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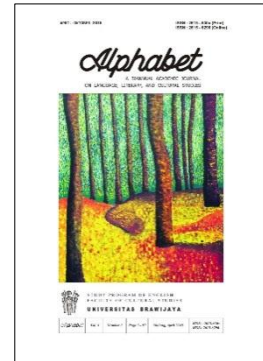
Positive-Self and Negative-Other Representation in the Online News *Behind Indonesia's Anti-Chinese Riots* and *Indonesia Turns Its Chinese into Scapegoats*

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Positive-Self and Negative-Other Representation in the Online News *Behind Indonesia's Anti-Chinese Riots* and *Indonesia Turns Its Chinese into Scapegoats*

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Abstract

Anti-Chinese riots (1998) was reported in Behind Indonesia's Anti-Chinese Riot and Indonesia Turns Its Chinese into Scapegoats. This study aims to reveal the ways how lexical choices in articles constructed positive-self [henceforth (+)] and negative-other [henceforth (-)] representation. Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis was used specifically on the lexical choice to analyze discourse. The socialism and liberalism theories were examined to analyze cognition and the history of Chinese Indonesians in Indonesia was explored to analyze society. Finding shows the article uses biased lexical choices. The articles represent Chinese Indonesian as a victim; Indonesian Government, Police, Military, Press, Moslem as a provocateur; and Native Indonesians as a prosecutor. Also, the articles present social and liberal ideology. Hence, the readers must be aware of the representation since it can shape their belief.

Keywords:

positive-self and negative-other representation, behind indonesia's anti-chinese riots, indonesia turns its chinese into scapegoats, lexical choices, critical discourse analysis.

One of the diversities in Indonesia can be seen in the existence of Chinese Indonesian ethnic. According to Kasenda (2015), Chinese Indonesian settlements had emerged long time ago especially in the trading harbors along Java coastline. However, as the time goes by, the problem dealing with stereotyping and social gap provokes conflicts between Chinese Indonesians and Native Indonesians. The most recent conflict noted in the modern history of Indonesia occurred in 1998. Initially, the problem was ignited by the monetary crisis due to the collapse of Indonesian currency that then sparked into the anti-Chinese riots.

The riots were reported world-widely in the online news entitled *Behind Indonesia's Anti-Chinese Riots* and *Indonesia Turns Its Chinese into Scapegoats*. The first article was published on January 14th, 1998 by World Socialist Web Site while the second article was published on February 2nd, 1998 by The New York Times. The main reason for choosing the articles is because the articles are suitable to be examined using critical discourse analysis as they contain some ideo-

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logical biases in reporting the event. The writers, who are Peter Symonds (WSWS) and Seth Mydans (NYT), used the expressions that are very provocative to construct positive-self and negative-other representation in the articles.

A previous study on media discourse has been conducted by Muhammad Tahir (2013) in the study entitled *A Critical Discourse Analysis of Religious Othering of Muslims in the Washington Post*. This study examines contents related to positive self-representation and negative-other representation in an article entitled *Opportunists Make Use of Cartoon Protests; Individuals, Groups, and Governments Vent Anger over Issues Unrelated to Defense of Islam*. It is about the protests carried out by Muslim individuals, and groups in different parts of the world against the publication of the blasphemous cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) in the European newspapers. He argues that the writer regards the Muslims in the protests as *others* and uses various semantic devices. This study makes use of general linguistic theories to analyze the data than discourse anaylisis. In the present study, I choose a different object of analysis and use the discourse analysis especially on lexical choices.

The present study aims to examine the ways how lexical choices in both articles constitute positive-self and negative-other representations. In doing so, I employ Critical Discourse Analysis using Van Dijk's analytical framework. Van Dijk formulated a socio-cognitive discourse analysis which studies discourses critically in three levels: discourse, cognition, and society (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). In the semantic field, conducting a lexical choice analysis is important. Lexical choices are word choices or selections. They are the most important element of discourses through which a writer is able to convey a different meaning or different sense of meaning through different word choices. For example, the word 'look' and 'gaze'. Both of them are synonymous to each other, with the meaning of 'having a sight'. However, when a different word is employed on a sentence it suggests a different sense of meaning. The sentence "the schoolboys look at the lady" has a different sense of meaning from the sentence "the schoolboys stare at the lady".

