CHAPTER III

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

This chapter presents the methodology employed to conduct the study. It describes several components of the research, namely the research method, data sources, data collection, data analysis, and research schedule.

A. Research Method

This study employs a qualitative research design using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), specifically applying Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), to examine how Indonesian online news media frame education policies during the Jokowi era. CDA is particularly suitable for this research as it enables systematic analysis of how language used in media discourse constructs, maintains, and legitimizes social inequalities through various linguistic and rhetorical strategies (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). This methodological choice aligns with the research objectives as CDA views discourse as socially constitutive and provides analytical tools for examining both explicit and implicit power relations embedded in texts (Fairclough, 2001; Van Dijk, 1993). Furthermore, CDA's emphasis on uncovering hidden power relations in discourse makes it ideal for analyzing media representations of education policy, where language choices can significantly influence public understanding and perception (Luke, 1997).

The DHA framework is especially appropriate for this study as it emphasizes the historical and sociopolitical contexts essential for understanding policy discourse, while offering specific analytical tools for examining argumentation strategies and their intensification or mitigation in texts (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). This approach enables analysis at multiple contextual levels from immediate language use to broader social contexts which is crucial for addressing the research questions about how arguments are employed in media discourse and how they are articulated through various linguistic devices (Wodak, 2015). DHA's systematic framework focuses on how discourse is constructed through different discursive strategies, including referential, predicational, argumentation,

perspectivization, and intensification/mitigation strategies (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009; Wodak, 2011). However, Following Wodak's methodology, the analysis will only focus on examining argumentative strategies and intensification/mitigation strategies in news coverage for a comprehensive understanding of how education policies are framed and represented in Indonesian media during this specific historical period.

B. Corpus of the Data

The corpus of this study consists of four online news articles from prominent Indonesian media outlets ranging from 2014 to 2024, namely The Jakarta Post and Tempo.co, each examining education policy and reform during the Jokowi administration. Since the keyword of this thesis is the Jokowi era, which comprises two presidential terms, the selected corpus will be two news articles from each period. The first and the second article are included in Jokowi's 1st reign, while the third and fourth article are included in Jokowi's 2nd reign.

The first article, "Indonesia's higher education: Staying relevant in Education 4.0 era" (Ariff, 2019), was published by The Jakarta Post. Since its establishment in 1983, The Jakarta Post has served as Indonesia's leading English-language newspaper, offering comprehensive coverage of national issues for both domestic and international audiences. The article was selected for it aligns with the government's rhetoric on digital transformation (e.g., "Education 4.0") and workforce readiness. By foregrounding expert opinions on innovation and globalization, The Jakarta Post constructs a narrative of urgency, framing education as a tool for economic competitiveness. The article is critical for examining how the media legitimizes state agendas through language that prioritizes modernization, while marginalizing voices that questioned the merits of the reforms.

The second article, "Indonesia Needs Blueprint on Education" (Hasan, 2016) was published by Tempo.co, an established media outlet known for its investigative journalism since 1971. Tempo's reputation for critical reporting and editorial independence makes their coverage particularly relevant for analyzing

perspectives on educational challenges. This article is selected for its critique of the early Jokowi era's lack of a coherent education strategy. Published in 2016, it reflects media scepticism toward the government's fragmented approach to systemic issues like curriculum standardization and teacher quality. The framing of education as a sector "in disarray" underscores *Tempo*'s role as an accountability-oriented outlet, challenging the state to prioritize long-term planning. Its value lies in exposing discursive tensions between institutional complacency and public demand for reform, a dynamic central to CDA's focus on power imbalances in policy narratives.

The third article under analysis, "Education can't wait" (Editorial Board, 2021), was published by The Jakarta Post. Since its establishment in 1983, The Jakarta Post has served as Indonesia's leading English-language newspaper, offering comprehensive coverage of national issues for both domestic and international audiences. This article was chosen for its focus on pandemic-era inequities, this article highlights disparities in remote learning access, particularly for marginalized communities. The phrase "education can't wait" serves as a moral appeal, framing policy delays as a betrayal of vulnerable students. By quoting civil society actors rather than government representatives, The Jakarta Post shifts the discourse from technocratic solutions to social justice, revealing ideological contestations over who bears responsibility for educational outcomes. This contrast with the 2019 article demonstrates how media framing adapts to crises, offering insights into CDA's emphasis on contextualized power relations.

