individuals and groups, one of which is information or news about cases of public officials who have a hedonistic lifestyle (who are familiar with corrupt behavior). The case began with abuse committed by MDS (abbreviated name), the biological child of RAT (abbreviated name), who at that time served as Head of the General Section of the South Jakarta II Directorate General of Taxes (DGT) Regional Office. Then, the case widened

because MDS likes to show off various luxury vehicles on a social media platform. From here, disaster came to RAT as his biological father. Furthermore, after an investigation by the authorities, instead of letting it down, the case escalated. As it turns out, RAT is not the only DGT official who has a luxurious lifestyle. The Director General of Taxes of the Ministry of Finance, SU (abbreviated name), was also highlighted after photos of him driving a motorbike circulated. The virality of this case made headlines in various online mass media, one of which is *Tirto.id*. One of the headlines published by *Tirto.id* regarding this case is "Hedonic Officials: The Seed of Corruption That Butchers the Prosperity of the People."

As a specific discourse, news discourse is a representation of journalists' expressions and construction of events, as well as readers' understanding and cognition of the events reported (Zhou & Qin, 2020). By using critical discourse analysis, it is not only known what the news text contains but also how and why the news is presented by the author. More deeply, critical discourse analysis can dismantle hidden ideological political perspectives and find out how newspaper writers represent their writing objects (Magfira et al., 2021). Characteristics of critical discourse analysis, allow discourse analysts to specifically investigate discursive practices and examine various aspects of the relationship between language, power, and the social framework in which a discourse occurs (Abdulmajid, 2019).

Thus, this article attempts to examine the image of officials in the discourse by using Norman Fairclough's dimensional critical discourse analysis. Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis theory (1989, 2010) was chosen because it can systematically identify the details and characteristics of information to see the use of language for a particular purpose. Fairclough (1989) argues that language (discourse) is a form of social practice, not a simple linguistic phenomenon detached from society. The discourse framework developed by Fairclough (1989, 1995, 2001) is characterized by three distinct dimensions, namely text, both referring to written and spoken language; discursive practice, which requires a multifaceted process of textual production and interpretation; and social practice, which mainly concerns the social and cultural environment that surrounds the production and interpretation of discourse. By identifying these three aspects of discourse, Fairclough distinguishes three levels of discourse analysis, namely description, interpretation, and explanation.

Several previous studies have been conducted to examine this kind of social practice. Ferrell (2018), conducted a study on the leadership image of university presidents (rectors) using critical discourse analysis by Norman Fairclough (1989) and Wodak (1997). The results of his research show that there is a discursive structure that plays a role, which leads to findings of dominant discourses on professionalism, femininity, masculinity, and autonomy which give rise to the image of college and/or university rectors who remain traditional, masculine, and sometimes heroic. In addition, Sahmeni & Afifah (2019) conducted a study on how to uncover hidden ideologies through critical discourse analysis put forward by Van Dijk (1995) in media discourse studies. This study reveals that mass media plays an important role in the production of beliefs, prejudices, and domination over social contexts.

Furthermore, the results of research conducted by Sari (2020) also show that there are social practices from online news sites in processing information, then forming representational practices carried out by figures who play discourse that can influence people's views, including their understanding and behavior in social life. Critical discourse analysis that looks at issues of corruption in online mass media has also been carried out by Inayah (2022). In his

article, he revealed that one of the mass media reporting on corruption scandals in Indonesia was the Tempo press. With attractive and organized news packaging, Tempo wants to present information to the public about corruption incidents committed by public officials. Three conclusions can be drawn from Inayah's research (2022). The first is that both news sources use controversial and contradictory diction in the use of the name mentioned. An analysis of discourse practices (mesostructural: focus on how discourse texts are produced and consumed) which leads to the second argument reveals that Tempo's news is up-to-date and accurate because it presents information about the government and the condition of the Indonesian state in an unequivocal manner. The third aspect is socio-cultural (macro) analysis. At the institutional level, sources are used as support and evidence for the information provided, and at the social level, journalists and editors work to uncover the truth about the unethical behavior of government officials.

Sari & Pranoto (2021) use Fairclough's (1989) three-dimensional critical discourse analysis as one of the most important categories of discourse in the mass media (news in newspapers) in their research. His research will look into the government's depiction of the Criminal Code Bill in The Jakarta Post. Based on the results of his research, The Jakarta Post is on the side of the demonstrators and represents the government badly. In the textual analysis. The Jakarta Post stresses President Jokowi as a person who has a major role in passing, delaying, and rejecting the bill. Meanwhile, in discourse practice, The Jakarta Post tends to argue its point of view through indirect sentences, which are the most commonly utilized when presenting news in a way that does not accurately portray reality. Furthermore, in socio-cultural practice, it was discovered that anarchy arose as a result of various community demands that were not met by the government.

Previous research on critical discourse analysis and its application to news discourse contributed to the validity and applicability of the method as an analytical approach to news discourse. However, there are some limitations. First of all, the majority of news discourse that is examined by critical discourse analysis is only slightly related to government agencies, especially the Directorate General of Taxes. Second, the key analytical procedures in critical discourse analysis, especially those related to modality aspects, are not explained thoroughly. To fill this void, this research will conduct a critical discourse analysis of news discourse related to the image of the Directorate General of Tax officials created by *Tirto.id*.

Against this background, the focus of this study is to describe how the *Tirto.id* mass media constructs news. This research was conducted using Norman Fairclough's (1989, 2010) critical discourse analysis. The stages of Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis model were chosen because they are considered relevant to the objectives of this study. Analysis of critical discourse Norman Fairclough (1989, 2010) examines the use of language for specific goals by carefully identifying the details and characteristics of information. Fairclough (1989) contends that language (discourse) is fundamentally a form of social practice, rather than a separate linguistic phenomenon. In line with the purpose of this research, namely is to look at the image of officials built by the *Tirto.id* mass media under the heading "Hedonic Officials: The Seed of Corruption That Butchers the Prosperity of the People." The selection of *Tirto.id* mass media was based on considerations because *Tirto.id* is an online mass media that is quite popular with the public and already has a "name".

