The Tendency of Jakarta Post Articles towards Indonesia Fuel Price Hike Issue



The skripsi submitted in partial fulfillment for the degree of 'Sarjana Sastra'

Mohammad Alwi Kosasih

2225076556

ENGLISH DEPARTMENT OF JAKARTA STATE UNIVERSITY

2012

LEMBAR PENGESAHAN

Skripsi ini diajukan oleh:

Nama	: Mohammad Alwi Kosasih
No. Registrasi	: 2225076556
Program Studi	: Non-Kependidikan Bahasa Inggris
Jurusan	: Bahasa dan Sastra Inggris
Fakultas	: Bahasa dan Seni
Judul Skripsi	:

THE TENDENCY OF JAKARTA POST ARTICLES TOWARDS INDONESIA FUEL PRICE HIKE ISSUE

Telah berhasil dipertahankan di hadapan Dewan Penguji, dan diterima sebagai persyaratan yang diperlukan untuk memperoleh gelar sarjana pada Fakultas Bahasa dan Seni Universitas Negeri Jakarta.

DEWAN PENGUJI

Pembimbing

Ketua Penguji

<u>Ati Sumiati, M.Hum</u> NIP.197709182006042001

Penguji Ahli Materi

<u>Hasnini Hasra, M.Hum</u> NIP. 197311112003122001

Penguji Ahli Metodologi

Dra. Helena Damongilala, M.Pd NIP. 195410031986032001 Rahayu Purbasari, M.Hum NIP. 196507301998022001

Jakarta, 23 Juli 2012 Dekan Fakultas Bahasa dan Seni,

> Banu Pratitis, Ph.D NIP. 195206051984032001

LEMBAR PERNYATAAN ORISINALITAS

Yang bertandatangan di bawah ini:

Nama	: Mohammad Alwi Kosasih
No. Registrasi	: 2225076556
Program Studi	: Non-Kependidikan Bahasa Inggris
Jurusan	: Bahasa dan Sastra Inggris
Fakultas	: Bahasa dan Seni
Judul Skripsi	:

THE TENDENCY OF JAKARTA POST ARTICLES TOWARDS INDONESIA FUEL PRICE HIKE ISSUE

Menyatakan bahwa benar skripsi ini adalah hasil karya saya sendiri. Apabila saya mengutip dari karya orang lain, maka saya mencantumkan sumbernya sesuai dengan ketentuan yang berlaku. Saya bersedia menerima sanksi dari Fakultas Bahasa dan Seni Universitas Negeri Jakarta, apabila terbukti saya melakukan tindakan plagiat.

Demikian saya buat pernyataan ini dengan sebenarnya.

Jakarta, 23 Juli 2012

Mohammad Alwi

Kosasih

2225076556

LEMBAR PERNYATAAN PERSETUJUAN PUBLIKASI KARYA ILMIAH UNTUK KEPENTINGAN AKADEMIS

Sebagai sivitas akademik Universitas Negeri Jakarta saya yang bertandatangan di bawah ini:

Nama	: Mohammad Alwi Kosasih
No. Registrasi	: 2225076556
Fakultas	: Bahasa dan Seni
Jenis Karya	: Skripsi
Judul	:

THE TENDENCY OF JAKARTA POST ARTICLES TOWARDS INDONESIA FUEL PRICE HIKE ISSUE

Demi pengembangan ilmu pengetahuan, saya menyetujui untuk memberikan kepada Universitas Negeri Jakarta Hak Bebas Royalti Non-Eksklusif (Non-Exclusive Royalty Fee Right) atas karya ilmiah saya. Dengan Hak Bebas Royalti Jakarta Non-Eksklusif ini, Universitas Negeri berhak menyimpan, mengalihmedia/ formatkan, mengelolanya dalam bentuk pangkalan data (database), mendistribusikannya, dan menampilkan/ mempublikasikannya di Internet atau media lainnya untuk kepentingan akademis tanpa perlu meminta ijin dari saya selama tetap mencantumkan nama saya sebagai penulis/ pencipta dan sebagai pemilik Hak Cipta. Segala bentuk tuntutan hukum yang timbul atas pelanggaran Hak Cipta dalam karya ilmiah ini menjadi tanggungjawab saya pribadi.

Demikian pernyataan ini saya buat dengan sebenarnya.

Dibuat di Jakarta Pada tanggal 23 Juli 2012 Yang menyatakan,

Mohammad Alwi Kosasih 2225076556

ABSTRAK

Mohammad Alwi Kosasih. <u>Keberpihakan Artikel Jakarta Post terhadap Isu</u> <u>Kenaikan Harga Bahan Bakar Minyak di Indonesia.</u> Skripsi. Jurusan Bahasa dan Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Bahasa dan Seni, Universitas Negeri Jakarta (UNJ), Juli 2012.

Penelitian dilakukan untuk mencari tahu adanya keberpihakan dalam pemberitaan mengenai isu kenaikan harga bahan bakar minyak di Indonesia pada artikel di The Jakarta Post. Penelitian dilakukan dikarenakan bingkai atas pemberitaan suatu isu sangat bergantung pada ideologi dari pembuat beritanya, dan ideologi tersebut membentuk keberpihakan dalam artikel. Penulis mencari tahu mengenai keberpihakan dalam 6 artikel yang diambil secara acak terkait pemberitaan isu tersebut tertanggal edisi 23 Februari, 24 Februari, 13 Maret, 24 Maret, 31 maret dan 2 April 2012. Penelitian ini dilakukan dengan menggunakan metode analisis bingkai berita dari Zhongdang Pan dan Kosicki, dikarenakan selain metode dianggap memutakhirkan metode sebelumnya dengan penambahan unsur-unsur berita yang lebih mendetail untuk dianalisa. Dengan metode tersebut, penulis mengklasifikasi bagian bagian artikel ke dalam analisa struktur sintaksis, skrip, tematik dan retorik. Metode ini membongkar keberpihakan dalam pemberitaan melalui struktur bahasa yang digunakan, pola pemberitaan yang dilakukan, tema yang diangkat di tiap artikelnya, dan penggunaan unsur bahasa lain yang lebih mendetail sebagai penekannannya. Dari hasil penelitian, ditemukan bahwa The Jakarta Post memiliki keberpihakan bahwa kenaikan bahan bakar minyak adalah hal yang penting dan perlu ditinjau dari segi ekonomi dan untuk kepentingan ekonomi secara luas. (MAK)

Kata kunci : Analisis Bingkai Berita, Keberpihakan, The Jakarta Post

ABSTRACT

Mohammad Alwi Kosasih. Tendency of Jakarta Post Articles towards Indonesia <u>Fuel Price Hike Issue.</u> Skripsi. English Department, Language and Arts Faculty, State University of Jakarta (UNJ), July 2012.

This study is conducted to reveal any tendency beneath in the reportage regarding the Indonesia fuel price hike issue in The Jakarta Post articles. This research is conducted for the frame in news report that depends on the ideology of the owner of the news station, and that ideology constructs the tendency in the article. The writer seek the tendency on 6 articles which randomly selected regarding to the issue dated on 23rd February, 24th February, 13th March, 24th March, 31st March and 2nd April 2012 edition. This Research is conducted by using the news framing analysis method of Zhongdang Pan and Kosicki. It is because this method is considered as updating the former method by adding more detailed news elements to be analyzed. The writer classified the articles into the analysis of syntactical, script, thematic and rhetorical structure. This method is reveals the tendency on the news report through the language structure and the news pattern used, the theme carried in each articles, and the usage of another detailed language elements as the emphasis. From the analysis, it is found that The Jakarta Post has a tendency that the fuel price hike is important and needed which reviewed by economic side and for the sake of economy itself. (MAK)

Keywords: News Framing Analysis, Tendency, the Jakarta Post

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

An apology and an appreciation to the creator for the custody and the life has been given. A gratitude given for the whole family as its care, spirit and chance has been given to the writer for each years passed by. Honor delivered as respect and appreciation to Mrs. Ati Sumiati, my skripsi advisor, for her keenness and patience to advise things in detailed, although it is in hectic times, as also my good pray for her family, it is a great experience to do the work under your advice. An honor delivered also to Mr. Ifan Iskandar, M.Hum, the recent chairman of English Department, and Mrs. Siti Wachidah, P.hd, the former chairwomen of English Department, for giving chance to be part of the great circle of people with great knowledge.

For the a huge lesson of way of thinking, empathy, and leadership that been given, a hyper huge appreciations given to KMPF UNJ and its peoples, a wicked photography club in this university, it is an honor to had been govern the club, as the club govern me as well. A specific appreciation for mind-blower people of KMPF UNJ, Bang Jambrong, Kang Dadang, Mas Luki, and dr.Divil for their decision to summoned me in the club, and all lesson to reveal the world and get me from the 'antisocialismivity', Bos Candra and the Sociology dudes for its reconstruction of way of thinking of mine towards politics and all its propagandas. Bang Kong and the alternative photography people to extracting my creativities. Gratitude to all guys in KMPF UNJ also that I cannot mention by each one of them, ASA28 for their benevolent attitudes, Pixel26 for their rumpiness, and all the juniors, Klise29, Prisma30 and Trigger31 for the kindness and warmth for me to learn being a better person. Then, for them in the same stance of the last dance and underpressure of their skripsi, Dila and Nti for their unstable condition as reflection for any undone writing I have, Kukuh and Bimbim for their warmth, places to stay and being heard, also their different schedule that makes me feel burdened with the pressure, an appreciation of gratitude is given for them.