The fourth article, "Nadiem Makarim: Indonesia Has Made a Major Transformation in Its Education System" (Prabandari, 2024), published by Tempo.co is chosen because it provides a summative narrative of Education Minister Nadiem Makarim's reforms, likely reflecting the government's retrospective claims of success. Tempo's critical reputation makes it a compelling source to dissect whether the language of "transformation" is supported by evidence or functions as political propaganda. The piece is vital for analysing how media either reinforces or interrogates state-produced discourses, particularly through lexical choices (e.g., "major transformation") that may obscure persistent systemic

flaws which is an essential consideration for CDA's aim to deconstruct hegemony in public texts.

C. Data Collection

The data for this research were collected through document analysis, a systematic method for reviewing and evaluating both printed and digital materials, including internet-based information (Bowen, 2009). Like other qualitative research methods, document analysis involves examining and interpreting data to extract meaning, enhance understanding, and build empirical knowledge (Bowen, 2009). According to O'Leary (2004), documents can be categorized into three main types:

1. Public Records: These include official records that document an organization's activities, such as policy manuals, strategic plans, mission statements, syllabi, and student transcripts.
2. Personal Documents: These are first-person accounts of individual experiences, actions, and beliefs, which may take the form of emails, blogs, calendars, journals, newspapers, and incident reports.
3. Physical Evidence: Often referred to as artifacts, these include tangible objects from the study setting, such as posters, flyers, handbooks, agendas, and training materials.

O'Leary (2004) also outlines an eight-step process for obtaining and analysing data through document analysis: (1) gather relevant texts, (2) organize and manage the materials systematically, (3) create annotated copies of originals, (4) verify document authenticity, (5) assess biases and underlying agendas, (6) examine background information such as tone, style, and purpose, (7) question the origins and context of the documents, and (8) analyze the content thoroughly.

This study utilizes four news articles, two articles from The Jakarta Post and two articles from Tempo.co that discuss educational policies during President Joko Widodo's administration, collected and analyzed through O'Leary's (2004) eight-step process. First, relevant texts related to educational policy were gathered. Second, the materials were systematically organized based on source, publication

date, and central themes. Third, annotated copies of the original articles were created to highlight key elements such as framing devices and discursive strategies. Fourth, the authenticity of the documents was verified by checking their publication on official and credible media platforms. Fifth, potential biases and underlying agendas were assessed to understand each article's ideological stance. Sixth, background aspects such as tone, writing style, and editorial purpose were examined. Seventh, the origins and publication context of each article were analyzed considering the political and policy landscape at the time. Finally, the content was critically examined using a Critical Discourse Analysis approach to identify how the media framed educational policy issues within their narratives.