In this study, the researcher investigated the following questions; how is the image of public officials, especially the Directorate General of Taxes as described by the *Tirto.id* mass media.

2. Literature Review

Critical discourse analysis aims to critically analyze texts and other types of discourse to uncover hidden ideologies, domination, manipulation, power, and underlying racism (Kadim, 2022). According to Wodak and Meyer (2001), critical discourse analysis is used to describe and investigate notions in language such as power, dominance, control, and ideology. Erdayani et al., (2023) argues that language games organized in a discourse are not simple entities that can be characterized by themselves; conversely, a discourse can only be fully understood if the instruments associated with the discourse are also investigated and analyzed. This can be done by using critical discourse analysis.

Van Dijk (1997) argues that critical discourse analysis departs from concerns about social problems and globally sensitive issues. He also mentions the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of abuse of power, domination, ideology, inequality, and injustice as manifested in language. Van Dijk (1997) explicitly conceptualizes critical discourse analysis as a study of discourse analysis that focuses on the creation, production, and rejection of oppression, inequality, and abuse of power in social and political contexts through text or utterances. As Wu & Sun (2019) call critical discourse analysis different from conversational analysis in pure linguistics. That is, critical discourse analysis pays attention to social issues that do not only focus on language or language use, but on linguistic features in social processes and cultural structures.

On the other hand, Fairclough (2010) suggests that critical discourse analysis has three basic characteristics, namely relational, dialectical, and transdisciplinary. All three are forms of relational research that focus primarily on social relations or power. Social relations are very complex and also layered; includes relations between relations, for example, discourse can be seen as a complex set of relationships including communication links between people who speak, write, or communicate with one another. In addition, discourse can describe the relationship between concrete communicative events (conversations, newspaper articles, etc.) and more abstract and enduring complex discursive objects (with their complex relationships) such as language, discourse, and genre.

Fairclough (2010) emphasizes that critical discourse analysis is fundamentally interested in the social context in which a text is written. Critical discourse analysis focuses on how the effects of power and inequality contribute to social injustice, —especially when it comes to the discursive dimension of power and disparity relations (inequality) — on how discourse and power interact dialectically, and how they affect other relations in social processes. Critical discourse analysis can reveal the hidden ideology of the text. In this regard, in particular, Fairclough (1989, 2010) creates a three-dimensional framework for understanding and interpreting discourse, which includes the dimensions of discourse as text, discourse as a discursive practice, and discourse as social practice.

The concept developed by Fairclough (1989) is as follows. The first is that every text serves three purposes simultaneously: representation, relation, and identity. Second, the methods of media workers in producing texts are included in discourse practices. This relates to the journalists themselves as individuals, the network structure of journalists with other media

workers, the organizational structure of the media as a whole, and other matters (such as how to cover news, produce news, and deliver news). Third, the sociocultural analysis examines three factors: politics, economy, and culture (which have an impact on media institutions and discourse as well as issues of power and ideology). The situational level, institutional level, and social level are all included in the discussion of sociocultural practice. The production context and circumstances relate to the situational level, while internal and external institutional influences relate to the institutional level. Furthermore, the macro situation which includes the socio-political, economic, and cultural systems is related to the social level.

Fairclough suggests that there are three stages or methods in critical discourse analysis, namely description, interpretation, and explanation. About the three methods, Fairclough (1989) distinguishes them as follows: (a) the description stage relates to the formal aspects of the text; (b) the interpretation stage relates to the interaction between the discursive process (productive and interpretive) and the text; and (c) the explanation stage, related to social interaction and context, as well as social forces that shape the process of production and interpretation as well as their social impacts.

Fairclough (1989) explains that ten questions can be used as a tool for analyzing discourse. The ten questions are related to: (1) what experiential values are contained in the words, (2) what relational values are contained in the words? (3) what expressive values are contained in the words? (4) what metaphors are used? (5) what experiential values are contained in the grammatical aspects? (6) what relational values are found in the grammatical aspect? (7) what expressive values exist in the grammatical aspect? (8) how are the sentences related? (9) what interactional conventions are used? (10) what larger-scale structure does the text have? However, Fairclough (1989) argues that not all of the problem items above are used, but only alternatives that can be discussed and developed further.

Several previous studies on critical discourse analysis examine news discourse. Research conducted by Prayudha & Fawwaz (2019) analyzed textual aspects of CNN news discourse on the Uyghur issue using the Norman Fairclough critical discourse analysis model. His research focuses on the analysis of text representations and the relationships between participants in discourse. The results show that CNN often uses formality features and unclear vocabulary to block and obscure negative values from readers to China. The relation here is presented by CNN to China rather than CNN to Uyghurs. This is reflected in the strength of China's status.

Research on critical discourse analysis related to the institutional image was conducted by Bungsu (2019). His research tries to see how the two major media in Indonesia, namely Republika and Tempo, build discourse construction (how Republika and Tempo build an image for the KPK). The results of his research show that Republika gives a negative image to the KPK, while Tempo gives a positive image to the KPK. Starting from opinion of Titus (2021), that good discourse analysis always analyzes discourse by referring to its social context. Bungsu (2019) analyzes it using the Fairclough u(2010) critical discourse analysis model. The textual dimension stage starts from the representation of sorting clauses (clauses), representations of combinations of clauses (clauses) and representations in series between sentences. Whereas in the dimension of discourse practice, he sees a text being produced and discusses the worldview of the media or journalists themselves as subjects who construct discourse. At the sociocultural stage, he analyzes discourse starting from the situational, institutional, and social levels. At this stage, his research shows that the building

of the Republika and Tempo discourses cannot be separated from the political situation currently being experienced by the Indonesian state.

Previous research on critical discourse analysis and its application to news discourse contributed to the validity and applicability of the method as an analytical approach to news discourse. However, there are some limitations. First of all, the majority of news discourse that is examined by critical discourse analysis is only slightly related to government agencies, especially the Directorate General of Taxes. Second, the key analytical procedures in critical discourse analysis, especially those related to modality aspects, are not explained thoroughly. To fill this void, this research will conduct a critical discourse analysis of news discourse related to the image of the Directorate General of Tax officials created by *Tirto.id*. In this study, the description stage includes vocabulary and grammar analysis.