For giving me a track in skripsi activity, a token of gratitude is given for juniors in English Department which ironically graduated in same time with me, Teguh, Arya, Dedeks, and mostly Dida for the Eriyanto and her state for being the checkpoint of deadline, thank you is not enough for you guys. For leaving me behind but still watching my back every time, guys of NDNR 07 you guys are more than just friends, you are Friends with capital, appreciation for all of them is 'appendixed' in every works I will do. Also for the guys that I cannot mentioned in here, I give myself as part of my appreciation.

Last paragraph of appreciation is given for my goddess, for her coolness and her apology-followed that giving me reason to evaluate and feel more than just being myself. But, paradoxically, I want to appreciate myself as this is the last sentence in this acknowledgement, for not stop, because there is no stop ever.

Jakarta, July 2012

Alwi Kosasih

Table of Contents

Lembar Pengesahan	i
Lembar Pernyataan Orisinalitas	ii
Lembar Pernyataan Persetujuan Publikasi Karya Ilmiah	iii
Lembar Pengesahan	iv
Abstrak	V
Abstract	vi
Acknowledgement	vi i
Table of Contents	viii
List of Appendices	xi
Chapter I Introduction	1
1.1 Background of the study	1
1.2 Research Question	4
1.3 The purpose of the study	5
1.4 Scope and limitation of the study	5
1.5 Significance of the study	5
Chapter II Literature Review	6
2.1 Study on Ideology and Tendency	6
2.2 Mass Media	8
2.2.1 Newspaper as printed media	8
2.3 Study on News Media Framing	8
2.3.1 Framing Analysis model	11
2.3.1.1 Zhongdang Pan & Kosicki model	11
2.3.1.2 A. Gamson & Andre Modigliani model	13
2.3.1.3 Robert Entman model	14
2.4 The Brief Description on Fuel Price Hike Issue	15
2.5 Study on source of data	16
2.5.1 The Jakarta Post	16

Chapter III Research Methodology	
3.1 Research Method	
3.2 Source of the data	
3.3 Data collecting procedures	
3.4 Data analysis procedures	
Chapter IV Discussion and Findings	
4.1 Data Description	
4.2 Data Discussion	
4.2.1 Analysis on Syntactical Structure	
4.2.1.1 Headline	
4.2.1.2 Information Background	
4.2.1.3 Quotation	
4.2.1.4 Source	
4.2.1.5 Statement	
4.2.1.6 Closing Paragraph	
4.2.2 Analysis on Script Structure	
4.2.2.1 What?	
4.2.2.2 Where?	
4.2.2.3 When?	
4.2.2.4 Who?	
4.2.2.5 Why?	
4.2.2.6 How?	
4.2.3 Analysis on Thematic Structure	40
4.2.3.1 Details	40
4.2.3.2 Correlation within the sentence	41
4.2.3.3 Sentence Coherence	
4.2.3.4 Form of the sentence	46
4.2.2.5 Pronoun	46
4.2.4 Analysis on Rhetorical Structure	47
4.2.4.1 Choice of words	47
4.2.4.2 Pictures	49

4.2.4.3 Metaphors	
4.3 Findings	51
Chapter V Conclusion and Recommendation	
5.1 Conclusion	53
5.2 Recommendation	53
References	55
Appendices	

List of Appendices

Appendix I. The Description of Syntactical Structure Appendix II. The Description of Script Structure Appendix III. The Description of Thematic Structure Appendix IV. The Description of Rhetorical Structure

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

In daily life, nothing is more important than getting information from mass media. Mass media provides an interconnection between people, for long distance communication or even for the one sitting next to them. Giving the new concept that the mass media is an essential way to communicate, the concept of being ubiquitous, that mass media is omnipresent in every human process of communication. From that point, mass media realizes that every single piece of information is easily to be transmitted, because people are somehow hunger for information.

Mass media have the merits of simplicity and inclusiveness (Inglis, 1990: 76), because they express news with deep and solemn way for people can rely on them. However, they have a capability to construct the perspectives of the society toward some issues, because beneath each of media reportage, an ideology is contained. The mass media disseminates their ideology to strengthen the domination in audience's perspectives through the fact that the mass media adding a tendency to giving a good evaluation of their perspectives. In fact those audiences are mostly passive and easily believing on information, they rely on mass media perspective. Gradually consumed by society, no doubt the mass media perspective soon becomes the perspective of the society also, as McLuhan (2001) anticipated on his book, the media and mass communications devices reshapes lifestyle and worldview of the people.

On February 22th, 2012, The President of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, stated on the plenary session that there will be a fuel price hike for a subsidized fuel during the end of the month regarding the global oil prices rise. This situation widespread and becomes a potential issue for the media. The society firmly act resistance to the statement, for the state of distrust to government on the possibility of diversion funding, also for fear the possibility to be followed by the rising of the other living needs costs. On the government side, the increasing of global oil price now are just beginning of further skyrocketing price because the geopolitics in Middle-East and it is a problem for the stability of national economic if it must cover the subsidy.

The mass media takes a part in reporting the situation, informing the situation of the pros and the contras in many angle of reportage. Somehow, media gives the complete but confusing illustration of the situation, varying from the demands from the protesters, the reasons of fuel price hike from governmental side, national economic and fiscal condition, responses from the low class society toward their life cost and other positive and negative effect in many aspects. This unstable condition seems like what Synder (1995) on Wilcox (2005) said in *Warrior of Disinformation* as the stance of varying people perception with multiple form of information to make people become more insidious with their disinformation, and later prefer to seek a simple and clear-cut message of what the media want people to believe. The media put the relation of the imaginary concept

of their wanted condition into the state that the people really wanted to be, and completed it with assumption and motivation within the underlying ideas to be believed by the reader.

For the Jakarta Post, with the high number of reader varying from English learners, expatriates, to academicians with higher education, an issue is not freed from what we called ideology. By selecting from 27 headline articles about the fuel price hike, ranging from February 22th to April 7th 2012, the writer seek the underlying ideas in the texts which written on various writing angles, from economic stability to riot from protesters also the clash between intern House of Representatives, to daily served and put an ideology of the newspaper. Although the newspaper simply reporting the situation, it is somewhat using the words which politically affecting the reader. This study seeks any value establishment of one ideology which politically served, because, as cited from Danesi (2009), Mass media is the most effective politics of value establishment:

In a fundamental way, the study of the media-communication nexus is an exercise in unraveling the psychological reasons why we evolve through communication devices and why modern economies and political systems depend so much on these devices. (Danesi: xii)

The ideology in Althusser (1969) concept is the relation between the ideas of living with the condition of the real world. It is somewhat utopia in the writer's mind that underlie in a text that they made, and tendency is its works to make the idea of the real condition to be happen. The tendency will deal with perspectives dissemination to the audiences, creating a new value to be relied.

From that, the writer wants to find out the ideology beneath the Jakarta Post articles towards the issue that burst into fire in the early 2012. Because neither good nor bad the ideology will be, being literate is a must. The writer seeks the ideologies through the lexical and structure of items in media reports. There are three experts in news framing analysis. They are William A Gamson and Andre Modigliani (1986), Robert Entman (1991), and Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki (1993). The writer chooses the Zhongdang Pan and Kosicki for the analysis because it is the recent theories that completing the previous studies of news framing by adding the more specific analysis which are four structures of media reporting. There are Syntactical, Script, Thematic, and Rhetorical structure. From there the process could be identified and clearly be understood of what its tendencies are. If the process is already understood, people can prevent the effect even manipulate the process.

1.2 Research Question

Based on the background, the writer constructs the research question:

How tendency shown in Jakarta Post's articles towards the fuel price hike issue?

1.3 The Purpose of the Study

The study is conducted to reveal the tendency that Jakarta Post inclined to in the issue related in printed mass media, because for academician, to be literate to what media do is important to keep the mindset to be objectives toward social issues.

1.4 Scope and Limitation of Study

The scope of this study is the news articles in Jakarta post regarding the fuel price hike issue. The limitation is from the February to April edition, during the issue of fuel price hike policy that encounters ranging from 23rd February 2012 to 4th April 2012.

1.5 Significance of the study

This study will enlarge people's perspective about media reporting, for the sake of academician to be literate to any ideology beneath, and filter its positive and the negative impacts. This study will also be a good contribution for further studies for student who wants to seek the truth about media and its discourse.

CHAPTER II LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Study on Ideology and Tendency

Based on *Dictionary of Media and Communication* by Marcel Danesi (2009, p. 153), ideology refers to a system of thought based on a specific set of assumptions, beliefs, or viewpoints that appears to be a product of common sense, but which is actually socially constructed. Karl Marx use this term as the state where ruling class in society taking control of the lower class for the sake of their own wealth by persuade everybody else that's things are just fine as they are, and that ideas, values and frame of mind which is suit in them so well, suit in everyone as well (Inglis 1990: 78).

In Althusser (1969) concept, the ideology is a relation between imaginary conditions of what people try to believe that existed in their assumptions, and real condition of existence. The relation includes the myth, concept, images, ideas and discourse that formed into assumption, motivation and underlying ideas (Storey, 2011: 71-72). He explained in Storey's book, *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture* (2011) that the ideology dispels contradiction in lived experience. It is accomplished by offering the false, but seemingly true, resolutions of the real problems, because the concept of ideology is somewhat utopia of the real condition in where people lived in. In the texts, an ideology is underlying in what not present in the text, but inside the assumption that coming from underlying problems in the text. Because the ideology is progress to construct the belief of its

audiences, the ideology must create some tendency within the text where the underlying idea transferred. Althusser, in terms of Marxism, tendency is described as the governing principle of social and economic organization on different level of social practices (Hall: 94). It is the condition when one class has dominated an ideology, they represents ways of thinking about determination, which are essentially based on the idea of any correspondence between one level of social formation and another.

