

**AN ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL CARTOONS  
IN THE *JAKARTA POST* E-PAPER  
(A SEMIOTIC DISCURSIVE APPROACH)**

**THESIS**

**Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the completion of Strata 1 Program  
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specialized in Linguistics**



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## **STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY**

I hereby certify that this thesis is definitely my own work. I am completely responsible for the content of this thesis, opinions or findings of others are cited with respect to ethical standard.

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Hudi Aryuni

## **MOTTO**

- If you love two people at the same time, choose second. Because if you really loved the first one, you wouldn't fallen for the second.

*Jhonny Deep*

## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to:

- The Almighty, thank you for the wonderful life and blessing you have given to me. I love my life;
- My parents;
- My brothers and sisters;
- My baobei who always support me. I love you ;
- My teachers;
- All colleagues.

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Hopefully, this thesis will be useful for everyone who wants to gain knowledge from English Linguistics, especially for the students of English Department of Humanities Faculty of Dian Nuswantoro University. Furthermore, I do realize that this thesis must have shortcoming due to my limited ability. For this, I welcome to any comments and criticisms.

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## ABSTRACT

This study is a research about interdisciplinary study that scopes semiotic and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono political cartoons of the *Jakarta Post* e-paper 2009-2011, in which the researcher tried to unhook the messages and explain the linguistic tools that construct the hidden message and ideology of the cartoons. In conducting the research, the researcher used Peirce's semiotic (1931-1935: 228) and Van Dijk's ideological square model (1998: 130). The researcher used purposive sampling in taking data. The total of the data that were analyzed was five cartoons.

From the *Jakarta Post* e -paper, The message that was conveyed in the first cartoon is criticism to SBY's cabinet which is rated as liar, unseriousness, and incompetence government. The second and the fourth cartoon also criticize about SBY's failure in leading the country. By presenting beggars in the cartoons, the cartoonist wanted to alert the readers to realize the poverty of the people and demolish the authority of SBY as the president. The president authority demolishing efforts also appear in the cartoon of third and fifth. By 'playing' the text and the exaggeration of image, the cartoonist successful in shaping the SBY as being a liar, coward, weak, intolerant and melancholy. By Van Dijk's CDA theory, the researcher also got the linguistic tools used to convey the message such as the choice of figure of speech. The dominant rhetoric among five cartoons is forms of irony which functions for satirizing. The researcher also found that almost all sentences in the cartoons have false proposition because of the signs existence (non verbal) which function as a denial of the sentences. Moreover, when the sentences come into true proposition, the cartoonist is pretty smart by focusing on beneficial tool like non verbal exaggeration.

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of the Study

Various kinds of dictionary define linguistics as a branch of science that focuses on language study. In addition to the scientific study of language, Oxford dictionary adds that it also studies language and "... its structure, including the study of grammar, syntax, and phonetics. Specific branches of linguistics include sociolinguistics, dialectology, psycholinguistics, computational linguistics, comparative linguistics, and structural linguistics" (Oxford Dictionary of English: 2003). One branch of linguistic study with its scopes parallels to other branches which makes a complex unity that we call as language. Because of this interrelated condition, many linguists have been trying to combine one theory with other linguistics' theory in doing analysis' called interdisciplinary studies.

The definition of language itself is various, some define the language refers to a tool of communication. While others define language as a system of sign included gestures, vocal sounds, written symbols those encode information. Humans, like most animals have verbal and non-verbal language. They communicate using language, signs, or even sound. However, what differs human languages and animals is cultural identities. Language closely related to culture, in which a language can be used as a mean to convey the values, customs and beliefs within the group members



and outside groups as well as to maintain the existence of the group. So language discusses not only spoken or written matter, but also includes sign, then people should be more sensitive and critical of all signs conveyed consciously or unconsciously by the addresser even a trivial matter, seeing that it have information or message. Therefore, the branch of linguistic study which covers the field of sign is semiotics, well known as the science of sign.

Sign or sometimes called as non-verbal language can be seen in almost all aspects of our life. A sign language of deaf-mute people is one of many good examples which proves the existence and importance of non-verbal language in our life. When they want to communicate with other, they will pronounce through different gestures. Hand shapes, orientations like palms facing away, towards the person or towards each other determine the meaning of the messages. Location, how their hand moves onto their body would give a different meaning. Movement and non manual features such as facial expressions, shoulder etc are also factors those contribute in shaping a meaning. So a sign is "... any physical form that has been imagine or made externally (through some physical medium) stand for an object, event, feeling, etc., known as a referent, or for a class of similar (or related) objects, events, feelings, etc., known as a referential domain" (Thomas, 1994:3). Similar to Thomas, Peirce states that "A sign is anything which determines something else (its interpretant) to refer to an object to which itself refers (its object) in the same way, the interpretant becoming in turn a sign" (1931-1935:228). He says that everything

can be a sign, every picture, cry, wink, pointing finger, etc, in other word anything that is perceptible, knowable, or imaginable. Thus, all media text that surrounds our daily life like magazine articles, movies, cartoons, headlines, etc are legitimate data for semiotic analysis that can subsume to discourse analysis.

Discourse today has developed into multi-semiotic which combine language and forms of semiotic. Advertisements, programs, news, in television are some examples from how discourse is constructed by the combination of visual images, music's, and sound effects. In written text, it's common if we find diagrams, symbols, pictures which may support the context of the text or maybe they convey hidden message. Even the corpus design of the text is a salient factor which may establish or reform a society. Thus discourse analysis has progressed into more critical that linguists call it as critical discourse analysis (CDA). As cited from Van Dijk's book, "critical discourse analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (Van Dijk, 2008:108). Fairclough also adds "*CDA* of a communicative interaction sets out to show that the semiotic and linguistic features of the interaction are systematically connected with what is going on socially, and what is going on socially is indeed going on partly or wholly semiotically or linguistically" (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999: 113).

Semiotics-discursive analysis will analyze discourse both from the perspective of CDA and semiotics and considered as a version of analysis for

handling almost all media today including political cartoons. Political cartoon is a subgenre of a broader area of humor in media constructed by verbal and non- verbal language which it's often used as a channel to criticize, mock, or even praise a person or a group of people in social life. The elements of humor are often found inside political cartoons like hyperbole, homonym etc in the text is commonly used for exaggerating condition. Therefore, political cartoon which can be racist, feminist, critical in general is better analyzed by semiotic- discursive than old linguistic analysis that only focus on text.

The economic and political conditions in Indonesia are still quite labile thus they are often used as a target for cartoonists to be used as topics for their work. Political cartoons can also be used as a means to convey the ideology of individuals or groups in order to establish, change the society or to criticize the government. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), the president of Indonesia, is one of hundreds examples who becomes an object in political cartoon. His policies and utterances that sometimes draw protests from various parties have made him target of cartoonists or whoever plays behind the cartoonists to create an version of his personality attached to mass media, for example is his statement about the president's salary that had not increased since seven years ago. It is very possible in a couple of times progress into a new ideology in the society. This breaks a concept of mass media which is important to be balance, accurate, neutral and objective.

Based on the phenomenon above, the researcher is really interested in investigating the ideology and messages inserted in SBY political cartoons published in Jakarta Post. The researcher is also sure that this study needs to be done because people have the right to know that there is “power” playing behind text in media around us. Hopefully people will not be silly dolls who are trapped in a “toys box” and will not let someone controls their mind easily.

## **1.2 Statements of the Problem**

Based on the background of the study above, the problems can be formulated as follows:

1. What tools are used to convey the hidden messages in the cartoons by the *Jakarta Post* e- paper?
2. What are the hidden messages of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) cartoons published by the *Jakarta Post* e- paper?