Each of these aspects is analyzed further by analyzing the values contained therein, namely experiential, relational, and expressive values (Fairclough (1989). The study of vocabulary in discourse is seen from the value of experience which consists of: groupings described in words, ideological words, and ideological meaning relationships in words. In addition, vocabulary studies can be seen from the relational values and expressive values contained in words, as well as the metaphors used. While the grammatical aspects in this study were looked at from relational value, the model (declarative, imperative, interrogative) used, whether there are important aspects of relational modality, and whether or not we or you are pronouns.

3. Research Methodology

The analysis in this study uses qualitative methods. data analysis was performed using the critical discourse analysis model of Norman Fairclough (1989, 2010). This type of research is content analysis because all forms of data collection originate from discourse. The source of the data is in the form of news text produced and published by the mass media *Tirto.id* on March 15, 2023. The discourse is entitled "Hedonic Officials: The Seed of Corruption That Butchers the Prosperity of the People." Data collection techniques were carried out by reading discourses and noting excerpts of sentences related to research problems. The reading technique is done repeatedly and carefully.

The analytical procedure to achieve the goal of knowing the official image in the editorial is carried out using three stages (methods) suggested by Fairclough (1989, 2010), namely description, interpretation, and explanation. The description stage includes an analysis of vocabulary and grammar. Each of these aspects is analyzed further by analyzing the values contained therein, namely experiential, relational, and expressive values (Fairclough (1989). Examination of vocabulary in discourse is seen from the value of experience which consists of: groupings depicted in words, ideological words, rearranging or excess wording, and ideological meaning relationships that exist in words. In addition, the study of vocabulary can be seen from the relational values, and the expressive values contained in the words, as well as the metaphors used. From a grammatical aspect it can be seen from relational values, the models (declarative, imperative, interrogative) used, whether there are important aspects of relational modality, and whether the pronouns we or you are present or not.

To interpret text (interpretation) related to discourse practice, it must first analyze the process of production, consumption, and distribution of text. At this stage, it is also seen how

the existing texts or discourse products can be consumed, in other words, who are the audiences who are the target object of the discourse. Furthermore, at the explanation stage, sociocultural activities that arise in society are correlated with the creation, consumption, and distribution of texts. At this stage, look at the context or circumstances that occur.

The validity of the data is done by testing the validity and reliability of the data findings. Determining the truth status of the data tested in the analysis using referential validity, namely linking the accuracy of the data with the support of theory and other relevant data. Reliability was tested using intra-rater techniques, namely observing and reading data carefully and persistently to obtain consistent and valid data.

4. Findings and Discussion

4.1. Dimensions of Discourse as Text: Description

In this research, descriptive analysis includes vocabulary and grammar analysis. Each of these aspects is analyzed further by analyzing the values contained therein, namely experiential, relational, and expressive values (Fairclough (1989). The significance of the experience is shown in the study of vocabulary in speech, which consists of: groups of words depicted in words, word ideology, and the relationship of ideological meaning in words. Furthermore, vocabulary studies can be seen in the relational and expressive properties of words, as well as the metaphors used. While the grammatical components in this study were examined from a relational perspective, the model (declarative, imperative, interrogative) utilized, whether there are crucial aspects of relational modality, and whether or not we or you are pronouns were also considered.

Vocabulary

Examination of vocabulary in discourse is seen from the value of experience which consists of: groupings depicted in words, ideological words, rearranging or excess wording, and ideological meaning relationships that exist in words. In addition, the study of vocabulary can be seen from the relational values, and the expressive values contained in the words, as well as the metaphors used. In the heading "Hedonic Officials: The Seed of Corruption That Butchers the Prosperity of the People" on *Tirto.id*, a description of aspects of vocabulary can be seen as follows.

Classification patterns are related to the choice of certain vocabulary to classify certain realities. Vocabulary in this case is used to categorize and classify reality. The classification pattern is a way of dividing several aspects of reality by using several ideological representations (Santoso, 2008). In this case, *Tirto.id* uses a classification pattern to mark individuals or institutions that belong to certain groups or categories. In the headline "Hedonic Officials: The Seed of Corruption That Butchers the Prosperity of the People" the classification pattern can be seen in the following fragment of discourse.

(1) Gaya hidup sejumlah pejabat teras Kementerian Keuangan RI menuai sorotan akhir-akhir ini. Mereka dicap *hedonis* atau *penganut hedonisme*, paham yang akrab dengan perilaku korupsi sekaligus alasan mengapa negara kita tak kunjung makmur. (The lifestyle of a number of top officials of the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia has been in the spotlight lately. They are labeled *hedonists* or *adherents of hedonism*, understandings that are familiar with corrupt behavior as well as the reason why our country is not prospering.)

Borok ini muncul lagi dalam kasus penganiayaan yang dilakukan oleh Mario Dandy Satrio (20), anak kandung Rafael Alun Trisambodo yang saat itu menjabat Kepala Bagian Umum Kantor Wilayah (Kanwil) Direktorat Jenderal Pajak (DJP) Jakarta Selatan II. (This ulcer reappeared in the persecution case committed by Mario Dandy Satrio (20), son of Rafael Alun Trisambodo who at that time served as Head of the General Section of the Regional Office (Kanwil) of the Directorate General of Taxes (DGT) South Jakarta II.)

Kasus yang bermula dari penganiayaan keji, melebar lantaran Mario diketahui gemar memamerkan berbagai kendaraan mewah ke media sosial (medsos), mulai dari motor gede (moge) Harley Davidson hingga mobil mewah Jeep Wrangler Rubicon. Dari sinilah petaka datang menghampiri sang ayah, Rafael. (The case, which started as a heinous persecution, widened because Mario was known to like showing off various luxury vehicles on social media, from Harley Davidson motorcycles to the luxury Jeep Wrangler Rubicon. This is where disaster came to his father, Rafael.)