Tendency is the concept of the limits of variation of a movement and of the eventual barrier to a development of one social class. It is emerges one thing warned that with or without immediate identity, the political, legal, and ideological practices will suppose conform each other to and therefore be bought into necessary correspondence with become an economic determination. Althusser sees tendency as an aim of political practice, which construct the correspondence between the social or economic forces and those that forms political, and ideology, in the results to lead the forces in practice to interfere the social condition.

Summarized that the ideology is a base for tendency practice, it is comes after a dominating class has their ideology already constructed into another social class. The tendency deal with work of limiting another social class mindset through articulates the dominant class ideas.

2.2 Mass Media

The definition of mass media is media, which is, used to profound the communication with vast society. Inglis on his book *Media theory: An Introduction* (1990: 3) refer the mass media as what transforms experience into knowledge and provide signs which give meaning to the events of everyday life.

2.2.1 Newspaper as Printed Media

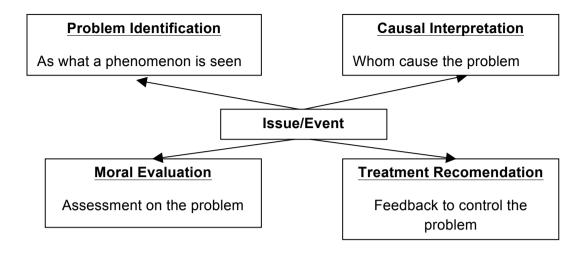
Newspaper contains at least the important news that is daily, hard news, which will be less important if it past the publication time. As the mass media in general, newspaper through a news editor and its owner will sort out the issues raised in the news coverage and how that news will runs. Then, the news along with a message that has been filled by the newspaper ideology are digested by the reader, and ended on the free assumptions of the reader. Practically, it is clear that if the owner of the newspaper has a tendency in the political, then it will be obvious in the pattern of its news reportage. (Chauhan, 2000)

2.3 Study on News Media Framing

In simple definition, the term frame could be referred as the background knowledge of the journalist which influencing their interpretation toward writing some phenomenon or events (Danesi, 2009). Shoemaker and Reese (1996) on Scheufele journals *Framing as a Theory of Media Effects*, frame is influenced by the social norms and values, organizational pressures and constrains, pressures of interest groups, journalistic routines and ideological or political orientation of the journalist. Those things influences journalist in finding perspective of writing

angle or a point of interest of the articles they wrote. Therefore, frame could be determined as a writing technique to make an article more systematic and logical to be read by hiding unimportant issues in a news report. By that, a news report with a specific issue would become more interesting for audiences. As stated by Pan and Kosicki (1993) on his works, *Framing Analysis: An Approach to News Discourse,* that framing is used in order for one message on news report can be more prominent than other messages, resulting audiences interest are focused only on a messages that journalist wants. (Eriyanto, 2002 : 252)

As the media studies occur, Entman (1993) offered a detailed schema of how a frame is created. The first one is the Problem Identification, where the journalist defining problems based on what tendencies a phenomenon or issues is looked as a important thing to be discussed in public. The second is the Causal Interpretation, which an assumption of the cause of the problem on an issue is made by the journalist. In this case the assumption could be another phenomenon, which related or a subject whom became a key person in the context. Third, Moral Evaluation where the journalist make a moral judgment on actions, policies or any decision that applied on a phenomenon, with a legitimizing or delegitimizing purpose. The last one is Treatment Recommendation, where journalist has a role to give recommendation, a brief description of recommended solutions to be applied for cover some phenomenon. We can see the in the schema below,



Graphic 2.1 Framing Techniques (Eriyanto, 2002: 197-202)

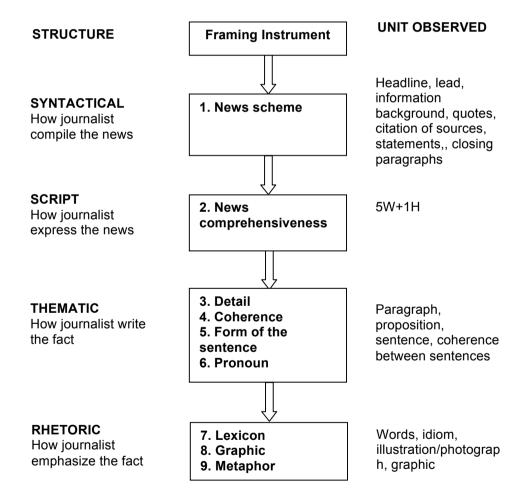
On the practice, the journalist perspectives in selecting the issue on news reporting mean raising the subjectivity value on that reportage. Because the value is subjective, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) on Vreese, *News Framing theory and typology: Journal (2009)*, commented that journalist is naturally processing information into a news report, which have function to construct the meaning or phenomenon. A journalist frame is used by mass media to drive the development of an issue or audience perspective from one issue to another issue, selecting the subject who will be a resource person, using certain connotation terms, using photograph, illustration, or diagram to maintain their arguments with their perspectives imbued, so that argument could be item for contest of political orientation between the newspaper.

By reporting the constructed reality, framing have a major impact in two levels, which is individual and societal level. On individual level, framing have an impact in behavioral changes of a person towards the issue. On societal level, the impact is become massive and constructs the social value such as political relationship, decision-making, and even any collective behavior. Because of that impact, a study to reveals the framing in new reporting is established. News framing analysis have a purpose to analyze core elements in news reporting such as the articles, writing technique, and other supporting details which beneath each of them there are selected discourse by the journalist. Entman suggested that frames in the news can be examined and identified by 'the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments (Eriyanto, 2002: 200). There are three recent news framing analysis models. There are Zhongdang Pan & Kosicki, William A. Gamson & Andre Modigliani, and Robert Entman.

2.3.1 Frame analysis Models

2.3.1.1 News Framing Zhongdang Pan & Kosicki Model

On Eriyanto (2002: 255-256), Pan & Kosicki construct theoretical framework of news framing analysis, which are Syntactic, Script, Thematic, and Rhetoric analysis. Syntactic related to the way journalist compile a news report. Unit observed include headline, head, background information, statement, quotes, resource, opinion and closing paragraph. Script seeks the strategy of journalist in packaging a fact and retells it into a news report by analysis on news comprehensiveness, which based on what, where, who, when, why, and how. Thematic, news article analyzed in terms of detail and purpose of the sentence, nominalization between sentences, coherence, forms of sentence, and pronoun used in paragraph and prophases to see how journalist express their opinion in the writing. This structure will show the perspectives of a journalist in a smaller forms but which it is set the whole ideology of journalist. The last, Rhetorical analyzed the articles based on supporting elements contained in news, the lexicon, graphic, metaphor and supposition. Units that were analyzed include the words, idioms, images, illustrators or photographs, or graphics that are used as supplementary and explanatory news article, from there it can be seen how reporters emphasizing a fact. We can see the process on the following scheme,

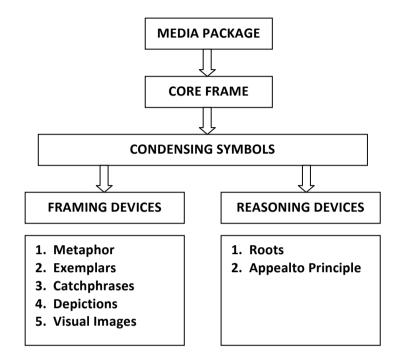


Graphic 2.2 Zhongdang and Gerald M. Kosicki News Framing Analysis

(Eriyanto, 2002: 256)

2.3.1.2 News framing William A. Gamson & Andre Modigliani

The previous study of News Framing Analysis is conducted by William A. Gamson & Andre Modigliani, which on Vreese (2009) refers framing analysis as two structure analysis, which is Core and Condensing symbol. The idea is media package is physical form of the media reportage, could be a script or articles, which in it there is a Core, which is the main context of the whole articles. Core has a constructive function to point audience attention into one issue for the Condensing Symbol to be emphasized. Condensing symbol is compressed perspective on symbol, resulting symbolic instrument which divided into two, there are framing devices and reasoning device. Framing Device structure consists of metaphor, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions, and visual images are emphasizing aspects in pointing an issue while Reasoning Devices emphasizing supporting aspects that becomes its justifications. Framing devices contained rhetorical systems, which show tremendous lexical usage in constructing journalist tendency of pragmatics meaning on one issue, and it strengthened by the Reasoning Devices that using previous issues to be used as historical narration for that issue. In addition, the Reasoning Device is characterized by its doctrine features which focusing on emotional up-and-down of the audiences by manipulate audience perspectives using the attributive, time, and space historical narration. The concept are not complete, because there is a point that missing in the analysis, which only specific on the structure of the text and the supporting details, such as pictures and imagery sentences. Comparing to Pan and Kosicki model, there are script structure that analyzing the content and the coherence of the writer ideas. For the simple, here is the scheme of Gamson and Modigliani model,



Graphic 2.3 Framing Analysis model Gamson and Modigliani scheme

(Eriyanto, 2002: 225)

2.3.1.3 News framing Robert Entman

Robert Entman analysis consists of rhetorical questions towards a news report, where the news text is observed by its tendencies through four parts. There are, observation of the main focus on the problem in the news report, then observation of certain perspective which becomes the cause of the problem and the assumptions of what problem will appear, then searching for the possibility of the following impact on social level by the value construction after the report. The last, it is the recommend the society towards the positive and negative values of a phenomenon, policy, response, and other thing. (Eriyanto, 2002: 197-198)

2.4 The Brief description on Fuel Price Hike Issue

On February 22th 2012, the sixth President of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono said on the plenary session about the buried condition of oil supply from oil producing country because the rising of global oil prices and geopolitics in Middle-East, which are feared to be a beginning of further skyrocketing price. The consequences is like it has been written down in the Jakarta Post article date 23th March 2012, the state budget are not able to cover the subsidized fuel price which estimated 123,6 billion rupiah, because the Indonesian Crude Price (ICP), the term of government to calculate the budget, are felt no longer coherence. The state budget for ICP is US\$90 per barrel. Meanwhile the global-oil price has reach the number of US\$115.91. For that on plenary session, SBY proposing to revise the state budget related to subsidized fuel by raising the subsidized fuel price with the amount of 33 percent, from normal price 4.500 rupiah into 6.000 rupiah to be implemented on April 2012.