"To look" means to have a normal sight of something that our eyes can catch. But "to stare" is different; it is more associated with power. "To stare" normally refers to look at something continuously without winking our eyes so as to carefully observe or dominate what is being looked at. In positive-self and negative-other representation, the use of the word "look" has a neutral sense of meaning while the use of the word "stare" has a more positive-self sense of meaning for the lady and a more negative-other sense of meaning for the schoolboys. Continuing upon Van Dijk analytical framework, to analyze the cognition, the socialism and liberalism were examined, whereas to analyze the society, the history of Chinese Indonesians in Indonesia was explored.

METHOD

Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was used. Van Dijk formulates a socio-cognitive discourse analysis which studies discourses critically in three levels: discourse, cognition, and society (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). I selected the data for this study are those expressions in both articles related to positive-self and negative-other representations. To collect the data, documentation, and note-taking methods were used. The news online from World Socialist Web Site at http://www.wsws.org/ and from The New York Times at http://www.nytimes.com/ were downloaded. After that, I wrote down the notes containing those expressions related to positive-self and negative-other representations in the articles. The note, containing the expressions, was used in the data analysis.

Peer debriefing method was used. The peers must be familiar with the project and are willing to provide scholarly guidance such as members of academic staff, postgraduate dissertation committee, members of the department, and so on (Cresswell, 2009). For measuring the dependability, a code-recode strategy was used. In the code-recode strategy, the researcher coded the same data twice by giving at least one or two weeks' gestation period between each coding (Chilisa & Preece in Anney, 2014). The

same data were coded twice by giving a week breaking period between each coding.

The data analysis procedure in this study covers: (1) taking the note, containing the expressions related to positive-self and negative-other representation, then classifying the expressions into word class, type of meaning (lexical or contextual), and category (positive-self or negative other); (2) interpreting the meaning and language use of each expression by referring to the articles; (3) presenting the linguistic analysis; (4) developing and presenting the cognition analysis of positive-self expressions by referring to the socialism and liberalism, and the context (history of Chinese Indonesians); (5) developing and presenting the cognition analysis of negative-other expressions by referring to the socialism and liberalism, and the context (history of Chinese Indonesians); (6) drawing conclusion.

RESULTS

Linguistic Analysis on Lexical Choices Indicating Positive-Self Representation

There are five ways used to positively construct the representation of Chinese Indonesian as a victim. They are detailed information on noun (5 expressions), noun indicating object/target (4 expressions), verb indicating accusation (3 expressions), verb indicating discrimination (3 expressions), and verb indicating relation improvement (2 expressions).

Detailed Information on Noun

The examples of detailed information on noun can be found in the following analysis.

> The international media has largely portrayed the eruption of anti-Chinese racism as the spontaneous hostility of the urban and rural poor to the dominant role of Chinese businessmen in the Indonesian economy. But the attacks on ethnic Chinese are being deliberately fueled by right-wing Muslim groups, sections of the press and senior government and military figures. (para. 4)

Data Source 1 Sentence 1

> "The international media has largely portrayed the eruption of *anti-Chinese racism* as the spontaneous hostility of the urban and rural poor to the dominant role of Chinese businessmen in the Indonesian economy."

"Racism" is synonymous with "discrimination". It refers to the unfair treatment of people with a different race. "Anti-Chinese racism" underlines that unfair treatment was aimed at the Chinese implying that the ethnic group became a victim because of the treatment **((+) Chinese Indonesians)**.

Data Source 2 Sentence 1

> "*Anti-Chinese riots* are a thread running through recent Indonesian history -- most notably in 1965 when ethnic Chinese were one of the targets in an anti-Communist massacre that took half a million lives."

"Massacre" means "mass slaughter". The writer combined "anti-Communist" with "massacre" to indicate that the Chinese became the target of mass killing not because of the ethnicity but because they were connected to the Indonesian Communist Party. It also implies that the ethnic suffered as a victim of political abuse. ((+) Chinese Indonesian).