Usai investigasi, alih-alih reda, perkara justru meluas. Ternyata, Rafael bukan satu-satunya pejabat DJP yang **bergaya hidup mewah**. Direktur Jenderal Pajak Kementerian Keuangan, Suryo Utomo, juga disorot setelah foto-fotonya mengendarai moge beredar. (After the investigation, instead of letting it down, the case escalated. As it turns out, Rafael is not the only DGT official who has a **luxurious lifestyle**. The Director General of Taxes at the Ministry of Finance, Suryo Utomo, was also highlighted after photos of him driving a moge circulated.)

Uniknya, meskipun terkesan garang terhadap jajarannya yang **hedonis**, Sri Mulyani ternyata juga punya moge dan dicantumkan dalam LHKPN. Bedanya, mantan Direktur Pelaksana Bank Dunia ini tidak pernah pamer di medsos. Moge yang dimaksud adalah Honda Rebel CMX500 2019 seharga Rp145 juta. Dalam program Kick Andy yang disiarkan Metro TV pada Senin (6/3/2023), Sri Mulyani menjelaskan bahwa kendaraan tersebut dibeli oleh Tonny Sumartono yang tak lain suaminya sendiri. Perempuan berusia 60 tahun ini sadar moge identik dengan kemewahan, sehingga ia melarang Tonny mengendarainya. "Makanya saya bilang sama suami, boleh beli tapi nggak boleh naik," ujar Sri Mulyani. (Uniquely, even though he seems fierce towards his **hedonic** ranks, Sri Mulyani also has a motorbike and is included in the LHKPN. The difference is, the former Managing Director of the World Bank never shows off on social media. The motorbike in question is the 2019 Honda Rebel CMX500 for IDR 145 million. In the Kick Andy program which was broadcast on Metro TV on Monday (6/3/2023), Sri Mulyani explained that the vehicle was purchased by Tonny Sumartono, who is none other than her own husband. This 60-year-old woman realized that motorbikes are synonymous with luxury, so she forbade Tony to drive them. "That's why I said to my husband, you can buy it but you can't go up," said Sri Mulyani.)

From data (1) above, the classification pattern appears in the phrase *luxury lifestyle*, *hedonic*, or *adherents of hedonism*. The phrase was pinned on "several top officials from the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia who were represented by Rafael Alun Trisambodo and Suryo Utomo". In this fragment of the discourse, explicitly, Rafael Alun Trisambodo and Suryo Utomo are described as figures who have a luxurious lifestyle and hedonistic behavior which refers to corrupt behavior. However, there seems to be an exception in labeling Sri Mulyani even though as a finance ministry official, Sri Mulyani is not described as a figure of hedonism. The words used by *Tirto.id* to describe Sri Mulyani did not use the words hedonic or a luxurious lifestyle, but "it turns out that she also has a motorbike and is included in the LHKPN". From this classification pattern, it is clear that the editorial side of *Tirto.id* is towards several officials from the Ministry of Finance, represented by the figure of Sri Mulyani.

On the other hand, the *Tirto.id* editor marginalized Rafael Alun Trisambodo and Suryo Utomo by describing them negatively. From the classification pattern above, *Tirto.id* gives a negative label or image to the Directorate General of Taxes. The word *hedonic* or the phrase *luxurious lifestyle* in the news discourse has a negative connotation. This condition indicates that language is used to construct both positive and negative realities. Mass media as a form of

discourse that functions as a means of social practice and can form very effective public opinion, especially in the form of online newspapers (Sari, 2020).

Furthermore, the word ideology relates to the use of certain words to be fought for. These words will always be repeated and dominant in the text (Setiawan, 2014). In the headline "Hedonic Officials: The Seed of Corruption That Butchers the Prosperity of the People" there is an ideological word that is being fought for, namely *hedonism* and the word *corruption*. Through these words, the author (*Tirto.id*) wants to convey his ideology and invites readers to be able to interpret ideological words that are often used, as shown in the following discourse fragment data.

(2) ***Hedonisme*** Biang ***Korupsi*** (***Corruption Hedonism***)

(3) ***korupsi*** merupakan dampak gaya hidup hedon yang berawal dari keinginan pribadi. ***Hedonis*** tidak kuasa mengontrol hasrat untuk mendapatkan sesuatu. (***corruption*** is the impact of a ***hedonistic*** lifestyle that originates from personal desires. The hedonist is unable to control the desire to get something.)

(4) Kaum ***hedonis*** tidak hanya menjamur di Kementerian Keuangan, cap glamor sudah lebih dulu melekat pada diri sejumlah mantan pejabat publik. (***Hedonists*** have not only mushroomed in the Ministry of Finance, the label of glamor has already been attached to a number of former public officials.)

(5) Ternyata, Rafael bukan satu-satunya pejabat DJP yang ***bergaya hidup mewah***. (As it turns out, Rafael is not the only DGT official who has a ***luxurious lifestyle***)

(6) Dorongan bermewah-mewah sebagai sikap ***hedonisme*** merupakan pemicu perilaku ***korup*** para pejabat. (The urge for luxury as an attitude of ***hedonism*** is a trigger for the ***corrupt*** behavior of officials.)

(7) Tidak sebatas pejabat, ***gaya hidup mewah*** juga dilakoni oknum-oknum aparat penegak hukum sampai menarik perhatian Presiden Joko Widodo. (Not limited to officials, law enforcement officers also live a ***luxurious lifestyle*** to attract the attention of President Joko Widodo.)

From some of the data above, it appears the use of the word *hedonism* or *hedonists*. The word "hedonists" refers to the meaning of 'followers of hedonism' and the word "hedonism" refers to the meaning of 'a view that considers pleasure and material enjoyment as the main goal in life'. By using the word *hedonism* or *hedonists*, *Tirto.id* wants to show that officials who have a luxurious lifestyle are closely related to acts of corruption. Furthermore, the words that are fought for also appear in the use of the word *corruption*. The word "*corruption*" implies 'misappropriation or misuse of state funds for personal gain'. From the use of these words, *Tirto.id* gives a negative interpretation of officials who have a luxurious lifestyle or hedonism.