With the issue spread, the society, from state governmental sides and political society, is broke down into two, the pros and the contras. The political party started to choose a position, neither agreed nor disagreed to the president policy proposal. Meanwhile, on the civil society, motorized by political society, the refusal act against the proposal is began with the riots since March 12th to the biggest one on march 31st 2012, its happened to fall on the final plenary session

when the policy is decided. Although on the final decision, by the highest level of uncontrollable possibility angry riots, the government was faces two options, to raise the subsidized fuel at once or suspended it until the Indonesian Crude Price increase or decrease by 15 percent in six months or until the government no longer able to cover the subsidy. To suspend the raising is chosen because the decision could reduce the riots and stabilize the trust to the government. Yet, the discussion on choosing the option becomes another story for political parties to get a grip in civil society trust.

2.5 Study on the Source of Data

2.5.1 The Jakarta Post

Written down in The Jakarta Post homepage (*www.thejakartapost.com/ about/history*), The Jakarta Post established on April 25th 1983 in initiation of the late minister of information Ali Moertopo with Mr. Jusuf Wanandi, who represented the government-backed *Golkar* newspaper *Suara Karya*. The Jakarta Post have a vision that publishing an English-language newspaper of the highest editorial quality could raising the values of Indonesia as competitive developing country which provide international language news for its citizen and the fast growing foreign community in the country of the result the opening up the economy to the global community, daily.

The company, PT Bina Media Tenggara, was established in late 1982 as an independent newspaper institution privately owned by four competing media groups publishing: *Suara Karya, Kompas, Sinar Harapan* and *Tempo*.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Method

This study is using descriptive analytical study method. Descriptive analytical study is a combination of the descriptive and analytics methods. This method is done by clarify the data by describing the facts then followed by analysis to make a critical evaluation (Ratna, 2004: 53). In this study, this method used to describing the features of the media text using Zhongdang Pan and Kosicki news framing analysis, including the syntactical, script, thematic and rhetorical structure, to be later discussed within the ideology beneath the data.

3.2 Source of the Data

The Jakarta post start the issue about fuel price hike from date 23rd February until 4th April 2012, in amount of 27 articles, which is from there 6 articles are randomly selected to be analyzed as samples for the source of the data to reveal the ideology in articles. The data is clauses, phrases, sentences and also photographs or graphics as addition, which refer to the tendency of the articles.

3.3 Data Collecting Procedures

- Read The Jakarta Post Newspaper thoroughly from February to April editions;
- 2. Find and Collect the articles related to fuel price hike issue;
- 3. Randomly select six samples from the data collected;

3.4 Data Analysis Procedures

- 1. Classify the syntactical structure of the articles;
- 2. Classify the scripts structure of the articles;
- 3. Classify the thematic structure of the articles;
- 4. Classify the rhetorical structure of the articles;
- 5. Discuss and interpret the tendency on the syntactical structure of the articles related to tendency toward the issue
- Discuss and interpret the tendency on the script structure of the articles related to tendency toward the issue
- Discuss and interpret the tendency on the thematic structure of the articles related to tendency toward the issue
- 8. Discuss and interpret the tendency on the rhetoric structure of the articles related to tendency toward the issue
- 9. Drawing a conclusion.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION AND FINDINGS

4.1 Data Description

The data of analysis are taken from The Jakarta Post (JP) articles ranged from date 23rd February until 4th April 2012 edition, which 6 articles are randomly selected for the samples, there are February 23rd edition, February 24th edition, March 13th edition, March 24th edition, March 31st edition, and April 2nd edition. The data are news reports about Indonesia fuel price hike issue on 2012. Those data are analyzed by using frame analysis model by Pan and Kosicki.

4.2 Data Discussion

4.2.1 Analysis on Syntactical Structure

4.2.1.1 Headline

No	Edition (on 2012)	Headline	Interpretation
1.	Thursday, February 23 rd	Fuel price hike 'inevitable'	JP illustrates impossible situation to not do raising the fuel price and government is under pressure due implementation of the policy.
2.	Fri, February 24th	Ministries scramble to support fuel price hike	JP illustrates the situation has been understood and the governmental staff already agreed to help the implementation plan.
3.	Tue, March 13 th	Fuel price hike may increase poverty rate	JP illustrates the situation faces new social problem impact, and must be discussed more.

4.	Saturday, March 24 th	House still opposes plan to increase price of subsidized fuel	JP illustrates plan already been formulated, but it is still blocked by the House–disagreement.
5.	Saturday, March 31 st	Fuel-price hike still at play	JP shows that the situation is happening now and the policy are still discussed.
6.	Monday, April 2 nd	Govt fuel 'flub' fouls future plans	JP illustrates the government are failed to keep their policy to be implemented, causing bigger problems.

In the headline, we can see that JP giving the emphasized information that fuel-price hike issue is important issue for government which has been supported by its governmental member, on the first article, the single quotation mark on the word "inevitable" on the title "Fuel Price Hike 'Inevitable'" shows specific problem identification that government, ironically, is forced by the condition to raising the fuel-price. When it is continued with the second title "Ministries Scramble to Support Fuel Price Hike' of February 24th edition, JP illustrates the condition that government concerns about the implementation of the fuel-price hike are now handled by related ministries. In other words, JP giving information that main actor of this problem is not only the President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. Despite, on the third title of March 13th edition, "Fuel Price Hike May Increase Poverty Rate" it is emphasize possibility the new problem presence, described on the sentence, the worst condition of the implementation of the fuel policy, which its implicitly shows a moral evaluation for government. On

the next title, "House Still Opposes the Plan", it is show causal interpretation that the previous problem about implementation plan was solved, but the new problem occur. House of Representatives did not approve it, JP positioning the House as an antagonist in the title. On the sentence "Fuel Price Hike Still at Play", is the report about the plenary session, giving the idea that the problems are still in discussion. On the last title, 'Govt Fuel 'Flub' Fouls Future Plan', JP firmly tells the mistakes that the government failed to assure on the previous session, cause a fatal problem.

From those analysis, the writer see a frame that JP have a perspectives that government know the problem that they are facing and internally able to solved it, but they failed to deliver it on public, which ended in failure because the government fear to politically lose on House of Representatives, or losing support from the society, which JP look it as not credible, and underestimating the problem. It is shows that the tendency that JP is agreed to the implementation plan and displeased due the cancellation of the policy.

4.2.1.2 Information background

No	Edition (on 2012)	Information Background	Interpretation
1.	Thursday, February 23rd	The journalist wrote the reason	JP shows the problem is
		of the increasing fuel price and	no longer a problem to
		information about the direct cash	the government due the
		aid that government tries to offer.	readiness to offer the
			solution.
2.	Fri, February 24th	The journalist wrote information	JP shows that the
		about the President plan to cover	implementation impact is
		the subsidy from CSR of other	already been solved by
		ministry, while inform about the	the government possible
		discussion of state budget with	option in providing the

		the House.	budget for cash-aid.
3.	Tue, March 13 th	The journalist wrote information about the Indonesia poverty rate, the impact after price hike, and the BLT plan.	JP shows that the bad impact would be less risky that it would be seems.
4.	Saturday, March 24 th	The journalist wrote information about the implementation plan and tells the situation whereby the House disagreed with.	JP illustrates that the opponent of the policy comes from the House, not from the impact.
5.	Saturday, March 31 st	The journalist wrote information about the member of coalition and the opposing party as part of the parliamentary meeting.	JP giving an idea that the fraction are demanded more in political reason due the policy implementation than the main reasons.
6.	Monday, April 2 nd	The journalist provides opinions from economists about the government failure on fuel-price hike.	JP judged the option that government chooses was worse than the possible impact that it would be happen due the implementation plan.

On the six articles, JP provides coherence information between each article. As on first article, JP giving information about the difficulty that became the main background of fuel-price hike, which is the geo-political instability in oil-producing country. However, the article is closed with positive information about solution-based plan for the problem, which is an indication there government will issue a cash aid program. The information continued in the second article that the cash-aid program source is emphasized with detailed information from State-Owned Enterprises Ministry, to cover the funds Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) funds of State-owned enterprises is allocated, giving an idea that the government has ready to put a sacrificial act upon the implementation plan by cutting off the budget from its state-owned enterprise to cover the risk of the impact. On the next condition, JP are giving a narrative plot of government solution plan for the impact of fuel-price hike implementation, on article 3, the government is illustrated to worst the condition by increasing the poverty rate if the plan is implemented. But, on the article, the technical information of the implementation of cash-aid, rice-for-poor, scholarship, and public transportation subsidies program are given. In this plot, JP shows that government are ready for anything that will happened with many solution after the fuel-price hike are implemented. On article 4, the provided information is the new problem that government must face, which is the unsupported bureaucracy, with the rejection from the House of Representatives on the reason of disapproving irrelevant budget proposal for the hike. But, JP also provide information of the main background of why government must raising the fuel-price and why must risen to 1,500 rupiah from Finance Minister, also with information of the deficit number government must bear in 2.6 percent, from maximum number 3 percent, where the subsidy budget that government must bear is 203 trillion rupiah. JP put that information to keep the reader to track back into the supporting the fuel-price hike. On article 5, JP illustrate the plenary session condition with detailed information of each response given, who giving the response in the session, and how their alignments. The government which positioned in passive in this article is covered by the argument from each fraction, making

a cloud for later political status of government due the political support. On the article 5, JP reveals the alignment of each council which giving a response, giving the chance for the reader to make their own perspective about the council of the fraction. On article 6, JP fills the information needed with the opinions from the economic side that focuses on the government failure of the cancellation of the fuel-price hike. The government in the opinion are fail because to political in responding the issue, while JP see it as a big issue, it is seen in first paragraph "The government is losing credibility due to its failure to raise fuel prices …" on this article JP giving an emphasis that the cancellation was dull and fatal.