## **1.3 Scope of the Study**

The scope of this study is specifically under critical discourse analysis (CDA) and semiotic study. Meanwhile, in analyzing the data the researcher will use the theory of ideological square in CDA by Van Dijk (2007: 108) and the theory of sign in semiotics by Peirce (1931-1935 : 228).

The object of the study is SBY political cartoons published by the *Jakarta Post* online at [www.thejakartapost.com/channel/cartoon/](http://www.thejakartapost.com/channel/cartoon/) from 2009-2011. The

parameters of the study are verbal signs which hide messages, supported by the visual signs. Although colors can be assumed as signs, the researcher didn't include them into the parameters of this study.

#### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

According to the problems mentioned above, this study intends to achieve some objectives as follows:

1. To describe the tools used to convey the hidden messages in SBY cartoons published by the *Jakarta Post* e- paper.
2. To find the hidden messages of the *Jakarta Post* e- paper attached in SBY cartoons related to the political issues at the time.

#### **1.5 Significances of the Study**

This study is designed to be functional both practically and academically.

1. Practically:
  - a. For the researcher, to enrich the researcher's knowledge about semiotics and CDA in political cartoons in detail.
  - b. For the readers, analyzing the political cartoons in mass media will show people in general that every sign and text is a message, and there is no message which is neutral as stated by Fiske "our words are never neutral" (1994).

## 2. Academically:

- a. For the Faculty of Humanities of Dian Nuswantoro University, hopefully this study ease students to discover the hidden message or ideology manipulated inside other cartoons, so they won't be easily trapped in a discursive paradigm.
- b. The researcher also hopes that this paper will give a contribution in discourse and semiotic study.

### **1.6 Thesis Organization**

This thesis consists of five chapters. The organization of this thesis is as follows:

Chapter I : Introduction, this chapter provides six subchapters. They are background of the study, statement of the problems, scope of the study, objectives of the study, significances of the study, and thesis organization.

Chapter II : Review of Related Literature, this chapter the researcher describes and explains the theories that can help him in analyzing the data. The theories are about critical discourse analysis, semiotics, and cartooning politic.

Chapter III : Research Method, this chapter covers five subchapters. They are research design, unit of analysis, source of the data, technique of data collection, and technique of data analysis.

Chapter IV : Data Analysis, this chapter contains the data analysis. It concerns with the analysis of the research and the discussion of the data analysis.

Chapter V : Conclusion and Suggestion, this chapter presents conclusion and suggestion related to the subject being analyzed.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

A theory is necessary in conducting a research. The theory is used to make the research much clearer. Considering that, the researcher uses some theories as the basis of the research and also as the way to do the analysis. In this part, the researcher will explain the theories related to the research. They are the theories of semiotics, critical discourse analysis, and cartooning politics.

#### **2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis**

In his book, Van Dijk explains CDA as a type of discourse analytical research that primarily concerns on the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (2007: 108). In his book *Ideology: Multidisciplinary Approach* (1998), he shows that there are some points that the researcher must understand in studying the ideology of a discourse, they are;

##### **2.1.1 Understanding and Defining Ideological Point of View**

In common usage ideology tends to be a somewhat vague term. Something that, like pornography or art, one knows when one sees, but would be hard pressed to define precisely. Ideology is often used pejoratively, perhaps being most easily



recognized when someone expresses a strong position with which one disagrees. However, even these superficial musings start to give us clues toward a definition. It must have something to do with fundamental beliefs held by groups of people ("Us" versus "Them"). Ideologies are fundamentally subjective, since beliefs are subjective.

### **2.1.2 Cognition**

How ideologies are represented in memory is very much an open question at this point. Van Dijk hypothesizes that ideologies are represented in social memory, a part of Long Term Memory that is distinct from, but linked to, episodic memory. He chooses to represent the general beliefs of ideologies in a propositional format, for convenience. For example, "All citizens should have equal rights." He also assumes that ideologies form systems of beliefs, suggesting some level of order and organization. He theorizes that the organization of ideologies is schema-like, consisting of a number of conventional categories that allow social actors to rapidly understand or to build, reject or modify an ideology.

### **2.1.3 Cultural/Common Ground Knowledge**

Group attitudes are intermediary representations between ideologies and discourse. Attitudes are defined as beliefs with an evaluative component (as distinguished from knowledge). Attitudes may embody ideological propositions as applied to a specific domain. For example, a racist ideology might be applied in the area of education.

Group knowledge may be affected by ideology, in the sense that those who hold certain group beliefs consider them to be true, and thus knowledge. For example, if some racist psychologists hold that Blacks are less intelligent than Whites, they might see this as knowledge, while obtained by what they see as scientific evidence, but others may well see this as a form of racist prejudice, based on biased argumentation and misguided application of scientific method.

Personal mental models are the representations in episodic memory of our daily experiences. Events could be the contributions in making these models. These models are personal and thus inherently subjective. They may be strongly influenced by ideology. It is these mental models that are the basis for comprehension and production of action and discourse, in the sense that speaking (writing) involves the expression of mental models and hearing (reading) involves the updating or construction of mental models. Only a small amount of the meaning available in mental models is typically expressed in discourse, so considering skill in how a speaker (writer) know what to include and what to leave implicit is needed. Van Dijk deals with this by defining context models to represent the current ongoing communicative event dynamically. The context model keeps track of our goals and intentions, what the beliefs and the participants know, social relations between participants, the social situation, time, or more generally, what is relevant for discourse in the current communicative situation.

### 2.1.4 Van Dijk Ideological Square

In discovering properties of discourse that will pick up variations in ideology, based on the underlying context, event models, and social attitudes, semantics and style would be better places to look than morphology and syntax. Van Dijk states:

“With the many subtle structures of meanings, form, and action, racist discourse generally emphasizes Our good things and Their bad things, and deemphasizes (mitigates, hides) Our bad things and Their good things. This general ideological square not only applies to racist domination but in general to in-group/out-group polarization in social practices, discourse, and thought”. (Van Dijk, 2007: 130)

In the statement, he states that the ideological square principal is commonly applied and found in many discourse, social practices and thought. Ideological square serves a sketch of thought in conducting an ideology.

Discourse provides many ways to emphasize or de-emphasize meanings. Van Dijk applies his ideological square to analyze discourse at the levels of meaning, propositional structures, formal structures, sentence syntax, discourse forms, argumentation, rhetoric, and action and interaction.

#### 1. Meaning

The most direct expression of ideology in discourse is in the semantics of the discourse. Here are some of the most relevant aspects; topics, level of description or degree of detail, implications and presuppositions, local coherence, synonymy, paraphrase, contrast, examples and illustrations, and disclaimers.

Topics can be represented propositionally, whereas themes, which are more abstract, are typically represented by a single word. Themes define classes of text which contain many different topics. For example, under the theme of "Education", topics might include: Falling test scores, Debate over creationist curriculum, Is physical education necessary, etc.

Topics typically are the information that is best recalled of a discourse. Topics can serve ideological functions, when people want to de-emphasize their bad things and their enemy's good things, then they will tend to de-topicalize such information.

There are options in the realization of our mental model to provide abstract or specific descriptions with many or few details in the topic. These options can serve an ideological purpose since people will usually be more specific and more detailed about their good things and about the bad things of the others, and remain pretty vague and general when it comes to talk about their failures.