D. Data Analysis

This research uses the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach with the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) framework developed by Ruth Wodak to analyze how the media framed education policy during President Joko Widodo's reign. This approach was chosen because it provides a systematic and contextual analysis tool to understand the construction of discourse through linguistic and rhetorical strategies used by the media in constructing arguments about education policy.
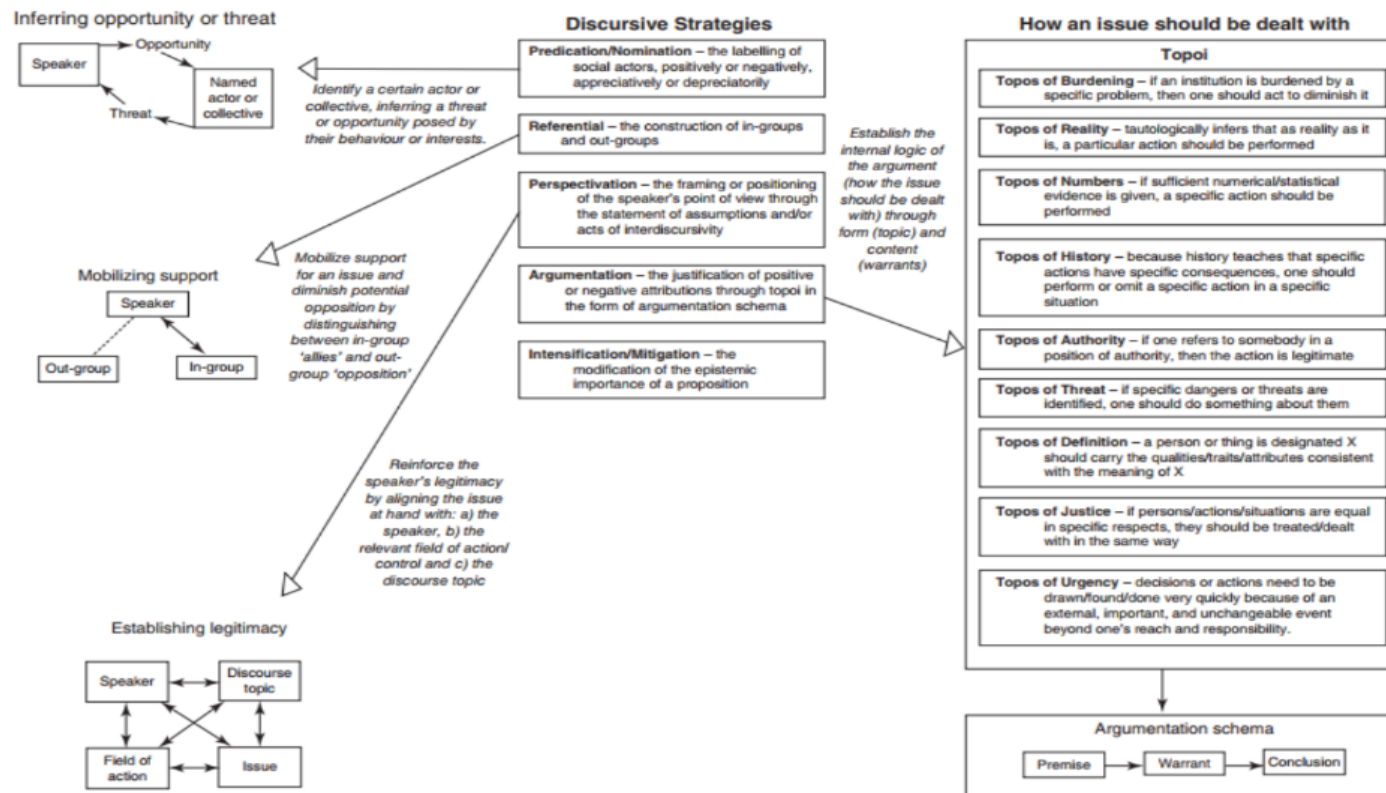
Inferring opportunity or threat

Speaker → Opportunity
Threat → Named actor or collective

Identify a certain actor or collective, inferring a threat or opportunity posed by their behaviour or interests.

Mobilizing support

Speaker
Out-group   In-group

Mobilize support for an issue and diminish potential opposition by distinguishing between in-group 'allies' and out-group 'opposition'

Reinforce the speaker's legitimacy by aligning the issue at hand with: a) the speaker, b) the relevant field of action/control and c) the discourse topic

Establishing legitimacy

Speaker   Discourse topic
Field of action   Issue

Discursive Strategies

Predication/Nomination – the labelling of social actors, positively or negatively, appreciatively or depreciatorily

Referential – the construction of in-groups and out-groups

Perspectivation – the framing or positioning of the speaker's point of view through the statement of assumptions and/or acts of interdiscursivity

Argumentation – the justification of positive or negative attributions through topoi in the form of argumentation schema

Intensification/Mitigation – the modification of the epistemic importance of a proposition

Establish the internal logic of the argument (how the issue should be dealt with) through form (topic) and content (warrants)

How an issue should be dealt with

Topoi

Topos of Burdening – if an institution is burdened by a specific problem, then one should act to diminish it

Topos of Reality – tautologically infers that as reality as it is, a particular action should be performed

Topos of Numbers – if sufficient numerical/statistical evidence is given, a specific action should be performed

Topos of History – because history teaches that specific actions have specific consequences, one should perform or omit a specific action in a specific situation

Topos of Authority – if one refers to somebody in a position of authority, then the action is legitimate

Topos of Threat – if specific dangers or threats are identified, one should do something about them

Topos of Definition – a person or thing is designated X should carry the qualities/traits/attributes consistent with the meaning of X

Topos of Justice – if persons/actions/situations are equal in specific respects, they should be treated/dealt with in the same way

Topos of Urgency – decisions or actions need to be drawn/found/done very quickly because of an external, important, and unchangeable event beyond one's reach and responsibility.

Argumentation schema

Premise → Warrant → Conclusion

Figure 3 *Discursive strategies and topoi (adapted from Wodak, 2011, p. 44.)*

Intensification/Mitigation Strategy. These strategies were selected based on the research objectives, namely, to reveal how the media construct claims or positions on education policy and how the intensity of these meanings is increased or mitigated of each media. These two strategies are considered suitable because:

1. Argumentation strategy allows researchers to uncover the logical structure and legitimacy of media claims on policies, especially through the use of topoi or argumentation schemes commonly used in public discourse.
2. Intensification/Mitigation strategy shows how the media increase or decrease the urgency and authority of their claims through rhetorical devices such as metaphors, hyperbole, modality, and saying verbs. This is important for understanding the tone and intensity of framing.