From the analysis, the writer see a frame that JP are supporting the fuel price hike, which it is failed because of more political reason than the important situation, economic.

No	Edition (on 2012)	Quotation	Interpretation
1.	Thursday, February 23 rd	The journalist provides	JP giving the emphasis
		quotation which more focused	on the official
		on SBY speech about the	information, directly
		reason and any helps offer.	from the President.
2.	Fri, February 24 th	The journalist provides	JP giving emphasis of
		quotation about the plan	government readiness
		implementation from SBY.	upon the impact of the
			plan.
3.	Tue, March 13 th	The journalist provides	JP emphasizing the
		quotation about the cash-aid	problem upon the impact
		implementation to reduce the	already been solved, and
		impact.	government can
			implement the plan

4.2.1.3 Quotation

4.	Saturday, March 24 th	The journalist provides quotation about the background of the implementation plan from Finance Minister.	anytime. JP wants to track back its reader to rethinking about the fundamental reasons of fuel price hike plan.
5.	Saturday, March 31 st	The journalist quoted the opposite and offensive quotation between each fraction in plenary session.	JP wants to illustrate the clash between fractions to giving an idea that the reasons of each fraction are not fundament.
6.	Monday, April 2 nd	The journalist quoted the criticism from economist during the cancellation of the pan.	JP emphasizes the government failure from the economic side.

On quotation, JP emphasizes the beyond the government reach fuel-price hike background by the quoting president SBY statement. With the president statement, all the solution offered becomes official. On article 2, with detailed information about technical implementation of the plan and other plan that will be other solutions for the impact of the fuel-price hike, such as fuel restriction plan and oil to gas conversion. JP emphasizes that the implementation of fuel-price hike policy are not longer become a problem, and all the things are waits for the House to approved. On article 3, the quote are dispute the number of the price hike, if it is 1,500 rupiah or 1,000 rupiah for the sake of deficit and social risk, but it is looked that on the quotes, the JP giving the quote that support the price hike, even it is disagreed for the number. On article 4, its reveal the disagreement between House of Representatives and government, the government represented by Bambang

Brodjonegoro as Finance Ministry acting chief of fiscal policy and Finance Minister Agus Martowardojo, yang which tracking back the background of how important the fuel-price hike must be implemented. Then, explained there that the House wanting the clear transparency of the possible budget that saved up from the implementation of the plan, not only allocated for cash-aid, but also provided for infrastructure. There, JP emphasis by the quote that government must not miss for this problem. On article 5, JP shows a clash between fractions related the issue, starting from the disagreement from the government through Finance Minister, by a its direct speech but only inform the voting results, then responses from the fraction PAN and PDI-P with emphasize a rejection on their quote, then fraction Hanura which criticize the attitude of other fraction that changing minds with not strong reason, and its closed by a quote that the results are not made that time, but in the next Cabinet meeting to show that the government are still in hope for the implementation of plan to be approved. But, in article 6, economists due the cancellation of the plan heavily criticize the government. Economists see it as not credible attitude because it is assessed that the government should not be weak under the amendment of the House.

The analysis reveal more clear idea of the frame used in the articles, that the writer sees mostly quotes provided in the articles shows the supporting attitude of the implementation of the plan.

No	Edition (on 2012)	Sources	Interpretation
1.	Thursday, February 23 rd	The journalist uses the sources of governmental persons, and an economist.	JP wants to emphasize the official information from the control holder of the policy plan, and giving the more trusted economical side person on governmental side.
2.	Fri, February 24th	The journalist uses the sources of governmental persons: The president and its ministers.	JP wants to emphasize the official information from the control holder of the policy plan.
3.	Tue, March 13 th	The journalist uses the sources of governmental persons: The president and its ministers.	JP wants to emphasize the official information from the control holder of the policy plan.
4.	Saturday, March 24 th	The journalist uses the sources of governmental persons with one budget committee member from Golkar party	JP wants to emphasize the official information from the control holder of the policy plan, and emphasize the vision from one party view.
5.	Saturday, March 31 st	The journalist uses the sources of fraction from each party member in the plenary session	JP wants to give the map of the bargaining position of each fraction to give the view for its readers.
6.	Monday, April 2 nd	The journalist uses the sources of non-governmental economists	JP wants to give emphasis on the scientific view from the experts on economy due the failure of the government in implementation plan.

The sources of the annunciation of the fuel-price hike issue are ranging from the government, persons associated by the House of Representatives and the economist. Among the government, the prominent persons of the six articles is President SBY as the holder control in government, Finance Minister Agus Martowardojo as holder of calculation and cornerstone of the necessity of an increase in fuel prices. Energy and Mineral Resource Minister Jero Wacik as holder over the fuel supply and management, and Coordinating Economic Minister Hatta Rajasa as a figure representing side economist from the government. The figures were revealed by JP from the government side, give emphasis as first-hand on the unfolding issue, affirmed the data validity and leading readers to be more believe over the statement issued of the policy that is being negotiated. From related parties with the House, JP eliciting names in fractions who takes a position in a parliament session to clarify partiality opinions and opens opportunity for reader to also take sides over opinions associated with fractions' party origin. In a terms of economists, JP eliciting name that developed from article to articles, on article 1, JP eliciting the Chairman of Association Fuel Station Owners (Hiswana Migas) Eri Purnomo Hadi as benchmarks of early opinion, then JP eliciting name of Gadjah Mada University economist, Anggito Abimanyu as figures of academic in response, on article 3. On the article 6, JP eliciting names of high level economist, such as Standard Chartered economist Fauzi Ichsan, Danareksa Research Institute economist Yudhi Sadewa, LIPI economist Latif Adam as economic assessors with higher prestige, to reader not lose validity and trust over opinion reported over the disagreement unrealized fuel-price hike plan.

It is summarized that, JP is trying to convince the reader through the governmental source they used and the high rank economist to create the assumption that all the statement in the articles are official and supporting the fuel price hike issue by giving perspectives from the economic side.

No	Edition (on 2012)	Statement	Interpretation
1. 2.	Thursday, February 23 rd Fri, February 24 th	The journalist provides statement which more focused on SBY speech about the reason and any helps offer. The journalist provides	JP wants to make the information clear by the official statement of the President. JP tries to illustrate the
		information that focused on government procedures to cover the impact from its staff statements.	situation as well-handled by the government by adding the specific and scientific procedures for the possible impact of the plan.
3.	Tue, March 13 th	The journalist provides statement on specific problem due the impact, but covered with another statement for its solution.	JP gives an idea that government is ready enough for the plan by found a solution of the greater impact of the plan.
4.	Saturday, March 24 th	The journalist provides statement of the opinion about the House rejection and statements of the government reason of the fuel price hike.	JP wants to give an idea that government is ready for the implementation but failed on the bureaucracy.
5.	Saturday, March 31 st	The journalist only provides statement of indirect speech from the government spokesman about the state of government due the final result.	JP gives an idea that government is passive on the plenary session.
6.	Monday, April 2 nd	The journalist provides statements of economist's criticism due the impact of	JP giving idea that the cancellation of the plan is as worst as it more interpreted for political

4.2.1.5 Statement

	cancellation of the pan.	issue than the real
		reason, which is
		economical issue.

Not far different from quotation analysis, the indirect speech detailing the not explicable part by directs speech. Such as President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) opinion over ironic state economy that continue to developed but inversely with the purchasing power that cannot afford from the oil-resource county, also the part that SBY tells that the hike are not exceed the number of 1,500 rupiah. On certain parts, it is also specified as any other compensation related to impact of fuel price hike, such as rice-forpoor, scholarship and public transportation subsidies. It is clear that the statement put the government into active subject of the statement in preparing the plan, but become a passive subject of the statement in discussion with the House. It is create an image that government are try to prepare the worst for the bad condition happened, but the House are to demanded to approved it. Also much detailed information on the economic opinion, that the impact of the too long revising state budget will create the uncertainty in business, it is showing the blame for the government which also to the House as disappointment for the cancellation of the plan.

On the statement analysis, the writer sees there is a frame presence through conclusion withdrawal that the government as the main subject is a protagonist, and the House of Representatives is the antagonist, but in the end, because the fear of losing its power over political and public, the government put its state into the blameful one. And it is concluded that the JP is pro to the implementation policy plan.