In discussing mental representations, the context model determines what part of the information in the mental model should be expressed. The decision to express information or leave it implicit can serve ideological purposes that is people tend to leave information implicit that is inconsistent with their positive self-image. On the other hand, any information that tells the recipient about the bad things of their enemies or about those they considers our out group will tend to be explicitly expressed in text and talk

Presupposition also contributes in shaping a meaning. Yule (1996:25) states that presupposition is something the speaker assumes to be the case prior to making an utterance. It shows that a sentence can presuppose and implies the other sentences. A sentence can be said presupposing to another when the falsity of the second sentence makes the first sentence can't be said to be true or false. One can also presuppose information that is not generally shared or accepted at all, introducing it by implication. For example, if a politician expresses concern about "the high crime rate of inner-city youth", this presupposes that inner-city youth do in fact have a high crime rate. Even if it is true, the presupposition may be misleading due to being under qualified: the crime rate may be due to unemployed white males and not inner-city youth in general.

A discourse is globally coherent if it has a topic and that it is locally coherent if the meanings of the sentences (their propositions) are related in some way. Local coherence may be referential or functional. A discourse sequence is referentially coherent if it has a model, or intuitively, if people can imagine a situation in which it is or could be true. Functional local coherence is defined in terms of the relations between the propositions themselves. For example, one proposition has the function of being a specification, a generalization, an example or a contrast of another proposition.

While coherence is a very general condition of discourse and must be respected in order for discourse to be meaningful, it is in a sense ideologically controlled by the mental model it is based on. Also the hearer will tend to make

inferences in order to make the discourse coherent, so a sentence such as "He is from Nigeria, but a very good worker" invites the inference that, in general, people from Nigeria are not good workers.

Synonyms and paraphrases alter meaning to some degree and these alterations may have ideological implications. For example, in Western Europe today, the use of "foreigners" generally implies a reference to ethnic minorities and immigrants. Depending on the context, these terms may be more positive or negative. While contrast can be used to semantically implement polarization, which can be an overall strategy in ideological discourse.

Discourse about "us" and "them" often contains examples and illustrations. These can take the form of stories about our good deeds and their bad behavior, which may serve as premises or evidence in argumentation. In this kind of discourse, one form of self-image is improved by a denial. Disclaimers are typical in any type of prejudiced discourse as a means of positive self-presentation or face keeping.

Examples:

Apparent Negation: *I have nothing against X, but?*

Apparent Concession: *They may be very smart, but?*

Apparent Empathy: *They may have had problems, but?*

Apparent Apology: *Excuse me, but?*

Apparent Effort: *We do everything we can, but?*

Transfer: *I have no problems with them, but my clients?*

Those apparent sentences function as a reversal which blaming the victim:

THEY are not discriminated against, but WE are. By combining a positive aspect of our own group, with negative ones of the others, disclaimers directly instantiate the

contradictions in ideological based attitudes. Disclaimers might prove to be useful ideological clues, particularly in a system that has a pattern matching component.

## **2. Propositional Structures**

The internal structure of the propositions should be examined, which is taken together to constitute the meaning of the discourse. Recalling that propositions are things that may be true or false, or which (intuitively speaking) express one complete 'thought'. Sentences consist of one or more propositions. Of interest in ideological analysis is that the predicates of propositions may be more or less positive or negative, depending on the underlying opinions (as represented in mental models).

The arguments of a propositions may be about actors in various roles, namely as agents, patients, or beneficiaries of an action. Since ideological discourse is typically about us and them, the further analysis of actors is very important. Ideologically based actor descriptions semantically reflect the social distance implied by ideologies.

Modalities such as 'It is necessary that', 'It is possible that' or 'It is known that', may modify propositions. Modalities may involve implication or presuppositions and may give clues to the way we represent the world and its events.

Speakers are often expected to provide evidence to back up what they say. The standards of evidence vary greatly depending on the discourse genre. The choice of evidence used and the source of the evidence may both reflect ideological bias.

The management of clarity and vagueness is a powerful political and ideological tool, as evidenced in diplomatic language. Vagueness may imply mitigation, euphemism and indirectly denial. Hedging is useful when precise statements may be contextually inappropriate.

Halfway between semantics and rhetoric, there is one that well-known 'topoi'. They are like topics as earlier defined, but they have become standardized and publicized, so that they are typically used as 'ready-mades' in argumentation." Topoi often serve as basic criteria in argumentation, since as standard arguments, they need not be defended.

### **3. Formal Structures**

Forms include sentence syntax, and overall schematic forms of discourse such as argumentative or narrative structures, a news article or a scholarly article in a psychological journal. For example, emphasis can be given by placing something at the beginning of a news article. The same item can be de-emphasized by placing it towards the end of the article or leaving it out entirely.

### **4. Sentence Syntax**

Much of sentence syntax is not contextually variable, so not helpful when looking for ideological clues. Some places as ideological clues are: word order, active and passive sentences, and nominalizations. For example, "Words may be put up



front through so called 'topicalization', or they may be 'downgraded' by putting them later in a clause or sentence, or leaving them out completely. Since syntactic parsing is a fairly well understood area of computational linguistics, it might be reasonable to look for syntactic patterns that are out of the ordinary and see what words or concepts are either emphasized or de-emphasized to provide clues to ideological point of view.

## **5. Discourse Form**

Discourse form is the propositions at the level of the whole discourse. As with the expression of meanings in the sentence syntactic for which may be varied, at this level propositions may be expressed in sentences that appear at the beginning of the discourse adding emphasis or near the end providing de-emphasis. So that one of the many possible functions of sentence order in discourse can be ideological. It should be noted that "sentences that express positive meanings about us, and negative meanings about them, will typically appear up front -- if possible in headlines, leads, abstracts, announcements or initial summaries of stories. And conversely, meanings that embody information that is bad for our image will typically tend to appear at the end, or be left implicit altogether.

## **6. Argumentation**

In discourse genres where participants have different opinions or points of view, generally participants will use an argumentative structure of the form either standpoint and arguments or arguments and conclusion, to make their standpoint

more acceptable, credible or truthful. While the use of any given argument structure or fallacies (breach in the rules or principles of argumentation) is unlikely to be linked to a specific ideology, the structure of argumentation may still be useful in determining ideologies. The main point of view, such as functions of a headline, is representing the most important information in the text, adding emphasis, and controlling the production of the rest of the discourse. Since standpoint and opinion are often linked to shared group attitudes, argument structures may also signal the underlying structure of ideological attitudes.

Some difficulties may arise when the underlying ideologies are "politically incorrect" leading to arguments that are hidden or rationalized in terms of more "respectable" arguments and hence may be more difficult to detect. For example, a speaker who opposes allowing immigration of Mexicans might hide a racist ideology by using arguments about the labor market, lack of housing, or cultural problems.

## **7. Rhetoric**

Some examples of "figures of style" described in rhetoric, such as: alliterations, metaphors, similes, irony, euphemisms, litotes, etc. These generally fall into the class of non-literal language. Someone is not likely to be interested in whether or not a figure of style is used, since most everyone uses, say, metaphors, regardless of the ideologies being expressed, but rather in the meaning, content and cognition of the particular figure of style used.

One might hypothesize that the use of non-literal language could be a key factor in identifying ideological point of view. The members of a group are likely to use the same or similar metaphors and euphemisms to evoke shared attitudes or knowledge and to express the corners of the ideological square. For example, the use of the euphemism "collateral damage" for civilians accidentally killed in a missile attack is very evocative of a specific ideology.

## **8. Action and Interaction**

Questions, accusations, promises, or threats, etc are considered as speech acts. Again, since virtually all speech acts are available to all people, it is not the act itself, but the act in context that must be considered.