The relation of meaning is manifested in the form of synonymy, homonym, and hyponymy. In the headline "Hedonic Officials: The Seed of Corruption That Butchers the Prosperity of the People" the relation of meaning is seen in the choice of words, such as *hedonists/hedonism*, and a luxurious lifestyle. Both of these words are categorized as nouns that semantically have the same negative connotation meaning. Repetition of words with the same meaning can serve to reinforce or emphasize that meaning. *Tirto.id* wants to emphasize that a hedonistic attitude or a luxurious lifestyle is wrong and less commendable behavior. This is emphasized by the sentence:

(8) "Rakyat Indonesia belum sepenuhnya Makmur. Pejabat publik dan ASN sepatutnya berperilaku sederhana dan menunjukkan empati, serta tak lupa mengupayakan kesejahteraan masyarakat."

(The Indonesian people are not fully prosperous. Public officials and ASN should behave simply and show empathy, and don't forget to seek the welfare of the community)

Officials who have a hedonistic attitude or a luxurious lifestyle show that he is a greedy person because this attitude is often associated with corrupt behavior.

Furthermore, about metaphors in the urban aspect, it can be seen from the choice of metaphors that contain certain ideologies. As stated by Setiawan (2014), there are three types of metaphors, namely nominative metaphors, predictive metaphors, and sentence metaphors. In the headline "Hedonic Officials: The Seed of Corruption That Butchers the Prosperity of the People" these three types of metaphors can be seen in the following fragments of discourse.

(9) ***Borok*** ini muncul lagi dalam kasus penganiayaan yang dilakukan oleh Mario Dandy Satrio (20), anak kandung Rafael Alun Trisambodo yang saat itu menjabat Kepala Bagian Umum Kantor Wilayah (Kanwil) Direktorat Jenderal Pajak (DJP) Jakarta Selatan II. (This ***ulcer*** reappeared in the abuse case committed by Mario Dandy Satrio (20), son of Rafael Alun Trisambodo who at that time served as Head of the General Section of the South Jakarta Regional Office Directorate General of Taxes (DGT) II.)

(10) Bukan cuma DJP, Direktorat Jenderal Bea Cukai (DJBC) Kementerian Keuangan juga ***kecipratan getah*** gaya hidup oknum pejabatnya. (Not only DGT, the Directorate General of Customs and Excise (DGCE) of the Ministry of Finance is also ***splashed with the sap*** of the lifestyle of its officials.)

Kepala Bea Cukai Yogyakarta Eko Darmanto ikut menjadi buah bibir lantaran foto-foto dirinya dengan aneka kendaraan mewah beredar di medsos. Serupa Rafael, Eko pun dicopot dari jabatan pada Kamis (2/3/2023). Berdasarkan LHKPN 2022, ia memiliki harta senilai Rp6,72 miliar. (The Head of Yogyakarta Customs and Excise, Eko Darmanto, has also become a topic of conversation because photos of him with various luxury vehicles are circulating on social media. Similar to Rafael, Eko was also removed from his position on Thursday (2/3/2023). Based on the 2022 LHKPN, he has assets worth IDR 6.72 billion.)

(11) Masalahnya, tidak semua penganut hedonisme punya ***kantong yang benar-benar tebal***. Kondisi finansial tak selalu mampu memenuhi keinginan mereka, sehingga pada saat tertentu kerap berujung menghalalkan segala cara. Termasuk melakukan korupsi. (The problem is, not all adherents of hedonism have ***really deep pockets***. Financial conditions are not always able to fulfill their wishes, so that at certain times it often ends up justifying any means. Including corruption.)

(12) ***Kesaktian dompet tebal*** Gayus tak diragukan lagi setelah mampu berpelesiran ke luar negeri walau berstatus tahanan kasus korupsi. Ia pernah tertangkap kamera saat menonton tenis di Bali dan juga melancong ke Singapura. (There is no doubt about ***the supernatural powers of Gaius' thick wallet*** after being able to travel abroad even though he is a prisoner in a corruption case. He was once caught on camera while watching tennis in Bali and also traveled to Singapore.)

The word *ulcer* in data (9) indicates a nominative metaphor. The word *ulcer* is usually used to express the meaning of 'purulent and rotting wound' or has a figurative meaning of 'deformed'. The word *ulcer* in this nominative metaphor (as in data 9) can be associated as a 'disgusting act' or 'a moral defect/an evil'. In this case, *Tirto.id* presents the reality that the lifestyle of several Indonesian Ministry of Finance officials which has led to corrupt behavior is an act that is not good, an act that is disgusting and is an ugliness. The *ulcer* metaphor has a negative experiential meaning toward officials of the Indonesian Ministry of Finance.

Another negative experiential meaning is explicitly seen in the use of the *splashed with the sap* predicative metaphor, as in data (10). The metaphor of being *splashed with sap* has a figurative meaning of 'receiving bad consequences because of the actions of others'. In this case, *Tirto.id* displays the reality that not only the Directorate General of Taxes (DGT), Rafael

Alun, who became a trending topic and ended up being removed from his post, but also the Directorate General of Customs and Excise (DGCE) Ministry of Finance, Eko Darmanto also became fruit lips because photos of him with various luxury vehicles circulated on social media and ended up being removed from his position.

Furthermore, *Tirto.id* in the headline "Hedonic Officials: The Seed of Corruption That Butchers the Prosperity of the People" represents Gaius by using a subjective nominative metaphor that has a negative experiential meaning, such as the *supernatural power of a thick wallet* in data (12). The word *supernatural power* is usually used to express the meaning of 'power or ability to do something supernatural'. However, the meaning of *supernatural powers* in the metaphor of the *supernatural powers of a thick wallet* can be associated with a 'bribe' or 'the ability of someone to do whatever they want'. The phrase thick wallet can be associated with 'a lot of wealth or money. Thus, the metaphor of the *supernatural power of a thick wallet* in data (12) refers to the figure of Gaius who can do whatever he wants (despite his status as a prisoner in a corruption case) because he has a lot of wealth or money. Indirectly, *Tirto.id* wants to reveal that in Indonesia, people with money can buy laws. The Gaius case represents that law enforcement officers in this country are easily drugged with money and easily fail to enforce the law according to the name of the institution.