No	Edition (on 2012)	Closing paragraph	Interpretation
1.	Thursday, February 23 rd	The journalist closes the articles with governmental side which wait the agreement from the House due to the implementation plan.	JP wants to tell that the situation is not problematic for the government, but its responsibility still needs House for approval.
2.	Fri, February 24 th	The journalist closes the articles with the quotation of The chairman of the Association of Fuel Station Owners due the risk that Fuel Station owner must face if the plan is not implemented.	JP wants to emphasis that the problematic situation is not only impacted the low-income citizen, but also the industrial economy persons.
3.	Tue, March 13 th	The journalist closes the articles with the opinion from Bank Indonesia Governor of the possible impact of the implementation plan for state economy, which will be astonishing.	JP gives idea that the economy would be suffered if the plan is not implemented, but also if it is implemented, for its reader to not become shocked to be situation if it is implemented.
4.	Saturday, March 24 th	The journalist closes the articles with the state that the discussion toward the implementation plan to the House would be discussed on another day.	JP gives the idea that the situation still have hope to be changed, implementation plan still have chance.
5.	Saturday, March 31 st	The journalist closes the articles with the statement that the result is not coming out in day, but in later cabinet meeting,	JP gives the idea that the situation are not closed with the plenary session results, government have power to change the results if the implementation plan could be done.
6.	Monday, April 2 nd	The journalist closes the articles with the review of the	JP giving idea that the House approval is

4.2.1.6 Closing paragraph

House approval on revised state budget, including economic growth assumption, inflation target, exchange rate, and crude oil production.	paradoxes, to not implementing, and still demanded the higher inflation target which is to inclined more on
	politic than economy.

JP provide information about the government readiness to raise the fuel price by stating to finish the revision of budget before April with the news clearly, because both the government does not want to make public confused, as an emphasis on article 1 from the businessmen over financial risk to be borne by fuel station if these increases do not be implemented. On the article 3, JP provide the information on inflation problem that will be astonishing, that going to happen from 3.56 percent to be 7.1 percent if these increases be implemented. JP provides that information as irony of the government if the implementation would be held, as affirmation over the plan to remember the things like this. On the article 4-5, JP closed the article with information on government discussion with the house which did not work well, and the government inevitably to negotiate back and yet want to give a response. In the last articles, as JP wanted to forward the House paradoxes which carried out figures of inflation and economic growth. There indicated that the House approve the maximum inflation target rate 6.8 percent, while there already mentioned in article 3 that the current inflation rate 3.56 percent and the feared inflation happened is 7.1 percent. JP is trying to put stone to House and over the error policy that exacerbates the people.

On this analysis, JP trying to make a statement about the government effort in trying its best for the implementation and it is failed because the bureaucracy is not supports it.

4.2.2 Analysis on script structure

4.2.2.1 What?

No	Edition (on 2012)	What	Interpretation
1.	Thursday, February 23 rd	The journalist informs about the policy is taken because the situation forced the government to do so, and its purpose is for protecting the state economy.	JP wants to gives idea that the situation are not to possible to not implementing the plan.
2.	Fri, February 24 th	The journalist informs about the president efforts for reducing the impact of the implementation plan.	JP shows that the implementation plan is well managed by kept from any possible worse condition would happen.
3.	Tue, March 13 th	The journalist informs about the government which still in responsibility toward the poverty rate that would be impacted.	JP emphasize that the implementation plan is have no longer problematic misery due its impact.
4.	Saturday, March 24 th	The journalist informs about the disagreement of the House towards the implementation plan.	JP shows the problem of the implementation plan comes from the governmental side instead.
5.	Saturday, March 31 st	The journalist informs about the government are mostly passive in the plenary session.	JP shows that the situation cannot be controlled by the government due the political issue.
6.	Monday, April 2 nd	The journalist informs about the government in less credibility state for not implementing the plan.	JP emphasize that government failed because cannot keep the fundamental reason of the plan.

In answering the 'what' question, JP describing the each articles with the plot that government must take for the fuel-price hike policy, but intended on the tendencies that JP agreed the fuel-price must be raised. We can see in the article 1 and 2 the plot is giving an idea that the policy is based on the urgent problems and the policy trying to be solved by government from become worse, which it is seen on the lexicon "protecting" on article 1, and "help" on article 2, when meet other fear social problems due the implementation, the JP lowering the plot by giving the idea that the other support are given for the policy keep be going to be implemented which seen in the word "revised" used in article 3. When the policy comes to be rejected by the House, JP illustrated it as the an obstacle in metaphor "met a stumbling block", but in the next article, and giving the sarcastic opinion of the House in sentence "had a face saving measures from the House of Representatives" which tells that the House giving an opinion that the policy should be suspended to save the government face. And it is an obstacle of the implementation. Then, JP illustrates the policy that failed to be implemented as government mistakes, by putting the word "losing".

4.2.2.2 Where?

No	Edition (on 2012)	Where	Interpretation
1.	Thursday, February 23 rd	The journalist inform the situation taken place at presidential palace	JP wants to show that the plan is in progress of discussion by government.
2.	Fri, February 24th	The journalist inform the situation taken place at state	JP wants to show that the information is official

		owned enterprise office	and not only an issue.
			and not only all issue.
3.	Tue, March 13 th	The journalist inform the situation taken place in Jakarta	JP shows that the government is not finish in discussing the plan by emphasize the government still focused to be in Jakarta.
4.	Saturday, March 24 th	The journalist inform the situation taken place in Jakarta	JP shows that the government is not finish in discussing the plan by emphasize the government still focused to be in Jakarta.
5.	Saturday, March 31 st	The journalist inform the situation taken place at presidential palace	JP wants to show that the plan is in progress of discussion by government.
6.	Monday, April 2 nd	The journalist inform the situation taken place at presidential palace during the plenary session	JP wants to emphasize the place that the government should be taking place to be taking control before.

Mostly, JP are telling the place are not far from the governmental place such as "at presidential office" and "at Minister office", to frame that the policy are in serious planning for it is implemented later by the government. Also, JP gives information that the place is taken place in Jakarta to giving the clue that the informant are not going anywhere during the discussion of the plan.

It is summarized that JP frames that the place that government taken place is strong enough to get the bargaining position due to the approval of implementation plan.

4.2.2.3 When?

No	Edition (on 2012)	When	Interpretation
1.	Thursday, February 23 rd	The journalist shows the information were taken a day after the meeting, in situation on a month after the fuel price hike issue were published.	JP shows the actual and trusted of long waited information of the issue.
2.	Fri, February 24th	The journalist shows the information were taken a day after the meeting.	JP wants to emphasize the fresh trusted information.
3.	Tue, March 13 th	The journalist shows the information were taken a day after the meeting	JP wants to emphasize the fresh trusted information.
4.	Saturday, March 24 th	The journalist shows the information was taken one and half day after the meeting, during the discussion which continued the next two days.	JP wants to emphasize the fresh trusted information and it is still on progress.
5.	Saturday, March 31 st	The journalist shows the information were taken a day after the meeting, during the long meeting.	JP wants to emphasize the fresh trusted information and it is still on progress.
6.	Monday, April 2 nd	The journalist shows the information were taken a day after the meeting.	JP wants to emphasize the fresh trusted information.

JP is giving the information about the session happened on press conference and during a cabinet meeting a clue that the information is given in previous one to three days before the newspaper publish the edition as it seen in the whole articles to emphasize the recentness for the reader trust in comprehensiveness of the issue.

No	Edition (on 2012)	Who	Interpretation
1.	Thursday, February 23 rd	The journalist informs the President SBY as the main center on the issue.	JP wants to show that SBY is responsible to the situation.
2.	Fri, February 24th	The journalist informs the President SBY as the main center on the issue.	JP wants to show that SBY is controlling the situation by doing some progress.
3.	Tue, March 13 th	The journalist informs the government as the main center on the issue.	JP wants to show that government as whole is responsible on the impact of the implementation plan.
4.	Saturday, March 24 th	The journalist informs the government and House of Representatives as the main center on the issue.	JP wants to show the conflict within the issue between the House and the government.
5.	Saturday, March 31 st	The journalist informs the government and House of Representatives as the main center on the issue.	JP wants to show the conflict within the issue between the House and the government during the plenary session.
6.	Monday, April 2 nd	The journalist informs the government and House of Representatives as the main center on the issue.	JP wants to show the conflict within the issue between the House and the government.

In telling the main subject, JP is provided information that the main subjects is between the government's side and the House of Representatives only. In article 1, 2 and 3 it is emphasized in governmental side as the central issue of the problematic situation to create a responsibility images of the government. The article 4, 5 and 6 to emphasize the conflict between the House of representative and government, to make a clearer idea to its reader of whom should taking the control to the puzzled situation. It is emphasized on President SBY, as the official and trusted head of the governmental side.

No	Edition (on 2012)	Why	Interpretation
1.	Thursday, February 23 rd	The journalist giving the reason that the issue comes after the political issue in the oil producing country.	JP wants to emphasize the unavoidable condition to raising the fuel price.
2.	Fri, February 24th	The journalist giving the reason that the fund allocation for cash aid is based on it inevitable situation to raising the fuel price.	JP wants to emphasize the importance of the fuel price hike by adding the information about the reaction of the government due its impact.
3.	Tue, March 13 th	The journalist giving the reason the possible impact that would be occurred after the implementation plan.	JP wants illustrate the reason of how worse the impact is, and emphasize the reaction plan.
4.	Saturday, March 24 th	The journalist giving the reason of the fuel price hike that government cannot avoid.	JP wants to emphasize the importance of the fuel price hike.
5.	Saturday, March 31 st	The journalist giving the reason of the fuel price hike that government cannot avoid, from economical side.	JP wants to emphasize the importance of the fuel price hike in more scientific way.
6.	Monday, April 2 nd	The journalist giving the reason of the condition that makes the implementation plan cancelled.	JP wants to emphasize the sequence that government incredibility due the policy implementation.