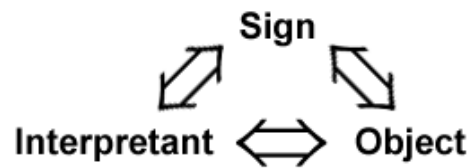
With each of the formal structures Van Dijk considers, since all formal structures are available to all people or groups, the existence of specific structures is unlikely to help in determining ideological point of view. Rather it is the context of formal structure that is likely to provide clues. That said, one might still hypothesize that when group ideology is expressed by different members of the group, similarity in argument structure and style could be found.

## **2.2 Semiotic**

Humans, like most animals, are able to communicate verbally and non-verbally. Humans use language in verbal communication and signs, symbols, sound or paralinguistic means to communicate a message. However, humans, unlike

animals, have cultural identities. The semiosis (sign processing) takes place within this cultural orientation. Semiotics analysis provides the translator with means to deal with signs in a persuasive advertisement which reflect a cultural identity. (Winfried Nöth 1990: 476) emphasizes the usefulness of semiotics by saying "...semiotics provides the theoretical tools for the analysis of signs and communication process in advertising...semiotics expands the analytic horizon from the verbal message in the narrower sense to the multiplicity of codes used in persuasive communication".

Peirce in Greenlee defines "a sign is anything which determines something else (its interpretant) to refer to an object to which itself refers (its object) in the same way, the interpretant becoming in turn a sign" (1973: 228). In contrast to De Saussure, who focused on language, Peirce casts his net wide by including the following under the term sign : "...every picture, diagram, natural cry, pointing finger, wink, knot in one's handkerchief, memory, dream, fancy, concept, indication, token, symptom, letter, numeral, word, sentence, chapter, book, library (1973: 50). To him everything can be a sign, in other words anything that is perceptible, knowable or imaginable. But for it to act as a sign, "it must enter into a relationship with its object, be interpreted, and thus produce a new sign, its interpretant" (1973: 51).



Scheme 2.1 Peirce's triad

Peirce sees the sign, its interpretant and object in terms of a triangle. Each element is dependent on the other and can only be understood in relation to the others. The sign refers to something other than itself – the object, and is understood by somebody: in other words, it has an effect in the mind of the user - the interpretant.

### 2.3 Cartooning Politics

A political cartoon is 'a satirical comment, usually humorous about a political person, event, institution or idea, and reflecting the cartoonist's own values or opinions on that issue' (School Programs Section, National Museum of Australia, 2002: 4). It should be noted that 'cartoon' is used here in the sense of visual, humorous text that may or may not include a verbal part (Mazid, 2000a, 2000b) and that 'political' is used in a very narrow sense, because most social issues, for example, abortion, have political repercussions and most political issues, for example, 9/11, have social and cultural implications. There is already a wealth of research on humor at large and more specifically on political cartoons. For a history of political cartoon on the two sides of the Atlantic, see Cuff (1945:87–96). Some studies address the relationship between (political) cartoons and reality; for example, Streicher

(1967:427–445) argues that they are grounded in reality. For Mulkay (1988:197), humor in general derives from patterns of serious political discourse. “It is an inversion of the serious world – a response to the difficulties occurring in the course of ‘socially coordinated production of the serious domain’”. A political cartoon can be a distortion of reality. Templin (1999:20–36) explores the images of Hillary Clinton in cartoons, arguing that it is the norm for cartoonists to employ satire and to distort the truth.

Cartoons can very well be sexist, as in the case of Hillary Clinton. The cartoon images of Hillary Clinton suggest “a backlash against the professional woman (Templin 1999: 20). Hillary Clinton seems to have become a favorite target of all types of humor – for a study on jokes involving her, see Thomas (1997: 277–313). Wherever they might be on the true–untrue continuum, political cartoons can only be produced and perceived in a socio-historical background. It takes prior knowledge to be part of a social scenario selected by the cartoonist and reorganized to form the script which is essential to the realization of the humorous effect of a piece of humor. No matter how seriously they are taken, cartoons continue to reflect cultural attitudes and values, and record and perpetuate many commonly held beliefs. One research on political cartoons focuses on the mechanisms used therein for the production of the satirical and critical effect. Buell and Maus (1988:847–858) argue that ‘exaggeration and distortion’ are the cartoonist’s ‘stock-in-trade’. They conclude their analysis of the cartoons about the 1988 elections in the USA with the

observation that most cartoons in the sample depict “frontrunners and oddities, and most of these were unflattering to the candidates”<sup>A</sup>. In addition to exaggeration, political humor at large derives from some incongruity, for example, between ‘the gruesome and the innocuous’ (Kuipers, 2002: 456), the serious and the unserious, which can result in ‘outrage and amusement’: when depicting conflicting parties, political cartoons involve ‘degrading’ enemies, for example, bin Laden and Afghan women, while upgrading personal and national values and images, for example, US national symbols (Kuipers, 2002:70–84). This is an extreme form of the representation of self and misrepresentation of other in Van Dijk’s (1998:110) ideological square other studies of political cartoons focus on what they can do. Cartoons are capable of communicating ‘subtle, complex, multilayered messages about people and events in the details of how they are drawn – messages that would be difficult or impossible to express verbally’. A political cartoon, moreover, allows the cartoonist to express views that would be too ‘extreme, mean-spirited’, or ‘politically incorrect’ to express in an essay column (Gilmartin and Brunn, 1998: 536). The views expressed may identify with certain ideologies, clarify issues, contrast self with other, and/or reinforce certain positions and attitudes (Meyer, 2000:310–31).

The effect of a political cartoon is therefore not simply and not always laughter. A political cartoon can be cathartic, resulting in an Aristotelian purgation or recognition, or in relief, or adjustive, resulting in behavioral or material change (Lively, 1942:99–106). Relief can happen upon beholding a negative object or entity

being ridiculed, or dysphemized, so to speak. This much has been done on cartoons, but they have not received the academic research attention they deserve, given their influence and popularity. Carrier (2000: 70-105) insists on the traditional divide between high and low art forms and does not allow 'comics' to be part of art history. The division is increasingly diminishing with more and more academic work on caricature and cartoon, as borne out by, among other things, the references of this study, the publications devoted to humor and cartoon and the expansion of disciplines and approaches such as CDA and semiotics to include semio-linguistic work on cartoon texts. These texts can cause not only amusement, purgation and enlightenment but also conflict and harm.



## **CHAPTER III**

### **RESEARCH METHOD**

Research method is a kind of systemic work plan in order to make its main purpose easier to achieve. The method in this research was chosen by considering its appropriateness of the research object. This research method was arranged based on the problem analyzed and the objectives of the research. The research method in this study covers research design, unit of analysis, source of data, technique of data collection and technique of data analysis.

#### **3.1 Research Design**

In this research the researcher used descriptive qualitative methods. Descriptive research is used to answer descriptive research questions: *What is happening? How is something happening? Why is something happening.* Cresswell (1998:5) states that a qualitative is can be undertaken when its needs to present a detailed view of a topic. According to Moleong (2003:3), “qualitative method is a research procedure that results in descriptive data, either in written or oral”.

Based on the theories above, the researcher used descriptive qualitative method, because she looked for the tools used to convey the messages and describes them. Then she also looked for the hidden messages of SBY political cartoons published in [www.thejakartapost.com/channel/cartoon/](http://www.thejakartapost.com/channel/cartoon/) from 2009 – 2011. Besides, the findings of this research were not served in percentages, but descriptions.