Noun Indicating Object/Target

The examples of a noun indicating object/target can be found in the following analysis.

Data Source 1 Sentence 2

> "The *chief targets* have been the shops and stores of ethnic Chinese, who are being blamed for the rampant inflation."

"Targets" is synonymous with "objects" whereas "chief" means "primary" or "main". Using "chief targets" indicates that the Chinese was the main object in the event. It also implies that they were victims **((+) Chinese Indonesians)**.

Data Source 2 Sentence 2

> "When times get tough, they know, they are often the *scapegoats*."

"Scapegoats" means "victims". It refers to a person who is blamed for something bad that somebody else has done or for some failure. The writer used "scapegoats" implying that the Chinese were not actually guilty. They were only victims or target of political intrigue **((+) Chinese Indonesians)**.

Verb Indicating Accusation

The examples of a verb indicating accusation can be found in the following analysis.

Data Source 2 Sentence 3

> "Thus much of the nation's cash is in the hands of Chinese businessmen and they are widely *resented for* it."

"Resented for" means "hated for". Using "resented for" indicates that the ethnic Chinese was hated for the accusation of dominating the nation's economy. It also implies that the people were seen as victims. **((+) Chinese Indonesians)**.

Data Source 2 Sentence 4

> "In another signal, a military official two weeks ago *urged* ethnic Chinese to <u>bring home</u> some of their wealth from overseas to donate to an "I love the rupiah" campaign, implying that they were less than patriotic."

Using "urged" indicates that the Chinese were persistently asked by the military official to bring back some of their wealth to Indonesia. It implies that the Chinese were accused of keeping wealth that did not belong to them **((+) Chinese Indonesians)**.

Verb Indicating Discrimination

The examples of a verb indicating discrimination can be found in the following analysis.

Data Source 1 Sentence 3

> "Chinese characters were *outlawed* in public places."

"Outlawed" means "banned". Using "outlawed" implies that it was actually acceptable for the Chinese to use Chinese letters but it was prohibited, which suggests that once again the Chinese became victims of discrimination, **((+) Chinese Indonesians)**.

Data Source 2 Sentence 5

> "Part comes from the structure of modern Indonesian society, in which ethnic Chinese are mostly <u>*excluded from*</u> careers in the military or the Government."

"Excluded from" is synonymous with "prohibited from". Using "excluded from" careers in the military or the Government indicates that the Chinese were discriminated by being banned from joining military or government. The government denied the people's right to be a civil servant. **((+) Chinese Indonesians)**.

Verb Indicating Relation Improvement

The examples of a verb indicating relation improvement can be found in the following analysis.

Data Source 2 Sentence 6

> "Nevertheless, like other Chinese merchants here, he has put new iron grates on his shop fronts, *burnished* his relations with local security forces, set up a telephone tree with his Chinese friends and stopped driving his expensive car so as not to provoke envy."

"Burnished" is synonymous with "polished". Using "burnished" relations with local security forces implies that the Chinese merchants were victims who, under the discrimination, were forced to align with the security forces to gain protection **((+) Chinese Indonesians)**.

Data Source 2 Sentence 7

> "In the town of Salatiga in Central Java, Chinese merchants are *pooling* their money to feed a local military unit in the hope of assuring security in the months to come."

"Pooling" means "sharing". Since the writer used "Chinese merchants are pooling ... money to feed a local military unit … assuring security ..." sentence construction, it implies that the Chinese merchants were forced by the condition to give money to feed the military only for the sake of their own security although it was against their will. **((+) Chinese Indonesians)**.

Linguistic Analysis on Lexical Choices Indicating Negative-Other Representation

There are 3 ways used to negatively construct the representation of Indonesian Government, Police, Military, Press and Moslem as provocateurs; and Native Indonesians as prosecutors. They are a metaphorical noun (6 expressions), noun indicating provocation (3 expressions), verb indicating negative action (3 expressions) and verb indicating provocation (5 expressions).

Metaphorical Noun

The examples of a metaphorical noun can be found in the following analysis.