4.2.2.5 Why?

In telling the reason the fuel-price hike, the JP having the reason much as economic problem to state the reader that the reason are scientific and factual, not as a social problem that can much be negotiated. In the articles, JP is provide the geopolitical instability because the clash between US and Iran makes many country, not specified on Indonesia, in risk for the distribution and its bargaining power to purchase. And that reason is supported by another economic and calculated reason in percentage to getting the point that the risk is cannot be bargained.

No	Edition (on 2012)	How	Interpretation
1.	Thursday, February 23 rd	The journalist gives the description of reaction of the political issue in the oil producing country situation, which is the implementation plan.	JP wants to show that the situation comes up with the decision that can be trusted.
2.	Fri, February 24 th	The journalist gives the description of the procedure that government does for the cash aid allocation funds.	JP wants to show that the situation comes up with the reaction and gives idea that government are thinking in many aspects of impacts.
3.	Tue, March 13 th	The journalist gives the description of procedure to reduce the possible impact that would be occurred after the implementation plan.	JP wants to illustrate the control of the situation that government have in the issue.
4.	Saturday, March 24 th	The journalist gives the description of House refusal due the plan.	JP illustrates that the House is doing their job, but blocking the implementation.
5.	Saturday, March 31 st	The journalist gives the description of the situation that comes into the results in plenary session.	JP illustrates the condition in detail to make its reader have a control to looks closer who to be hatred and

4.2.2.6 How?

			who to be supported.
6.	Monday, April 2 nd	The journalist gives the description of the condition that would happen if the plan implemented and not.	JP wants to emphasis the failure of government due the cancellation by adding the scientific data.

JP provides information about the chorological of the implementation in two ways, the first is about the number that government proposes, and the second is the recovery plan for the impact of the hike. It is informed the number that the hike would not exceed and it must be provided with the alternative calculation for the backup plan. For the recovery plan, it provided with the more than one proposed plans, with the information of the source of the funds to provide it and the way it is allocated.

4.2.3 Analysis on thematic structure

4.2.3.1 Details

For the details, JP refers the major themes in each article, with pattern that each article are focused on problems and followed by a solution. That pattern comes in first four articles, but the last two articles, it is only focused on the problems.

From the analysis, the writer conclude that the JP are covering the information of the fuel-price hike implementation with its solution but remains the implementation cancellation with only the problems to make distinguish the problem that all the things that related to the implementation plan from the government are already be solved, but the problem from the House of Representatives are only leaves a problem itself.

4.2.3.2 Correlation within the sentence

The sentences and paragraphs correlation are interrelated in each articles, JP are describe the issue plotted on the theme that JP wants to describe at. In the article one, with the three major themes, it is supported by the sentence related to each theme, the causal problem of the fuel price hike and the solution in sentences in the other theme. In second article, describing the solution in first theme and the other solution for the backup of the first solution correlates the two themes. In the third article, with the risk of the implementation impact, correlated with the solution that government made compensation for it. The fourth article, its the rejection of the plan by the House, and it is correlated with the reminder of the fundamental reason of the fuel-price hike, it is narration of JP to keep the reader tracking back to believe that the fuel-price hike is a must. The fifth articles are the narration in parliamentary session that filled with opinions, which in it, the opinion are correlated into other opinions. In sixth article, it is the same that the opinion from the economists regarding the cancellation of the hike is correlated each other.

From that analysis, the writer concludes that JP correlates the sentences and paragraph the articles in a distinct way based on their major themes to make an emphasis on the problematic of the issue, impact and solution to illustrate that government are responsible and having power due the implementation plan.

4.2.3.3 Sentence Coherence

For the sentence coherence, the writer will finds out for three coherences, causative, contradictive, and explanative coherence. But, JP makes it only two coherences in the whole articles, the contradictive coherence, as the emphasis on an idea in contrastive way to another idea. It is found in 7 sentences, "<u>Despite</u> rapid economic growth in the past, Indonesia could not afford not to raise fuel prices, he said". It is emphasize the idea of the condition of Indonesia in the past are contrast in recent situation which cannot do anything worth due the issue. Also in paragraph 16,

Economists said the decision was based on an assumption that the government would not raise the price of subsidized oil. <u>However</u>, the central bank said it would continue to maintain its inflation target of 4.5 percent, plus or minus 1 percent, regardless of adjustments in subsidized fuel prices. (Article 1, paragraph 16)

It is shown that the condition that the possibility that government would not raise the price are contrasted with the condition that government also maintain in other reaction plan. On article 2 paragraph 10, "However, no matter what policy is chosen, the government will keep pushing for the conversion of oil-based fuels to gas-based," she added" it is shown that even if the plan are not implemented, government are tries to search another option to cover the worst condition. In paragraph 15, "<u>However</u>, Eri worried about financial losses suffered by fuel station owners who had invested in new storage tanks for non-subsidized fuels." It is contrasting the idea on previous paragraph,

He said that raising the price of Premium gasoline (one of most used subsidized fuels) by Rp 1,000 from the current Rp 4,500 (49 US cents) per liter would not result in turmoil. People would be shocked for a while, but then they would adjust their consumption pattern to the new price, he added. (Article 2, paragraph 15)

that the idea that the policy should be Rp 1,000 in rise are good enough to the people, but it comes into worrying situation for the fuel station owner.

On article 3, paragraph 10, "The plan, <u>however</u>, met strong opposition from the public, who had held rallies across the country over the past three days" it is shown a contrastive to previous sentence "The government had proposed to increase subsidized fuel price from Rp 4,500 per liter to Rp 6,000 per liter" that the policy could be implemented but met a strong opposition from the public.

<u>Instead</u>, the government revised downward its targeted poverty rate at between 10.5 and 11.5 percent due to the planned "temporary direct assistance for the people" (BLSM) program. (Article 3, paragraph 3) On paragraph 3, its contrasting the idea that the poverty rate that come after the implementation as impact and reducing the rate of poverty that government target which comes in previous paragraph,

Higher fuel prices might plunge 12.8 percent of the nation's population below the poverty line, compared with the government's target of between 11.5 and 12.5 percent as stated in the 2012 state budget, Finance Minister Agus Martowardojo said on Monday. (Article 3, paragraph 2)

The plenary session had to be adjourned for six hours to allow for intensive lobbying. <u>However</u>, political parties kept changing their stance when the session resumed at about 11 p.m. (Article 4, paragraph 13)

On article 4, paragraph 13, it is contrasting that political party are not in stable stance even it is comes after a long discussion. On article 5, paragraph 15, it comes a political negation of JP towards the *Golkar* Party and *Prosperous Justice Party* (PKS) that they are into political stance in choosing their option.

<u>But</u> after intense negotiations, the Golkar Party and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) joined the pro-hike camp. (Article 5, paragraph 15).

Another coherence used in articles is the explanatory coherence which used to emphasize the collective idea in first sentence or paragraph and supported in following or previous sentences or paragraph. There are two Explanatory coherence comes in the articles, which is in article 5 and 6. In article 1, the idea is Vice President in the article are illustrated as less interest in the session, as his arrival are part of President order.

Meanwhile, Vice President Boediono arrived at the Presidential Palace at about 10 p.m. <u>after</u> being summoned by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. (Article 5, paragraph 22)

Meanwhile, Fauzi said the government had lost several chances to formulate a more sustainable budget, particularly in 2011, <u>when</u> the state budget allowed the government to raise fuel prices <u>when</u> the ICP was 10 percent above its \$90-a-barrel assumption without requiring House approval. (Article 6, paragraph 9).

In the paragraph 9, there are double coherences in the sentecence. The main idea is the condition would happened if the furl price hike policy is implemented, and supported by an idea that the possibility that government create a sustainable state budget also supported by an idea that the raise could be happen if the ICP is under some terms and condition.

From the explanation above it shows that coherence shows the idea that JP wants to contrast with their tendency, and disseminates their tendency by coherence that supporting its idea. The two coherences are embedded so that the statements and sentences are reasonably understood.

4.2.3.4 Form of sentence

JP used the active form of the sentence to create the image of the progress while describing about government. In the other hands, the passive form is used to describing option, policy or situation to highlight to it rather than the government which planned it.

From that analysis, the writer concludes that JP correlates the sentences and paragraph the articles in a distinct way based on their major themes.

4.2.3.5 **Pronoun**

For the pronoun, JP is much likely using the position of people in government to emphasize the validity of the statements given, such as Energy and Mineral Resources Minister Jero Wacik, Finance Minister Agus Martowardojo, The Energy and Mineral Resources Ministry's Director General for oil and gas, Evita Herawati Legowo, Coordinating Economic Minister Hatta Rajasa.

But, in the first article, in paragraph 16, there is an opinion from the business side, which is has a pronoun "Economist", not specified by a name to make a generalization that take a part in the opinion.

For specific purpose, the writer see JP are using pronoun that describe the fraction of the House of Representatives in parliamentary session on article 5, such as "House Speaker Marzuki Alie of Yudhoyono's Democratic Party" (paragraph 5), "the PAN's fraction leader, Tjatur Sapto Eddy" (paragraph 13), "PDI-P legislator Arya Bima" (paragraph 15), "Hanura secretary Saleh Husein" (paragraph 17), to make the reader put their background knowledge upon the origin of the party of each council to make personal judgments.