### 3.2 Unit of Analysis

Unit of analysis of this research was the SBY cartoons published by [www.thejakartapost.com/channel/cartoon/](http://www.thejakartapost.com/channel/cartoon/) from 2009-2011. The researcher focused on verbal (words or sentences) and visual signs which might reflect the messages or criticism toward SBY.

### 3.3 Source of Data

This study used the data from the *Jakarta Post* online political cartoons at [www.thejakartapost.com/channel/cartoon/](http://www.thejakartapost.com/channel/cartoon/) from 2009-2011. There were 5 cartoons which were analyzed in this study.

the *Jakarta Post* is the largest daily English newspaper in Indonesia. It is targeted at foreigners and educated Indonesians, although the middle-class Indonesian readership has increased. Noted for being a training ground for local and international reporters, the *Jakarta Post* has won several awards and been described as being "Indonesia's leading English-language daily". In this study there were some barriers related to the process of gathering data using the *Jakarta Post* paper version, like the limited access from the researcher to subscribe the newspaper and the ever changing political issue. So the researcher decided to use the *Jakarta Post* online version to solve those problems in gathering data.

### **3.4 Technique of Data Collection**

The data were collected from the online the *Jakarta Post* at [www.thejakartapost.com/channel/cartoon/](http://www.thejakartapost.com/channel/cartoon/) from 2009 – 2011. There are 10 cartoons. However, the researcher only took 50% from the population as the samples. The researcher used purposive sampling technique because she looked for the hottest issues each year from 2009 to 2011. The total samples were five cartoons. In collecting the data, the researcher applied the following steps:

1. Searching the cartoons from the website of the *Jakarta Post* at [www.thejakartapost.com/channel/cartoon/](http://www.thejakartapost.com/channel/cartoon/);
2. Downloading the cartoons;
3. Sorting and sampling of the SBY cartoons which consist of verbal and visual signs out;

### **3.5 Technique of Data Analysis**

After the data were collected by the researcher, they were analyzed. The cartoons were analyzed in term of both verbal and visual signs. Visual signs were analyzed using Peirce's semiotic (1931-1935: 228). Meanwhile, the verbal signs were analyzed using Van Dijk ideological square model (1998: 130). There were some steps in this analysis.

1. The researcher described the political issue related to each cartoon;
2. The researcher proceeded the signs in each cartoon using Pierce's semiosis analysis model, then followed by discussion. For example is in a political cartoon published by the *Jakarta Post* on March 18<sup>th</sup> 2012 :

| Sign  | Object   | Interpretant  |
|-------|--|---|
| Tears | Water which coming out from eyes when someone is in a state of high emotion, whether sad or happy. Or when the eyes of someone possessed by dust or injured. | Very sad, weepy, hurt , scared, sensitive or very happy |

Table 3.1. Semiosis Process in SBY Program of Self-Pity

The sign refers to an object understood by the person. In this case, tears as sign refer to water that coming out from eyes when someone is in a state of high emotions, or when the eyes of someone get dust or injured. This object has effects to interpretant;

3. The researcher analyzed the sentences or words in the cartoons using Van Dijk's theory in CDA followed by discussion. The researcher applied Van Dijk's ideological square to analyze discourse at the levels of meaning,

propositional structures, formal structures, sentence syntax, discourse forms,  
argumentation, rhetoric, and action and interaction;

4. The researcher drew conclusions and suggestions.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **DATA ANALYSIS**

Data analysis is a process of evaluating data using analytical and logical reasoning to examine each component of the data provided. This form of analysis is just one of the many steps that should be completed when conducting a research. Data from the source are gathered, received, and then analyzed to form some sort of findings or conclusions. In this chapter, the researcher elaborates in detail, the result of the analysis about hidden messages of SBY political cartoons. In analyzing the data, the researcher used the Peirce's semiotic (1931-1935: 228) and Van Dijk's ideological square (1998: 130). Peirce's theory was used to dig the meaning of any signs in the cartoon. Sign, object, and interpretant were the elements that were proceeded and understood into meaning. While Van Dijk's theory was used to catch the meaning trough its linguistic components;

#### **4.1 Finding and Discussion**

This sub-chapter discusses the findings through their deep analysis that covers non verbal and verbal analysis. This sub-chapter shows how the data was examined and elaborated, so that the hidden messages were obtained. In analyzing the non-verbal signs in the cartoons, it is based on the Peirce's semiotic theory (1931-1935: 228). Each sign has passed the semiosis process which consider the sign, object, and interpretant. While in analyzing the linguistic components (verbal) in the cartoons, it

is based on the Van Dijk CDA's theory (1998: 130). There are eight components that have been analyzed. They are meaning, propositional structure, formal structure, formal structure, discourse form, argumentation, rhetoric, action and interaction. The detailed explanation can be seen below.

#### 4.1.1. Under Control



Picture 1. *Under Control* Cartoon on Saturday, July 17<sup>th</sup> 2010

The context of the cartoon based on political issues as follows. This cartoon appeared after Susilo Bambang Yudhoyo (SBY) the president of Indonesia, said the phrase “under control” many times in the news about his new situation room in his office. In his luxurious situation room which costs billions rupiah, there are three big main screens and twelve monitors on each participant’s desk that can present and

monitor situations throughout the country. SBY said that the room was used to take decision quickly and accurately. Meanwhile, in 2010 when Indonesia faced Merapi volcano issue, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono decided to leave Indonesia to attend the G-20 and APEC summits in South Korea and Japan, citing reports from his co-workers that Mount Merapi's volcanic activity and associated relief efforts had stabilized. For instance, it could be said that the situation of Merapi refugees was under control. Then it was followed by other issue, he rejected the offer of aid from Singapore Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong for earthquake refugees in Sumatra because he thought that all was fine.

#### **4.1.1.1. The Hidden Messages and Analysis**

This cartoon criticizes the lies, unserious, and incompetence of the government. This cartoon also wants to show the readers that there was a deliberate action, or cooperation between SBY and his workers in making this nonchalance. The hidden messages above were resumed from the non-verbal and verbal analysis below.

##### **4.1.1.1.1 Non-Verbal Analysis**

There are four signs that are indicated as sign; grinning, placing a hand in pocket, medium screens that display poor conditions of country, and the big screen that displays a town called Simcity with a man running the joysticks on the control table. They are indicated as sign, and then turned into object and interpretant through a cognition process.



Table 4.1 Non Verbal Signs Analysis of *Under Control* Cartoon

|   | <b>Sign</b>  | <b>Object</b>   | <b>Interpretant</b>                       |
|---|--|---|---|
| 1 | Grinning   | Smile, facial expression formed by flexing the muscles near both ends of the mouth. | Pleasure, joy, happiness.                 |
| 2 | Placing hand in pocket   | A gesture in which a hand is inserted in pocket.                                    | Lie, unserious                            |
| 3 | Medium screens that display poor conditions of country.  | Flooding, poverty, demonstrations.  | Suffering, chaos, a failure of government |
| 4 | Big screen that displays a town called Simcity with a man runs the joysticks on the control table. | Clear, an area, a game.   | Play, unserious                           |

From table 4.1 it can be said that grinning as the first sign is interpreted as a pleasure, joy, or happiness. The second sign is placing hand in pocket. In the study of body language it can be interpreted as a indication of lies, or unseriousness. Medium screens that display poor conditions of country is a sign of suffering, chaos, or even a

failure of government. While another sign that shows a big screen that displays a town called Simcity with a man running the joystick on the control table is also interpreted as an unserious action. Simcity is a name of a game.