Data Source 1 Sentence 4

"On the same day as the Flores riots, Suharto told a meeting of Muslim leaders that the economic crisis was the result of *unidentified forces* within the country—"*gamblers and speculators*"—that he promised to "neutralize.""

"Unidentified forces… gamblers and speculators " contextually may refer to "the Chinese people". The use of "unidentified forces" as a label to the Chinese people implies that Suharto, the government leader at that time, strongly disliked the ethnic Chinese **((-) Government)**.

Data Source 1 Sentence 5

"In the January 23 edition of the Muslim newspaper Republika, Rais described the economic and political crisis as the work of a conspiracy organized by *traitors of the country* to destabilize the nation."

"Traitors of the country" may refer to "the Chinese people". The writer here used "traitors of the country" as a label to the Chinese people implying that Rais, possibly strongly disliked the Chinese **((-) Moslem)**.

Noun Indicating Provocation

The examples of a noun indicating provocation can be found in the following analysis.

Data Source 1 Sentence 6

"In what has all the hallmarks of a *state-organized dirty tricks operation*, the police and military have blamed the Peoples Democratic Party (PRD), the National Committee for Democratic Struggle (KNPD) and a prominent pro-Chinese businessman, Sofyan Wanandi, for the explosion."

"Operation" is synonymous with "movement", "dirty tricks" is synonymous with "corrupt conspiracy", while "state-organized" means "arranged by the government". Using "state-organized dirty tricks operation" indicates that the bombing was somehow arranged by the government with the help of the corrupt police and military **((-) Government, (-) Police, (-) Military)**.

Data Source 2 Sentence 8

"Signs of tension are beginning to emerge around the country, from mutterings in crowded markets to *anti-Chinese harangues* in mosques to sly articles in newspapers about "conglomerates," a code word for the companies of rich Chinese."

"Harangues" is synonymous with "speeches". It refers to a long loud angry speech that criticizes somebody/something or tries to persuade people to do something. "Anti-Chinese harangues" emphasizes that the speech in the mosques tended to criticize the Chinese and persuade people to take actions against them **((-) Moslem)**.

Verb Indicating Negative Action

The examples of a verb indicating negative action can be found in the following analysis.

Data Source 2 Sentence 9

"In another, they were angered by a rumor that merchants had raised the price of kerosene, the primary fuel for kitchen stoves. In a third, they *raided* a Chinese-owned rice warehouse."

"Raided" means "attacked". Using "raided" indicates that the rioters, mostly Native Indonesians, had a surprised attack on Chinese's buildings **((-) Native Indonesians)**.

Data Source 2 Sentence 10

"Thousands of people *rampaged* through the streets attacking the businesses and homes of Chinese residents and burning down a Buddhist temple and two Christian churches, many of whose parishioners were ethnic Chinese."

"Rampaged" is synonymous with "rioting". It refers to move violently causing damages. Using "rampaged" indicates that the rioters, mostly Native Indonesians, caused trouble by attacking and destroying the buildings. It may imply that the rioters had a violent nature **((-) Native Indonesians)**.

Verb Indicating Provocation

The examples of a verb indicating provocation can be found in the following analysis.

Data Source 1 Sentence 7

"But the attacks on ethnic Chinese are being *deliberately fueled* by right-wing Muslim groups, sections of the press and senior government and military figures."

"Deliberately" is synonymous with "purposely" whereas "fueled" means "increased". Using "deliberately fueled" implies that the attacks were small at first but then escalated after the provocation from the right-wing Muslim groups, the press, and the senior government and military figures **((-) Moslem, (-) Press, (-) Government, (-) Military)**.

Data Source 1 Sentence 8

"While cracking down on anti-government demonstrations, the Suharto regime is trying to <u>whip up</u> hostility against the ethnic Chinese."

"Whip up" is synonymous with *provoke*. It means to make something move quickly, suddenly, and violently. The writer used "whip up" implying that the Suharto regime or government provoked hostility towards the Chinese **((-) Government)**.