1. Argumentation Strategy

In practice, argumentation analysis is carried out by first examining transitivity, the researcher mapped all clauses in each news article onto Halliday's transitivity system, identifying which actors (e.g., "government," "students," "ministries") were cast as agents, patients, or beneficiaries of policy actions. This step uncovers how agency and responsibility are distributed in the text and is crucial for exposing whether educational reforms are portrayed as top-down impositions or collaborative efforts. This is important to see whether the media highlights certain actors as agents or victims in education policy. After the transitivity analysis, the forms of topoi used in the text are examined, such as:

1. Topos of Burdening, when the media states that an institution or system is burdened by a certain problem, then policies need to be carried out to reduce the burden.
2. Topos of Reality, when the media assumes that because something has become a reality, certain actions or policies must be taken as a consequence.

3. Topos of Numbers, when the media uses statistics or numbers to prove that an action or policy needs to be taken.

4. Topos of History, when arguments are based on lessons from the past, so that certain actions are seen as necessary or should be avoided based on historical experience.

5. Topos of Authority, when the media legitimizes a policy or argumentative position by quoting official figures or institutions that are considered authoritative.

6. Topos of Threat, when policies are constructed in response to a specific threat, such as educational inequality, underdevelopment, or social crisis.

7. Topos of Definition, when an entity (policy, institution, or individual) is labeled, it must contain characteristics in accordance with the definition of the label.

8. Topos of Justice, when the media highlights issues of equality or inequality in policies, and states that policies must treat related parties fairly and equally.

9. Topos of Urgency, when a decision or policy is described as needing to be taken immediately due to an emergency, urgent momentum, or external factors that cannot be delayed.

Theoretically, topoi are the main means of understanding warrants in argumentation schemes, i.e., the link between premises and conclusions. In practice, this is seen in how the media structures claims (premises), bases them on topos (warrants), and arrives at policy judgments (conclusions). Therefore, this strategy is employed to reveal the internal logic of the argument. Overall, while the transitivity pinpoints how actors and processes are linguistically constructed to assign blame, credit, or neutrality; topoi reveal the culturally logical warrants that lend these constructions persuasive force.

2. Intensification/Mitigation Strategy

This strategy is used to see how the media strengthens or weakens the meaning of the arguments presented. In this study, two forms of this strategy were analyzed:

1. Intensification is done through:
   a. Hyperbole, to exaggerate the success or failure of the policy.
   b. Metaphors, to give symbolic or emotional meaning to education policies.

These devices amplify or dramatize the perceived urgency or success of policies, steering reader emotions and aligning public sentiment with particular ideological positions.

2. Mitigation is done through:
   a. Verbs of saying (such as "claim", "mention") that weaken the responsibility or position of the argument.
   b. Modality (possibility, necessity) used to convey uncertainty, prediction, or preference without stating it directly.

The use of these devices is rational as it allows the identification of the rhetorical tone the media chooses in supporting or opposing a policy, without having to state the position explicitly. To conclude, intensification draws attention to and escalates the stakes of policy debates, while mitigation introduces hedges that qualify claims and together, they reveal the strategic calibration of forcefulness versus caution in media portrayals of educational policy reform.

3. Integrity of Analysis

The analysis was conducted on three levels as a concrete form of the historical-discursive approach:

1. The linguistic level, where a micro-analysis of language structures, such as transitivity and rhetorical devices, is conducted.

2. The interdiscursive level, looking at how education policy discourse intersects with broader socio-political narratives.

3. The historical and social context level, by combining media discourse with historical education policy documentation to understand the context in which the discourse emerged.

The selection of only two of Wodak's discursive strategies is considered sufficient in the context of this study, as they cover the essential aspects of media framing, namely how claims are made and how they are emphasized or disguised. This addresses the need to understand the ideological yet implicit construction of discourse in the public sphere.

E. Research Schedule

This research was conducted in the period from Nov 2024 to July 2024.

Table 1. *Research Schedule*

Activities	Month									
	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug
	2024-2025									
Research Proposal Writing	■	■								
Research Proposal Examination		■								
Data Collection			■	■						
Data Analysis					■	■				
Seminar Hasil Examination							■			

39