#### **4.1.1.1.2. Verbal Analysis**

On this cartoon there are one sentence and two phrases which have been analyzed using Van Dijk's theory. They are:

1. *SBY's new situation room;*
2. *Don't worry boss, everything is under control;*
3. *SimCity.*

After each sentence and phrase is analyzed, the researcher found some subcomponents and evidences.

The title *under control* means something which is manageable, restrained or controlled. At glance, people will think that the sentence is intended to show the situations in Indonesia. But those who have a global view would look more critically and understand the parts (every sign whether verbal or non verbal in the cartoon) as support of the whole. Each object not only has its own reality and uniqueness, but also an integral part of the overall. Realizing that in an effort to obtain the hidden message of the sentence, it can't be obtained by simply analyzing linguistically. Examining and comparing between the verbal (text) with non-verbal (visual) in order to analyze the incongruity among them is needed.

Based on the analysis, there are some tools asserted and used to convey the ideology of the cartoon. The theme of the cartoon is political condition in Indonesia, while the topic is about SBY' new situation room criticized by the cartoonist. Some implications are also found in this cartoon. The nickname *boss* which refers to SBY implies an agreement of a man in front of control table to admit SBY as a ruler, as someone who actually take responsibility of all situations. The word "boss" and a phrase *SBY's new situation room* used to render the locution to show that this man (SBY) has an authority. While the sentence *everything is under control* not only suggests and entails that "everything is fine" is true, but also requires that it be true. The sentence *SBY's new situation room* presupposes "there was an old room owned by SBY.

Proposition is meaning or one complete thought that may be true or false, it can't be both. In sentence *don't worry boss..., everything is under control* the researcher analyzed only the sentence *everything is under control* which has proposition. Meanwhile, the sentence *don't worry boss* doesn't have proposition because it is command. The quantifier of the sentence is the word *everything*, the copula is the word *is*, while the term is *under control*. Based on that brief explanation, it could be categorized into universal affirmative proposition. Furthermore, it is a false proposition because of the existence of some suffering scenes in the screens such as flood, poverty, demonstration, etc.

The use of big font size on the phrase *SBY's NEW SITUATION ROOM* is intended to catch the reader's attention to be focused on this sentence. The sentence

not only indicates the level of power and authority of SBY, but also guides the minds of the readers to an issue in early 2010, when a new luxurious situation room was inaugurated by SBY.

Therefore, in this cartoon non-verbal signs have significant role in shaping the messages. In his new situation room there are some screens that show the condition of the country which is so poor. The incongruity can be seen by comparing the poor conditions and the utterance *don't worry boss, everything is under control* which can be assumed as a report from SBY's worker to him. The main screen which is the biggest in the room is displaying a game named Simcity instead of Indonesia. It distorts the reality. The Simcity is shows a simulation city development, the player need to plan and build community facilities which is required to reach prosperity. Even there is a similarity between the play of Simcity and Indonesia in building proper town planning concept, it is still a form of humiliation because on one hand she brings realities (the president of Indonesia) while on the other hand she presents an unreality (Simcity game). This attitude of the cartoonist intends to criticize the lies, unseriousness, and incompetence government, but it seems that the cartoonist wants to stress that SBY is under control considering to the word and sentence order in which she puts the sentence *don't worry boss* at the beginning of the sentence and to a part where instead of putting SBY as a someone who runs the joystick, his worker. However, the researcher also found another message that is implicitly conveyed by the cartoonist. The gestures of SBY that have been analyzed show SBY is lying. In

other word, the cartoonist wants to show that there is such a deliberate action, or cooperation between SBY and his workers in making this nonchalance.

#### 4.1.2. Cartoon (a)



Picture 2. *Cartoon* Cartoon on Saturday, January 09<sup>th</sup> 2010

The context of the cartoon based on political issues as follows. It came with an issue about a dozen of metallic black sedans with plates license "RI" which made Coordinating Minister of Economic Affairs parking lot was more sparkling than usual. In January 2010, in the coordination meeting, the members of the United Indonesia Cabinet II rode their new Toyota Crown Royal Saloon 2008. That day 34 members of the United Indonesia Cabinet II got a new facility. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono spoiled his ministers with new brand official vehicles, more

luxurious, and classier than the old one. Crown Royal Saloon replaced the previous period of official cars, the Toyota Camry. In Japan, the car companies use this luxurious car to entertain their VIP guests. It is considered the same class with a series of BMW or Mercedes.

Prestige is at least visible of the price. In Japan, according to the website *Bafta.com*, the price of Crown Royal is around U.S. \$ 48-62 thousand (Rp 452-584 million). Meanwhile, the one of the Camry is U.S. \$ 32-34 thousand (Rp 300-320 million). The total budget is Rp 63.99 billion. But, on October 19<sup>th</sup>, 2009, the Minister of Finance proposed a budget of Rp 62.805 billion for the car tax.

This condition got much criticism from people. Seeing from the financial condition of the country that was weak and to the number of poverty, it is a very discriminating and intolerant act. Giving a reward for his cabinet members but their work has not revealed the real result is an unfortunate action.

#### **4.1.2.1. The Hidden Messages and Analysis**

This cartoon draws the position of SBY. He is assumed as an incompetent leader who is not able to see his country's poverty, or perhaps ignore that deliberately. This cartoon also shows that SBY is easy to be 'licked' by his co-worker. The hidden messages above were resumed from the non-verbal and verbal analysis below.

#### 4.1.2.1.1. Non-Verbal Analysis

There are four signs that are indicated as sign; grinning, money on the car, kissing hand, beggar, and big vulture with spittle. They are indicated as sign, and then turned into object and interpretant through a cognition process.

Table 4.2 Non Verbal Signs Analysis of *Cartoon* Cartoon (b)

|   | <b>Sign</b>              | <b>Object</b>   | <b>Interpretant</b>  |
|---|--------------------------|---|--|
| 1 | Grinning                 | Smile, facial expression formed by flexing the muscles near both ends of the mouth. | Pleasure, joy, happiness.  |
| 2 | Money on the car         | Sedan, new car, luxurious car   | Rich, extravagancy   |
| 3 | Beggar                   | A crying child with his belly bulge.  | The suffering and poverty of lower class people.<br>Malnutrition |
| 4 | Big vulture with spittle | Big hungry vulture bird. A bird species that eat death.                             | Close to the death or looked forward to the death                |

From table 4.2 it can be said that the intrepitant of grinning is pleasure, joy, happiness. The picture of money on the car is also a sign of rich, extravagancy. It proposes that the car is very expensive. Another sign is kissing hand; it is interpreted as a devotion or seduction by the minister to SBY. Beggar as the sign is a sign of suffering and poverty of lower class people in Indonesia. While the vulture is drawn big to make it clearer that here WE (lower class people) are close to the death because of the malnutrition.

#### **4.1.2.1.2. Verbal Analysis**

On this cartoon there are 2 sentences which have been analyzed using Van Djik's theory. They are:

1. *The new cabinet sedans, vehicles for a social change?*
2. *This Rp 1.3 billion sedan is el cheapo.*

In the analysis the researcher found that there are some tools asserted and used to convey the ideology of the cartoon. The theme of the cartoon is political condition in Indonesia, and the topic is new cabinet sedans. The utterances (a) *the new cabinet sedans, vehicles for a social change?* and (b) *this Rp.1, 3 billion sedan is el cheapo* implies that to make a social change in a country, people need cheap products.