Representation Strategies and The Writer's Cognition on Context

The first article entitled "Behind Indonesia's Anti-Chinese Riots" was published on January 14th, 1998 by World Socialist Web Site. It was written by Peter Symonds. The author of this article was a columnist for Socialist Website, for this reason we may assume that he might be aligned to some extent to socialist group. For the purpose of the analysis, his stance as a socialist is traceable from three aspects.

The first is the writer's rejection of an extreme movement. The following examples show in some aspects how noun exemplifies the ideological alignment of the writer.

Data Source 1 Sentence 1

"The international media has largely portrayed the eruption of *anti-Chinese racism* as the spontaneous hostility of the urban and rural poor to the dominant role of Chinese businessmen in the Indonesian economy."

In the sentence, the writer emphasizes on the expressions "anti-Chinese racism" and "spontaneous hostility of … poor" in the beginning to make the readers pay attention to the case of racism and hostility against the Chinese. So, the previous analysis on the nouns, in this case, can construct the image of Chinese Indonesian as a victim. Furthermore, the sentence is followed by the following sentence.

Data Source 1 Sentence 7

> "But the *attacks on ethnic Chinese* are being deliberately fueled by right-wing Muslim groups, sections of the press and senior government and military figures."

Again, the emphasis is directed to the expression "attacks on Chinese". Providing very detailed information on noun here brings a positive impression on the Chinese Indonesian since the Chinese Indonesian were constructed again as the victim in this case.

In reality, most Chinese Indonesians are not rich. Only a few of them such as Liem Sioe Liong, William Soerdjaja, Agus Nursalim, and Mukmin Ali have large Chinese corporations in Indonesia. However, many Chinese Indonesians became the targets of hate and violence during the riots in 1998. Possibly for this reason, the writer constructed Chinese Indonesians as victim and this construction can be understood as the act of indicating solidarity to the victim.

Second, the writer's support for the Chinese Indonesians to fight for the equal social structure. It is suggested in these sentences that indicate discrimation against the Chinese.

Data Source 1 Sentence 3

> "Chinese characters were *outlawed* in public places."

Data Source 1 Sentence 9

> "They have to carry special identity cards and are *prohibited from* entering certain careers and government positions."

In both sentences, the writer expresses clearly that discriminations were directed on Chinese Indonesians. By exposing several examples of discriminations at nearly the end of the article, the writer reminds the readers that during several years Chinese Indonesians have suffered from the discriminations. It also implies that the writer indirectly invites the readers to fight for the social justice

Chinese Indonesians experienced discrimination in Indonesia. It got worse after they were perceived as involved in the alleged coup

d'état of the Indonesian communist party. The New Order era under the leadership of Suharto recognized Chinese Indonesians as a threat of China subversion in Indonesia. Since then, there were many adverse policies directed upon Chinese Indonesians. Every Chinese Indonesian was obliged to possess the SBKRI (Indonesian Citizenship Evidence Letter). They were also required to change their Chinese name into Indonesian. Chinese schools were closed and the practice of Chinese customs such as Chinese letters, *Imlek* (the Chinese New Year) celebration, and *etc.*, were banned. Moreover, Chinese Indonesians were not allowed to join the military and government sector. Taking accounts all of the discriminations, the writer constructed the positive representation of Chinese Indonesians as victims of discrimination and this construction can also be understood as the act of criticizing the government for being unfair in their policy-making.

Third, the writer rejects the existence of provocative government, Moslem and military. It is shown in the use of a metaphorical noun and several sentences indicating provocation.

Data Source 1 Sentence 4

> "On the same day as the Flores riots, Suharto told a meeting of Muslim leaders that the economic crisis was the result of *unidentified forces* within the country— "gamblers and speculators"—that he promised to "neutralize.""

Data Source 1 Sentence 5

> "In the January 23 edition of the Muslim newspaper Republika, Rais described the economic and political crisis as the work of a conspiracy organized by <u>*traitors of the country*</u> to destabilize the nation."