Grammar

As conceptualized by Fairclough (1989), from a grammatical aspect it can be seen from relational values, the models (declarative, imperative, interrogative) used, whether there are important aspects of relational modality, and whether the pronouns we or you are present or not. Table 1 below shows the results of the analysis of the models (declarative, imperative, interrogative) in the heading "Hedonic Officials: The Seed of Corruption That Butchers the Prosperity of the People."

Table 1: Results of Analysis of Models (Declarative, Imperative, Interrogative) in the headline "Hedonic Officials: The Seed of Corruption That Butchers the Prosperity of the People"

Model-Model	Amount of data	Sample Data
Declarative	45	Gaya hidup sejumlah pejabat teras Kementerian Keuangan RI menuai sorotan akhir-akhir ini. Mereka dicap hedonis atau penganut hedonisme, paham yang akrab dengan perilaku korupsi sekaligus alasan mengapa negara kita tak kunjung Makmur. (The lifestyle of a number of top officials at the Indonesian Ministry of Finance has been in the spotlight lately. They are labeled hedonists or adherents of hedonism, understandings that are familiar with corrupt behavior as well as the reason why our country is not prospering.)
Imperative	4	Nah, ngomongi kemakmuran, mari ingat kembali ucapan Presiden Jokowi pada periode pertamanya menjabat orang nomor satu di republik ini pada tahun 2017 silam. (Now, speaking of prosperity, let's recall President Jokowi's words during his first term as the number one person in this republic back in 2017.)
Interrogative	1	Enam tahun berlalu. Bagaimana realitanya? (Six years passed. How's the reality?)

The amount of data above shows the intensity of the occurrence of declarative, imperative, and interrogative sentences. From the intensity of the appearance of the sentence, it can be seen that the heading "Hedonic Officials: The Seeds of Corruption That Butchers the Prosperity of the People" is dominated by declarative sentences. The declarative sentence in the discourse is interpreted as information conveyed by the author (*Tirto.id*) to the desired parties, namely readers. This can be proven in data (1) which contains the noun word "familiar" which refers to the meaning of "close".

> Gaya hidup sejumlah pejabat teras Kementerian Keuangan RI menuai sorotan akhir-akhir ini. Mereka dicap hedonis atau penganut hedonisme, paham yang **akrab** dengan perilaku korupsi sekaligus alasan mengapa negara kita tak kunjung Makmur. (The lifestyle of a number of top officials at the Indonesian Ministry of Finance has been in the spotlight lately. They are labeled hedonists or adherents of hedonism, understandings that are **familiar** with corrupt behavior as well as the reason why our country is not prospering.)

The sentence in data (1) is information that the hedonistic behavior of several top officials at the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia is closely related to acts of corruption. That's what the authorities have to eradicate. Sentences in data (1) have the essentiality of conveying something. Furthermore, declarative sentences can also be seen in the following discourse fragments.

> (13) Menurut Tri Wahyu Widiastuti dalam jurnal berjudul Korupsi dan Upaya Pemberantasannya (2009), praktik korupsi tidak hanya sebatas merugikan keuangan negara. Tetapi juga **merenggut** hak-hak sosial dan ekonomi masyarakat. Termasuk **mengancam** kemakmuran. Praktik korup **membahayakan** bermacam aspek, mulai dari stabilitas, keamanan, sosial, ekonomi hingga politik. (According to Tri Wahyu Widiastuti in a journal entitled Corruption and Efforts to Eradicate it (2009), corrupt practices are not only limited to causing losses to state finances. But it also **snatches** away the social and economic rights of the people. Including **threatening** prosperity. Corrupt practices **endanger** various aspects, ranging from stability, security, social, economic to political.)

Data (13) contains the word "snatches" which means "withdraw or take by force". The word *snatch* in the sentence indicates that there is information that corrupt practices can eliminate or forcibly take away the social and economic rights of the people. Furthermore, there is the word "threatening" which means "gives a sign of possible catastrophe that will occur" or can be interpreted as "something that could make it difficult or harm the other party". The existence of the word *threatening* can be interpreted that there will be difficult action if public officials continue to carry out corrupt practices. In addition, data (13) also contains the word "dangerous" which means 'bringing danger'. The word *endanger* indicates a warning that stability, security, social, economic and political threats will be threatened. This is what the Corruption Eradication Commission (CEC) and public officials, as well as the Indonesian people (who can take part in monitoring the performance of public officials), have to anticipate.

The use of declarative sentences indicates that the writer-reader relationship is described as providing and receiving information (Fairclough 1989). In addition, *Tirto.id* through the headline "Hedonic Officials: The Seed of Corruption That Butchers the Prosperity of the People" wants to describe the social reality that is currently happening in Indonesia, namely the luxurious lifestyle or hedonism of public officials (especially tax agencies) who are familiar with corrupt behavior. The number of declarative sentences in the editorial shows that the author (*Tirto.id*) wants to reveal that hedonism is a negative behavior.

Next, there is the use of the pronoun *we*. The pronoun shows a connection between the reader or the public and the writer (as *Tirto.id*). This shows that the public or society is actively involved in the discourse and ideology that is being constructed in the *Tirto.id* article "Hedonic Officials: The Seed of Corruption That Butchers the Prosperity of the People" which is addressed to civil servants (government officials) who practice hedonism and are often familiar with corrupt practices.

It can be generalized that grammatically, judging from the vocabulary used, the vocabulary used tends to give a picture that adds to the bad interpretation of public officials (especially tax agencies). The representation of several top officials of the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia in the discourse is a negative picture of hedonic officials who are familiar with corrupt behavior that can butcher the prosperity of the Indonesian people.

4.2. Discourse as Discursive Practice: Interpretation

Interpretation is concerned with the relationship between discursive processes (productive and interpretive) and texts (Fairclough, 1989). The text of the discourse under the heading "Hedonic Officials: The Seeds of Corruption That Butchers the Prosperity of the People" broadly gives the meaning as a satire and criticism of officials. This can be understood from the words used in the text. In the first line, the author uses the sentence "... as well as the reason why our country has not prospered." This sentence shows the emphasis on the form of satire carried out by *Tirto.id* against officials of the Indonesian Ministry of Finance.