Some presuppositions are also found in this cartoon. The first sentence (a) presupposes that there were old sedans, and there was a condition that should be changed. Meanwhile in the second sentence (b) presupposes that there are other



sedans which are expensive. The sentence (b) contains a proposition. Based on its quantity and quality it's categorized into singular affirmative proposition. The word *this* is the quantifier, *Rp.1,3 billion sedan* is the subject term, *is* as the copula, and *el cheapo* is the predicate term. This sentence shows an avowal of *el cheapo* to a type of sedan. Furthermore, it is a false proposition based on both the reality and the signs in the cartoon. Mentioning the word *cheap* for Rp.1,3 is very imprecise and it hurts Indonesian people that mostly live in poverty. Through a semiosis process of the signs, the sentence (b) is also a false proposition. The existence of scattered money on the car disavows a statement of Rp.1,3 as cheap one.

The code mixing of this cartoon is English and Spanish. The use of Spanish word *el cheapo* instead of English is intended to give an impression of cool, smart, friendly, attractive, and honest. This code mixing also gives the sense of mafia (gangsters). Meanwhile, both *el cheapo* and *Rp.1,3 billion* are printed bold to catch the reader's attention. The readers are expected to focus on the (a) sentence first which is a biased question. A biased question is a question which doesn't need an answer and is intended to criticize. Even so, the cartoonist strengthens the message through sentence (b) that can be assumed as the answer of (a).

The figure speech of the cartoon is antiphrasis. Antiphrasis is a kind of irony in which the meaning of the words is contrary to the reality. Rp 1,3 billion for a car is a very expensive price for people in general, especially for the Indonesian. So the sentence (b) is contrary to the reality, especially to the purchasing power of Indonesian.

Money on the car can be interpreted as rich, or an extravagancy. Instead of drawing a luxurious car, she exaggerated it by spreading money over the car. Another sign is a scene where the minister of state secretary is kissing the president's hand can be interpreted as a successful devotion or seduction from the minister to the president to buy the car. The position of SBY here is assumed as an incompetence leader who is not able to see his country's poverty, or perhaps ignore that deliberately. The poverty here is signed as herring bird and a little beggar who is suffering from malnutrition. A big hungry vulture also supports this statement because this vulture is waiting as if the beggar died.

#### 4.1.3. Cartoon (b)



Picture 3. *Cartoon* Cartoon on Saturday, January 30<sup>th</sup> 2010

The context of the cartoon based on political issues as follows. It appeared with a complex issue of a demonstration in early 2010. About 10 thousand student activists, youth, NGOs and prominent intellectuals and religious leaders held a peaceful protest in front of Merdeka Palace, Jakarta, in January 2010. The action coincided with the passage of 100 days of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono - Boediono administration. Thousands of people came from the 54 elements that were incorporated in Indonesia Gerakan Bersih.

The action was generated by the assessment of the current government, such as issues related to the efforts of eradicating corruption some time ago, the case of bailout funds Century Bank, as well as the implementation of "Free Trade Agreement" between Indonesia and China since January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2010 which was considered detrimental to Indonesia. It is also added by the president's plan to buy a presidential plane. The presidential plane was estimated to spend trillion Rupiah. A humor is also inserted in the cartoon about the president's hobby that is creating songs.

#### **4.1.3.1. The Hidden Messages and Analysis**

In this cartoon, the cartoonist criticizes the character of SBY which is childish, irresponsible and coward person. While the analysis of non-verbal and verbal will be served below.

#### 4.1.3.1.1. Non-Verbal Analysis

In this cartoon there are four signs that are indicated as sign; musical note, the road dust which is caused by SBY's running action, running action, and demonstration. All of these are indicated as sign, and then turned into object and interpretant through a cognition process.

Table 4.3 Non Verbal Signs Analysis of *Cartoon* (b) Cartoon

|   | <b>Sign</b>           | <b>Object</b>   | <b>Interpretant</b>               |
|---|-----------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | Symbol of music/ Note | Music, harmony. A symbol which is used to sign music                                      | Sing a song, melancholy, fun.     |
| 2 | The road dust         | Dust kicked up by vehicles or people traveling on roads                                   | Pollution, rust                   |
| 3 | Running               | Terrestrial locomotion that is allowing humans and other animals to move rapidly on foot. | Rust, get away                    |
| 4 | Demonstration         | One or more groups of people gathered to voice their opinion or criticize something       | Dissatisfaction, rebellion, chaos |

Based on the semiosis on table 4.3 above, the symbol of music is interpreted as an action of singing a song, melancholy or fun. The next sign is the road dust; it is a sign of rust or pollution. As well as road dust, running here can also be interpreted as an action of rust or get away. Meanwhile the last sign draws the condition of the country. Demonstration here proposes dissatisfaction of citizens, rebellion, or a chaos in the area.

#### **4.1.3.1.2. Verbal Analysis**

On this cartoon there are five sentences, five phrases, and one word which have been analyzed using Van Dijk's theory. They are:

1. *Cartoon*
2. *Too legit to impeach*
3. *What, another demo?*
4. *Gotta find an out-of-town project to officiate c*
5. *President's programs a failure.*
6. *Pick up the anti-graft pace.*
7. *No free trade act*
8. *Solve the Century bailout.*
9. *Stop filching tax payer money.*
10. *Protest against SBY's 100 days in office.*
11. *Plan to buy presidential plane.*

The title of this political cartoon is Cartoon. The word Cartoon is an eponymy, it is a figure of speech which mentions certain names to show and declare an existence or trait. Cartoon is a form of two-dimensional illustrated visual art for

many usages. The word *Cartoon* here is used to criticize political phenomenon in Indonesia that specifically focuses on SBY's government. Furthermore, the using of eponymy is to show an equation of the nature of cartoon and reality. The traits that appear in the use of word cartoon are humorous and unserious. The cartoonist also wants to show her distrust to the current government by putting the word *Cartoon* as the title.

Some presuppositions in the cartoon cover almost all sentences in here. The first sentence is a question *what another demo?* presupposes "there are former demonstrations". The cartoonist uses this to show that it's not the only one time a demonstration against SBY occurs. The second sentence is *gotta find an out-of-town project to officiate* presupposes "there is a local abandoned project". The phrase *president's program a failure* presupposes "the president has programs". It shows that actually SBY has already planned some programs, but unfortunately they do not work. The fourth until the seventh sentence are associated with some issues that exist at the time. The imperative sentence *pick up the anti-graft pace* presupposes "there are corruptions". While the phrase *no free trade act* presupposes "there is a free trade act". The other sentence *solve the Century bailout* presupposes "there is Century bank's bailout fund case". The seventh sentence *stop filching tax payer money* presupposes "there is tax payer money that is filched". The phrase *protest against SBY's 100 days in office* presupposes "the SBY's government has run for 100 days". The last phrase *plan to buy presidential plane* presupposes "there was no presidential plane".

The phrase *president's programs a failure* is an ambiguous phrase because it can be “president has a fail program” or “the president had a program but it failed”. Even the phrase has double meaning, from the words order it can be seen that the cartoonist wants to guide the reader’s mind to the first meaning.