In both sentences, the writer used provocative metaphorical phrases "unidentified forces" and "traitors of the country". The metaphorical phrases are provocative since they are very degrading and tendentious so that the readers can easily understand that the phrases actually refer to Chinese Indonesians. Using the degrading

metaphorical phrases invites the readers to reject the existence of the provocative users mentioned clearly in the sentences by Suharto and Rais. In other words, the rejection can be perceived more apparently as in the following sentence.

Data Source 1 Sentence 6

"In what has all the hallmarks of a *state-organized dirty tricks operation*, the police and military have blamed the Peoples Democratic Party (PRD), the National Committee for Democratic Struggle (KNPD) and a prominent pro-Chinese businessman, Sofyan Wanandi, for the explosion."

In the sentence, the writer clearly mentions that riots, explosions, and any other terrible chaos were orchestrated by Indonesian government and military. It invites the readers to antagonize the provocative government and military.

In fact, the Suharto regime was often being provocative by expanding the gap between Chinese Indonesians and "Native" Indonesians. "Wealthy" stereotype was constructed and labeled to the Chinese Indonesians until they were perceived as rich by the rioters and became the targets of thievery, rape, and even they were left burnt inside their houses during the anti-Chinese riots in 1998. Also, Chinese Indonesians were prohibited from entering the military, public, and government sector until business sector became the only option for them. The writer constructed the negative representation of Indonesian government, Moslem and military and this construction can be understood as an act of criticizing them.

The second article entitled "Indonesia's Turns Its Chinese into Scapegoats" was published on February 2nd, 1998 by The New York Times. It was written by Seth Mydans. The author of this article was a columnist for The New York Times, therefore he may be regarded as a member of the liberal ideological group. His stance as a liberal is traceable from two aspects.

First, the writer's belief that Chinese Indonesians always become victim, so he supports Chinese Indonesians to fight for a better life opportunity. His stance is reflected in the following excerpts.

Data Source 2 Sentence 2

"When times get tough, they know, they are often the *scapegoats*."

Data Source 2 Sentence 1

"Anti-Chinese riots are a thread running through recent Indonesian history -- most notably in 1965 when ethnic Chinese were one of the *targets* in an anti-Communist massacre that took half a million lives."

The writer, in both of sentences, used expressions "scapegoats" and "targets" to explicitly indicate that Chinese Indonesians were victimized every time there were terrible events occurring in Indonesia. Therefore, in order to gain a better life opportunity (security, welfare, etc.), Chinese Indonesians must struggle to assist others as clearly described in the following sentences.

Data Source 2 Sentence 6

"Nevertheless, like other Chinese merchants here, he has put new iron grates on his shop fronts, *burnished* his relations with local security forces, set up a telephone tree with his Chinese friends and stopped driving his expensive car so as not to provoke envy."

Data Source 2 Sentence 7

"In the town of Salatiga in Central Java, Chinese merchants are *pooling* their money to feed a local military unit in the hope of assuring security in the months to come."

In both sentences, the writer indicated a situation in which Chinese Indonesians were forced by a terrible atmosphere in Indonesia that make them need to do some necessary

measures, such as burnishing relations, pooling money, and feeding local military to gain security. It makes the readers become sympathetic to the Chinese Indonesians since they are being constructed as the victims in this case.

In fact, Chinese Indonesians experienced hard situations in the Suharto era. There were many adverse policies directed upon Chinese Indonesians. Chinese businessmen were forced by condition to infuse their capital to the five-year development plan in Indonesia. They also needed to look for security and protection under Suharto's power. Possibly due to this reason, the writer constructed Chinese Indonesians as victims and this construction can be understood as the act of indicating solidarity to the victims.

Second, the writer's rejection of the existence of provocative Moslems. This is explicated in the following sentence.

Data Source 2 Sentence 8

"Signs of tension are beginning to emerge around the country, from mutterings in crowded markets to *anti-Chinese harangues* in mosques to sly articles in newspapers about "conglomerates," a code word for the companies of rich Chinese."

In the sentence, the writer clearly mentions that the resentment on Chinese Indonesian was provoked by the existence of anti-Chinese harangues to sly articles. It invites the readers to reject the existence of provocative Moslem.