Furthermore, in the second line, "*This ulcer* has reappeared in the persecution case..." *Tirto.id* uses the phrase *this ulcer* refers to the previous sentence, "The lifestyle of several top officials of the Indonesian Ministry of Finance .... They are labeled hedonists or adherents of hedonism, understandings that are familiar with corrupt behavior...." In the context of this sentence, the phrase *ulcer* refers to the luxurious lifestyle of several officials who are familiar with corrupt behavior. This phrase can be interpreted as something dirty. That is, corruption can be described as a disgusting behavior or activity and must be shunned. In addition, this shows that corruption is a dirty act that should not be done. Also, the phrase *reappeared* indicates a recurring event. The phrase *reappeared* indicating that corruption cases that have occurred in recent years have been repeated.

In the headline "Hedonic Officials: The Seed of Corruption That Butchers the Prosperity of the People," it can be seen how through negative characterizations and contradictions or resistance to these conditions, *Tirto.id* positions itself as someone who does not agree with the subject in question. Judging from the entire discourse studied, the ideology contained therein emphasizes the productive behavior of public officials, is not corrupt, has empathy, and does not forget to strive for the welfare of society. In addition, it calls on the government to take firm action against dishonest public officials who live a hedonistic lifestyle, demanding justice, honesty, and a spirit of responsibility that is applied in carrying out their obligations as a public agency, as well as strict laws that can provide a deterrent effect. for corruptors so that corruption cases in Indonesia decrease. Looking at the entire discourse, there is no positive element or attitude that shows support for hedonic public officials. The author (as part of *Tirto.id*) aims to convey a negative image of a hedonistic government apparatus (close to corrupt behavior) to readers.

4.3. Discourse as Social Practice: Explanation

Explanation focuses on the relationship between interaction and social context—the social determinants of production and interpretation processes—as well as their social impact (Fairclough, 1989). As Titus (2021) argues that good discourse analysis always analyzes discourse by referring to its social context, so when viewed from the news text discourse published by *Tirto.id* above, the main background for the emergence of the discourse in the headline "Hedonic Officials: The Seeds of Corruption That Butchers the Prosperity of the People" is the case of a luxurious lifestyle or the hedonistic attitude of several public officials which then leads to corrupt behavior. In the editorial, it is written that consumptive behavior towards luxuries is a hedonistic mentality is one of the triggers for the corrupt behavior of public officials. This is because the hedonistic attitude of these officials is often not by the assets they should have. This means that the assets are not by the salary and/or benefits of the position. Because they can't get what they want, some officials will use any means, including corruption. *Tirto.id* issued a declarative sentence that was supported by statements from sources and statements from several excerpts from articles (which support the relationship between hedonic behavior and corruption). This is in line with Inayah (2022) opinion, informants are used as support and evidence for the information provided.

Corruption has become a serious problem in many Asian countries, one of which is Indonesia. In Indonesia, corruption seems to have become an ingrained tradition (it can be said that all layers of the country are infected by corrupt behavior). This is because there are still many cases of government officials who continue to commit acts of corruption (even though many corruptors have been caught). Afifah & Bintang (2020) said that Indonesia is a country that has a corruption problem which is still in the category of concern. Quoted from the *Tirto.id* news page in the headline "Hedonic Officials: The Seed of Corruption That Butchers the Prosperity of the People," corruption behavior is often attached to government agencies, especially the Directorate General of Taxes (DGT). As stated by Afifah & Bintang (2020) that many corruption cases occur in government institutions.

The article stated that 45% of respondents to the 2017 Global Corruption Barometer (GBC) survey ranked DGT as the fourth most corrupt institution in Indonesia. Worse than public opinion about the police, ministries, and courts is the tax agency. The attitude of DGT officials, who are considered to be against eradicating corruption, as well as the high corruption cases that ensnare their members every year, both contribute to the low level of public trust in DGT.

The presence of the media in reporting the figures of several officials is inseparable from the factor of interest. The intensity of media coverage determines whether the information disseminated to the public is true or false. Here, the media is transformed into an extension of the public controller. As stated by Bungsu (2019), the many problems that exist in this country will certainly affect the appearance of the news in the media. The headline above, representing some public officials, indirectly presents a negative image or interpretation in the public eye. *Tirto.id* does not hesitate to provide headlines that are different from other media because they have no interest in those in power. *Tirto.id* openly emphasizes public officials who are perpetrators of hedonism as the culprits of corruption. *Tirto.id* even includes additional journals as information material that hedonism, consumptive behavior, and corruption are closely related.

It can lead to a motion of no confidence in public officials (especially tax agencies). Issues that often arise related to the status and authority of public officials, such as corruption in its various manifestations, exacerbate the negative image of public officials. Instead of using money for public welfare, individuals in positions of power exploit it for their benefit. In addition, corruption undermines the integrity and lowers the morale of the Indonesian people. As a result, state authority becomes less effective, people's trust in the government decreases, and development, stability, and state security are hampered. It can be said that the level of public trust in government organizations and institutions is decreasing every year due to the emergence of this socially detrimental phenomenon.

5. Conclusion

From the results of the analysis, it can be generalized that the *Tirto.id* mass media gives a negative image to several public officials, especially the Directorate General of Taxes (DGT). This negative image can be seen from the use of words that have a negative connotation and contain controversy. Public officials are described as figures who have a hedonistic attitude that is often close to corrupt behavior, entities that are rotten, dirty, disgusting, dilapidated, damaging, and/or butchering people's prosperity. Furthermore, the discourse entitled "Hedonic Officials: Seeds of Corruption That Butchers the Prosperity of the People" seems to be a form of opinion raised by *Tirto.id* mass media as a medium for conveying criticism and aspirations aimed at certain parties and influenced by social conditions and culture that develops in society. In this situation, corruption should be made a scourge; it should be made a common enemy of this nation so that everyone in this country will feel "disgusted" by all things that smell of corruption.