4.2.4 Analysis on Rhetorical structure

4.2.4.1 Choice of words

The words used in the articles are start from the lexicon 'inevitable' on the title "Fuel Price Hike 'Inevitable" which shows specific problem identification that government, ironically, is forced by the condition to raising the fuel-price. Despite, on the third title of March 13th edition, "Fuel Price Hike May Increase Poverty Rate" it is emphasize possibility the new problem presence, the word 'may' on the sentence describing the worst condition of the implementation of the fuel policy, which its implicitly shows a moral evaluation for government. On the next title, "House still opposes the plan", the word 'still' which followed by word 'opposes' show causal interpretation, that the previous problem about implementation plan was solved, but the new problem occur. House of Representatives did not approve it, JP positioning the House as an antagonist in the title. On the sentence "Fuel Price Hike Still at Play", which is the report about the plenary session, giving the concept that the session are not really a serious meeting, the word 'play' there giving an image of 'drama' which satirically tells not serious on the problem that has been evaluated before. The word 'flub' in the title 'Govt fuel 'flub' fouls future plans' meaning a bad moves

to make an alliteration in consonant /f/ to make an emphasize over the failure.

For describing a situation, JP used the words 'marred' and 'clashes' following the description of the rallies, is used by JP to put the negative effect of the rallies and giving the pressured situation. In referring to lower class society, the word 'poor' used are giving emphasize of a different class and create a dramatic effect of sympathy.

On the body text, for the government, the word 'compensate' used as the word to creating the effect that the government do something which is impacted to be burdening the people, and makes something as change to apologize. It is also seen in the term 'cash-aid' which replacing the term 'cash assistance' which emphasizing the usage of the cash is for recovering the situation that government has done. The word 'forced' is also give a meaning it is not what sincerely governments really wants, but it is must be done under the pressure of the situation. The word 'skyrocketing' and 'set to launch' is giving the meaning that the hike is very high and the plan to cover that problem must be planned well and implemented in proper way.

Then, the word 'outlined' in a statement to remind the fundamental reason of fuel-price hike to emphasizing the situation that already planned systematically. The word 'authorized', 'demanded', 'ordered', 'summoned', 'earmarked', and 'pushing' is making presence of the power of the government. Contrary on those terms, the word 'amended' is used to make a sarcastic opinion upon the government that have a lesser power over the House of Representatives due the price hike.

Referring to the refusal, the word 'argued' used to make judgments over something is not correct, and stated with the correction. In sentence,

One budget committee member, the Golkar Party's Satya W. Yudha, argued that to convince lawmakers of the benefits of the hike, the government had to provide a clear proposal... (Article 4, paragraph 12)

there create an image of the man there, from Golkar Party, are wants to help by giving the correct way to do something. But in telling whom in the plenary session refusing the plan, emphasized with the word 'plus' to create the negative narration of the refused fraction

From that analysis, it is conclude that the image o government is placed in positive act of effort the implementation plan but too weak over the House of Representatives.

4.2.4.2	Pictures
	I ICCUI CS

Budget Item	2012 Budget	Proposed Revision	Revised 2012 Budget
Total revenue and grants	1,311.4	1,344.5	1,358.2
I. Domestic revenue	1,310.6	1,343.7	1,357.37
Tax Revenue	1,032.6	1,011.7	1,016.23
Non tax Revenue	278.0	331.9	341.14
II. Grant revenue	0.82	0.82	0.82
Government Expenditure	1,435.4	1,534.6	1,548.31
I. Central Government	965	1,058.3	1,069.53
Energy Subsidies	163.6	230	225.35
II. Transfers to regions	470.4	476.3	478.77
Deficit	124	190.1	190.1
Percent of GDP	2.23	2.23	2.23
Financing	124	190.1	190.1
I. Domestic Financing	125.9	194.5	194.5
II. Foreign Financing	-1.9	-4.4	4.4

The table of the summary of the revised state budget is used to giving a picture that comparison between the 2012 state budget, the new state budget that government proposed, and the revised state budget that approved by the House of Representatives, the picture itself is used to make emphasis of the greater revenue and grants and expenditures, while the Deficit number are approved in great number, it also happens in financing column.

4.2.4.3 Metaphors

In the article, used the metaphor 'salvaging our economy' to give the dramatic situation of state economy and put the government into protagonist in this issue. The terms '*living under poverty rate*' is to make the limit of the people will got the compensation as also it used to make a positive image in pronounce it.

The word 'spike' in telling the failure on government poverty target is a dramatic. The JP using metaphor 'stumbling block' to tells the agreement because the implementation that planned to be carried out slightly, is obstructed. The metaphor 'bowing to pressure used for giving an idea that government would surrender, it is comes from sarcastic idea of House of Representative in the article. And 'has been above the ceiling since February' in describing the ICP that giving an ironic that what the plenary session discussing is already late, it is already be high since the early year.

4.3 Findings

From data discussion, the writer can see the frame that JP bear in its articles relating to fuel-price hike, there is the JP is agreed to the increasing fuel-price which economically important to be implemented and government cannot make it happened because to worrying about its political support status in public. It is proved in the analysis of four structures framing model by Pan and Kosicki, which the writer found to be like this:

Structures	The Jakarta Post
Syntactical	The quotation are illustrating the person which interview and giving the information are the first-hand person. The validity of the data that related to the policy to be implemented are emphasize in the whole articles. It is showing that the choice of informants and their statements based already framed as JP wants.
Script	In answering the 5 W + 1 H questions in a detail, JP is specified to giving the deep and scientific data on the answer in question Why and How. It is tells that the frame are segmented in the JP reasons and JP ideas of how the implementation should be.
Thematic	The theme is varying in number, but generally it is concerned on the problem which occur and the solution that the situation have. The most problem JP focused on is the government planning in finding the correct formula to implement the plan without major impact to people, and the other problem is the obstacle by bureaucracy that government must handled. The solution is answering the problem that JP focused on, but only for the problem of the planning, when it comes to House or Representative block problem, JP seems only pushing out the image of the House, not provide the solution to solving it.

Rhetorical	Rhetorically, JP emphasized the bargaining position of the
	government over the House of Representatives and emphasized the
	government image which planning due the public interest which
	constructed by the government.

The tendency constructed can be seen in the problem and solution that JP focused on its themes, which indicated the tendencies of JP that the implementation is on their agreement. It is revealed by the alignments that policy that should be implemented by the government are no defects and measured based on calculation. With the supporting reason that the ICP problem that keep raising even up to 22 percent, which means more higher than 2012 state budget prediction of maximum price US\$ 100 per barrel. On January to February, the raising of ICP is far from \$115.91 into \$122.

In other condition, the problem due cancellation of the plan is thrown to the government as the policy maker that have lessen power than the House of Representatives, and to House of Representatives itself whom too politics in dealing with this problem. It is shown that the government implemented the policy issuing on fuel price hike is in sake of to save the state economy, but its support must focus less on political condition is JP tendency that constructed there.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Conclusion

This result of the analysis showed that the JP tendency in news report related into the fuel-price hike issue is the agreement over the implementation of the policy in sake of the urgency for industrial economic side. It is shown in the analysis that the tendency of the JP is on the economy, on constructing its tendency in the news text, JP creating frames that the government has solving the impact of the fuel-price hike issue that would be a problem and a fear regarding it implementation. The other frame is by constructing that the House of Representative should be not be in higher power over the government, by giving the background information that the economic problem that government already calculating is exaggeratedly complicated, but it single-handedly already been solved by government. It is shown on the choice of informants, the terms used, the sentence formed and the structure of the script that JP tries to express to make the news looks more comprehensives, which all of it revealed through the Pan and Kosicki news framing analysis model.

5.2 Recommendation

A future study regarding this issue is suggested to make comprehensiveness due the possible findings concluded. Because, with the shortage that the writer have make a possibility a defect in the analysis, and future researcher are having the same chance to fix, comment, or criticizing the result found in this study. The various corpuses over different issues is expected for this news framing analysis can be evaluated in any part of it, to be a better, more valid and can be used in many types of corpuses, one issues in many newspapers or one issue in one newspaper. Because the article analysis in here is used by parallel analysis on one issue and one newspaper, and it is found that this method can be used this way.

REFERENCES

- Chauhan, Swati., & Chandra, Navin. Modern Journalism: Issues and Challenges. Kanishka: New Delhi, 2000.
- Danesi, Marcel. Dictionary of Media and Communications. M.E Sharpe: USA, 2009.
- Eriyanto. Analisis Framing: Konstruksi, Ideologi, dan Politik Media. LKiS: Yogyakarta, 2002.
- Fontana, Benedetto. *Hegemony and Power: On the relation between Gramsci and Machiavelli*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 1993.
- Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. Orient Longman : Chennai, 1996.
- Hall, Stuart. Signification, Representation, Ideology: Althusser and the Post-Structualist Debates. EBSCO Publishing, 2003. 91-114. Electronic document.
- *History of the Jakarta Post.* The Jakarta Post homepage. Web. Retrieved on Wed, May 2nd, 2012 at 15:45 PM. <u>www.thejakartapost.com/about/history</u>
- Holub, Renate. Antonio Gramsci: Beyond Marxism and Postmodernism. Routledge: New York, 2001.
- Inglis, Fred. Media Theory: An Introduction. Blackwell: Oxford, 1990.
- Keraf, Gorys. *Diksi dan Gaya Bahasa*. PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama: Jakarta, 2005.
- McLuhan, Marshall. Understanding Media: The extension of man. London: Routledge Classic, 2001.
- Ratna, Nyoman Kutha. Teori, Metode, dan Teknik Penelitian Sastra dari Strukturalisme hingga Postrukturalisme Perspektif Wacana Naratif. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2004.
- Scheufele, Dietram A. Framing as Theory of Media Effects. International Communication Assosiation, 1999. 103-122. Electronic document.
- Storey, John. Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction, Fifth Edition. London: Pearson Longman, 2011

Vreese, Claes H. de. *News Framing: Theory and Typology*. John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2005. 51-62. Electronic document.

Wilcox, Laird. Propaganda, Perception and Deception. lwilcox3@aol.com, 2005.