In fact, there are always segregations between Chinese Indonesians and Indonesian Moslems. Chinese Indonesians were considered as a minority in the majority of Indonesian Moslems. The writer constructed the negative representation of Indonesian Moslems and this construction can be understood as the act of criticizing the Moslem for being provocative.

DISCUSSION

Victimization and Positive Representation

There have been many studies on media discourse since a long time ago. It is due to the fact that media has not reported the actual reality (Fowler, 1991). In fact, many researchers confirm that media has always been biased in reporting certain news by constructing the positive or/and negative representation through the language use (Davis & French, 2008; Steuter & Wills, 2009; KhosraviNik, 2009; Tahir, 2013).

So far, the previous studies mostly found that victimization is a method to construct the negative representation in the media discourse. Victimization can be done by telling negative things or/and accusation. Victimization can be indirectly blunt, such as when the discourse writer of *the Washington Post* victimizes the Syrian government for causing the protest on behalf of the majority in the case of the blasphemous cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad in a European newspaper (Tahir, 2013). It is also visible in the case of a post-Katrina hurricane in the US, when the discourse writer of printed news coverage implicitly victimizes the hurricane survivors as blameworthy by suggesting that they were criminals, familiar with the hazardous location of New Orleans, and chose not to evacuate (Davis & French, 2008).

Yet, the positive representation in the media discourse can also be achieved by means of victimization. It has been found that using verb indicating accusation, such as "blamed for" and "resented for", can construct the positive representation of Chinese Indonesian as a victim. The results of this study correspond to the study by KhosraviNik (2009). When reporting the protest toward the conservative candidate in British general election 2015, the discourse writer of *the Times* used the expression "accused of" followed by the passivation using "was" to construct positive image of the conservative candidate, as found in the sentence "the Conservative leader *was accused of* pandering to xenophobia and hatred by an angry audience at a TV show"; the positive construction as victim occurs because *the Times* is a conservative newspaper that supports the proposition of the conservative leader (KhosraviNik, 2009). The Conservative leader representation is similar to the Chinese Indonesians representation. Both of them are positively constructed as a victim

in order to encourage the readers' sympathy for the victim.

After all, it is evidential that victimization can be one of the powerful tools in constructing not only the negative representation but also the positive representation. The representation was consciously established by the writer to encourage certain feeling to the readers. Additionally, common people do not have access to the original source, therefore they have no other options but to rely on whatever is presented to them.

Metaphorical Expressions and Negative Representation

Metaphorical expressions are expressions which describe a person or object in a literary way by referring to something that has the same characteristics to the person or object being described. The metaphorical expression targets were forced to develop the similar relation between two conceptual domains (Schwarz-Friesel & Skirl, 2011). It compares two unconnected things to underline the similarities. Further, Schwarz-Friesel & Skirl (2011) adds that metaphorical expression is very significant in persuasive communication in a discourse or text since it integrates a cognitive function with an emotional state.

Studies on metaphorical expressions used in media discourse have been conducted many times to find out their conceptualization form and purpose. Metaphorical expressions are regarded to be vital to construct the negative representation of a person or group (Steuter & Wills, 2009; Schwarz-Friesel & Skirl, 2011). Through metaphorical expressions, the text producer is able to lead the readers to think and act emotionally. Schwarz-Friesel & Skirl (2011) identifies that the German media personnel used the metaphorical expressions "virus" and "cancerous ulcer" for representing the threat of terrorism, and the metaphorical expression "a little more than mosquito bites" for expressing the terrorism quantity in the present day. The metaphorical expressions used by the German media personnel are constructed in the pattern of conceptualizing terrorism as a disease (Schwarz-Friesel & Skirl, 2011). Likewise,

Steuter & Wills (2009) reveal that the Canadian media have participated in mediating Islam and Muslim constructions by employing metaphorical expressions for the negative representation of terrorists. Media reports on the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq are dominated by the animal-related metaphorical expressions, such as "hunt", "trap", "snare", "net" and "corral". Neutral terms such as "search" or "look for" have been replaced by the expression "hunt for" (Steuter & Wills, 2009).