References

Abdulmajid, A. (2019). Media and Ideology in the Middle East: A Critical Discourse Analysis. *Digest of Middle East Studies*, *28*(1), 23–47. https://doi.org/10.1111/dome.12179

Afifah, G. S. N., & Bintang, M. I. (2020). Hubungan Konsumtif dan Hedonis Terhadap Intensi Korupsi. *Jurnal Ilmu Hukum, Humaniora Dan Politik*, *1*(1), 60–72. https://doi.org/10.38035/jihhp.v1i1.358

Afzaal, M., Hu, K., Ilyas Chishti, M., & Khan, Z. (2019). Examining Pakistani news media discourses about China–Pakistan Economic Corridor: A corpus-based critical discourse analysis. *Cogent Social Sciences*, *5*(1). https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2019.1683940

Amaliah, R., Mahmudah, M., & Mayong, M. (2021). Mengungkap Ideologi Teks Berita Covid 19 Berdasarkan Pendekatan Analisis Wacana Kritis Theo Van Leeuwen. *Fon: Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa Dan Sastra Indonesia*, *17*(2), 203–215. https://doi.org/10.25134/fon.v17i2.4439

Badara, Aris. (2014). *Analisis Wacana-Teori, Metode, dan Penerapannya pada Wacana Media*. Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group.

Batubara, N. F. (2022). "Pejabat Hedonis Benih Korupsi yang Jagal Kemakmuran Rakyat". *Tirto.id.* Accessed 20 Mei 2023 from https://tirto.id/pejabat-hedonis-benih-korupsi-yang-jagal-kemakmuran-rakyat-gDwt

Bungsu, A. (2019). Citra KPK Pada Kasus Korupsi Menteri Juliari Batubara (Analisis Wacana Kritis Fairclough). *Ishlah: Jurnal Ilmu Ushuluddin, Adab Dan Dakwah*, *1*(2), 152–175.

https://doi.org/10.32939/ishlah.v1i2.48

Cahyaningsih, O., & Pranoto, B. E. (2021). a Critical Discourse Analysis: the Representation of Donald Trump in the Reuters and the New York Times Towards the Issue of #Blacklivesmatter. *Linguistics and Literature Journal*, *2*(2), 75–83. https://doi.org/10.33365/llj.v2i2.501

Erdayani, R., Afandi, S. A., Afandi, M., Aswad, H., & Afandi, N. H. (2023). Political Competition in Riau: a Review of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Jurnal EL-RIYASAH*, *13*(1), 92. https://doi.org/10.24014/jel.v13i1.20901

Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. New York: Longman Group UK Limited.

Fairclough, N. (2010). *Critical Discourse Analysis the Critical Study of Language*. Second Edition. New York: Taylor & Francis Group.

Ferrell, T. P. (2018). *A Critical Discourse Analysis of Academic Presidential Transitions: Framing Images of Leadership* [Kent State University College]. http://dx.doi.org/10.1186/s13662-017-1121-6%0A

Inayah, N. (2022). Analisis Wacana Kritis Berita Kasus Korupsi Jaksa Pinangki Dalam Media Daring Tempo. *Jurnal DIALEKTIKA*, *2*(1), 73–85. https://nasional.compas.com/read/2021/04/09/18483491/icw-sepanjang-2020-ada-1298-t

Kadim, E. N. (2022). A Critical Discourse Analysis of Trump's Election Campaign Speeches. *Heliyon*, *8*(4), e09256. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2022.e09256

Magfira, A., Sirulhaq, A., & Hidayat, R. (2021). Representasi Kandidat Gubernur NTB Tahun 2018 dalam Surat Kabar Lombok Post: Analisis Wacana Kritis. *Mabasan*, *15*(1), 55–78. https://doi.org/10.26499/mab.v15i1.423

Mahpuddin, M. (2009). Ideologi Media Massa Dan Pengembangan Civil Society. *Academica: Majalah Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, *1*(2), 189–196.

Niklander. (2015). 10th Iberian Conference on Information Systems and Technologies, CISTI.

Prayudha, P., & Fawwaz, M. (2019). Uyghur and China in The American Media Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of CNN News Articles. *English Language Teaching Educational Journal*, *2*(3), 121–132. https://doi.org/10.12928/eltej.v2i3.1292

Putra, H. P., & Triyono, S. (2018). Critical Discourse Analysis on Kompas.Com News: "Gerakan #2019Gantipresiden." *Leksema: Jurnal Bahasa Dan Sastra*, *3*(2), 113–121. https://doi.org/10.22515/ljbs.v3i2.1412

Sahmeni, E., & Afifah, N. (2019). Using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in Media Discourse Studies: Unmask the Mass Media. *REiLA : Journal of Research and Innovation in Language*, *1*(2), 39–45. https://doi.org/10.31849/reila.v1i2.2764

Santoso, A. (2008). Jejak Halliday dalam Linguistik Kritis dan Analisis Wacana Kritis. *Bahasa Dan Seni*, *36*(11), 1–14.

Sari, K., & Pranoto, B. E. (2021). Representation of Government Concerning the Draft of Criminal Code in The Jakarta Post: A Critical Discourse Analysis. *PAROLE: Journal of Linguistics and Education*, *11*(2), 98–113. https://doi.org/10.14710/parole.v11i2.98-113

Sari, Y. P. (2020). *Konstruksi Identitas Melania Trump Sebagai Ibu Negara Amerika Serikat di Instagram dan The New York Times (Analisis Wacana Kritis)*. Universitas Hasanuddin.

Setiawan, T. (2014). Ancangan Awal Praktik Analisis Wacana Kritis. *Diksi*, *2*(22), 111–120. https://doi.org/10.21831/diksi.v2i22.3170

Sobur, A. (2015). *Analisis Teks Media*. Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya.

Titus, H. (2021). Discourse Analysis. *The Routledge Handbook of Research Methods in the Study*

of Religion, 229–244. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119111931.ch78

Van Dijk, T. A. (1997). *Discourse as Structure and Process*. London: Sage Publication.

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2001). M*ethods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. Sage Publications, London.

Wu, J., & Sun, Y. (2019). Study on utterances of administrative law enforcement in van Dijk's critical discourse analysis. *International Journal of Legal Discourse*, *4*(2), 217–236. https://doi.org/10.1515/ijld-2019-2024

Zhou, R., & Qin, S. (2020). A Critical Discourse Analysis of News Reports on Sino-US Trade War in The New York Times. *English Language Teaching*, *13*(10), 85. https://doi.org/10.5539/elt.v13n10p85