Different from the previous findings exposing metaphorical expressions that can be used to directly construct the negative image to the referred group, the results of this study expand further that the metaphorical expressions can also be used to negatively construct the users of the metaphorical expressions when the users are visibly presented in the same sentence near to the expressions, such as in "*Rais* described the economic and political crisis as the work of a conspiracy organized by *traitors of the country* to destabilize the nation" and in "… *Suharto* told a meeting of Muslim leaders that the economic crisis was the result of *unidentified forces* within the country — *gamblers and speculators* —…". Above all, the results explicated here support the idea that the metaphorical expressions used by text producers definitely degrade certain person or group.

Socialists and Liberalists' Shared Idea on Democratic Government

Socialism and Liberalism are two different ideologies embraced by many countries around the world. Socialism is a range of economic and social systems characterized by social ownership and democratic control while liberalism is a belief considering individual freedom to be the most important goal, and emphasizing individual rights and equality of opportunity.

In reality, socialists often do not want to be equated with liberalists and vice versa. Socialists believe that the social equality in all aspects, including property ownership, is the main goal of a nation (Heywood, 2003). Therefore, socialists believe that a well-ordered society is not just a crowd of people who each has the right

amount of property, but it should also be united in terms of fraternity, mutual respect, and regard for each other's dignity. On the contrary, liberalists believe that everyone owns the same opportunity to develop and to pursue his or her own happiness in the ways it is regulated by the government (Heywood, 2003). So, liberalists allow a person to accept a profit (or even property) greater than the less contributing person in your society as long as the starting point is equal.

Interestingly, although both of socialists and liberalists are in contrast to the idea of property recognition, both of them strongly agree on the idea of democratic government where people are free from discriminations (Starr, 2007). It is observable from the results of this study confirming that both of socialists and liberalists supports the Chinese Indonesian efforts to fight for a better social structure and opportunity. It gives the impression that the movement of socialists and liberalists fundamentally focuses on the political progress of a nation; that if a political condition of a country is progressive, it will be beneficial for the progress of its citizens' welfare.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

The lexical choices used by the online news writers of the two articles being studied are not free from bias. It is traceable from two aspects. First, both articles explicate positive representation of Chinese Indonesians as victims; Indonesian Government, Police, Military, Press and Moslem are negatively represented as provocateurs; whereas Native Indonesians are negatively represented as prosecutors. Five ways used to positively construct the representation of Chinese Indonesians are detailed information on noun (5 expressions), noun indicating object/target (4 expressions), verb indicating accusation (3 expressions), verb indicating discrimination (3 expressions), and verb indicating relation improvement (2 expressions). Four ways used to negatively construct the representation of Indonesian Government, Police, Military, Press and Moslem, and Native Indo-

nesians are a metaphorical noun (6 expressions), noun indicating provocation (3 expressions), verb indicating negative action (3 expressions) and verb indicating provocation (5 expressions). Second, "Behind Indonesia's Anti-Chinese Riots" article presents socialist ideology in the form of three aspects: (1) his rejection of an extreme movement causing victims; (2) his support for the Chinese Indonesians to fight for the equal social structure; (3) his rejection of the existence of provocative government; while "Indonesia Turns Its Chinese Into Scapegoats" article presents liberal ideology in the form of 2 aspects: (1) his belief that Chinese Indonesians are always being victims, so he supports for Chinese Indonesians to fight for a better life opportunity; (2) his rejection of the existence of provocative Moslem. Therefore, the readers must be aware of lexical choices since it can shape readers (or even society)'s belief as well.

It is still interesting to continue this study because the present study is limited on two aspects. First, the data sources of this present study are two online news. They were selected because it is difficult to have an access to the old print newspapers during which the event occurs that are suitable to my research objective. Second, the data analysis was only emphasized on the lexical choices presented on the articles indicating positive-self and negative-other representation and did not involve the syntactical (sentence construction) analysis. Therefore, the next researchers are encouraged to conduct a further study on two aspects. First, they can conduct a further study by using more various printed media coverage as their data sources. Second, they can also conduct a study on the syntactical (sentence construction) analysis by implementing the Halliday's SFL (Systemic Functional Linguistics).

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