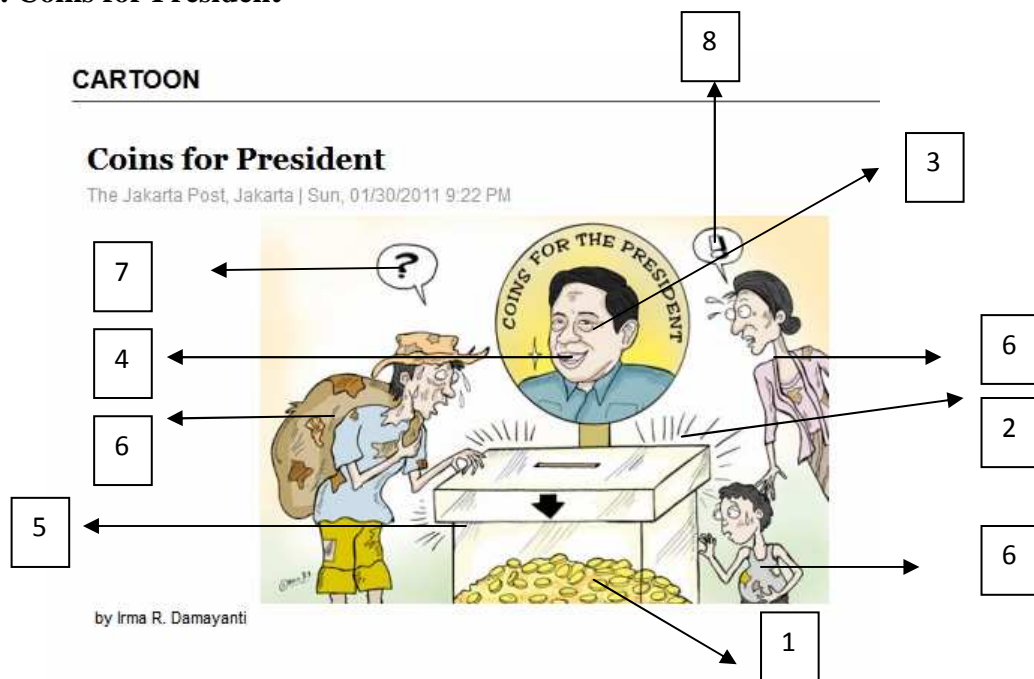
The word *legit* here is bold printed which functions for stressing and showing up a point of view. Therefore, the sentence *too legit to impeach implies* a rejection from SBY to be protested, a sense of being right. By combining it with music sign, it also implies the character of SBY which is childish, fat (chewy) and melancholy. The use of big size and bold letter is to catch reader’s attention, or to show the theme or ideology of the cartoon.

Assonance can also be found in the sentence *too legit to impeach*. Assonance is a figure of style by repetition of vocal sound. The assonance also strengthens the sense of music on the utterance and at the same time strengthens the ideology of the cartoon. Meanwhile erotizes is rhetorical question or a figure of speech by phrasing a question that presupposes an answer that is either a strong affirmative or, more often, a strong negative. The question *what another demo? gotta find an out of town project to officiate* is not used to dig information, but it presupposes a strong denial from the president to the demonstration. This sense is also supported by a road dust, and running signs. The combination of these signs and question creates a character that is irresponsible, and coward.

The actions in the cartoon cover some commands and directive sentence. These commands don’t have propositions because the statement that expresses

thoughts and desires and will not be judged right or wrong is not a proposition. Meanwhile the sentence *gotta find an out-of-town project to officiate* is categorized into directive sentence, with *gotta find an out-of-town project* as the expected behavior and *to officiate* as the outcome.

#### 4.1.4. Coins for President



Picture 4. *Coins for President* Cartoon on Sunday, January 30<sup>th</sup> 2011

The context of the cartoon based on political issue as follows. The statement of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) about presidential salary that had not increased since 7 years ago got sharp criticisms. It was noted that, SBY's salary in accordance with the Rencana Kerja Anggaran Kementerian Negara dan Lembaga Kepresidenan (RKAKL) 2006 was approximately Rp. 62 million and for the tactical



cost reached 2 billion. He said that in his closing speech Rapim TNI/ police2011 in Jakarta. *"Say, this is the seventh year, the salary of the president has not gone up. But I want everyone get the feasibility of salary"* he said.

The statement of the President was quite surprising, because according to the prestigious British magazine, *the Economist*, the salary of the president in Indonesia is the third highest salary with a gap of 22 countries surveyed. The salary of Indonesia president was 12 times as much as the one of China PM and 30 times as much as the one of India PM. It reaped a variety of reactions from the public. Many people criticized his statement as an intolerance un-high-minded, and childish thought. In addition to sharp criticism from politicians and communication experts, SBY's complaint also triggered the emergence of moral movement which aims to collect coins to be donated to raise the salary of the president.

#### **4.1.4.1. The Hidden Messages and Analysis**

The cartoon shows the poverty of the country with SBY as the intolerant president. While the analysis of non-verbal and verbal will be served below.

##### **4.1.4.1.1. Non-Verbal Analysis**

There are seven signs that are indicated as sign; gold coins, coins box, SBY pictures on the biggest coin, smile, beggars, question mark, and exclamation mark. They are indicated as sign, and then turned into object and interpretant through a cognition process.

Table 4.4 Non Verbal Signs Analysis of *Coins for President* Cartoon

|   | <b>Sign</b>                     | <b>Object</b>  | <b>Interpretant</b>          |
|---|---------------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| 1 | Gold coins                      | A coin is a piece of hard material made of gold that is standardized in weight, is produced in large quantities in order to facilitate trade, and primarily can be used as a legal tender. Little money. | Rich, wealth.                |
| 2 | Sparkle                         |  | Rich, new, wealth, luxurious |
| 3 | SBY picture on the biggest coin | Icon of SBY on the main coin.  | SBY as the target            |
| 4 | Smile                           | Facial expression formed by flexing the muscles near both ends of the mouth.   | Pleasure, joy, happiness     |
| 5 | Coins box                       | A square hard material that is used to collect coin. The coins will be given as a financial support to   | Donation                     |

|   |                  |  |   |
|---|------------------|--|---|
|   |                  | someone/people.  |   |
| 6 | Beggars          | A crying child with his belly bulge, a poor man with a bag of trash and a skinny woman wearing shabby clothes.   | The suffering and poverty of lower class people. Malnutrition |
| 7 | Question mark    | A punctuation mark that replaces the full stop (period) at the end of an interrogative sentence in English and many other languages. The question mark character is also often used in place of missing or unknown data. | Inquire, curious, puzzled                                     |
| 8 | Exclamation mark | a punctuation mark usually used after an interjection or exclamation to indicate strong feelings or high volume (shouting), and often marks the end of a sentence  | Shocked, upset.   |

Table 4.4 shows that the biggest gold coin combines with sparkles and smile as the sign is interpreted as rich, wealth, luxurious, and new. It means that the cartoonist wants to show that SBY is a rich person. But then she also added a coin box. Coin box in Indonesia is identical with donation. So the cartoonist wants to say that SBY the president, who is absolutely rich, needs donation. The others signs contradicts to this phenomenon. Beggars, question mark, and exclamation mark sign that there are still poverty and suffering of the lower class people in Indonesia. The marks are reflecting the feeling of that people, they are shocked, upset, puzzled of the phenomenon.

#### **4.1.4.1.2. Verbal Analysis**

On this cartoon there is one phrase which have been analyzed using Van Djik's theory. It is:

*“Coins for President”*

The title of the cartoon is *Coins for President*. Different from the former cartoons, this cartoon only uses one verbal text which shows the proposition as well as the title. Even it has minim verbal text, but the cartoon has some significant non-verbal signs that shaping the ideology of the cartoon.

The topic of the cartoon is about the president's salary. While the sentence *coins for president* presupposes “the presidents needs coins”. Gold coin is a sign, through semiosis process which considers about historical background and knowledge, it turns into object a piece of hard material made of gold that is

standardized in weight, it is produced in large quantities in order to facilitate trade, and primarily can be used as a legal tender. In Indonesia, based on its nominal it's well known as little money. The object turns into an intrepitant which is "rich, wealth, and poor". So by looking at and analyzing between the signs of coins, sparkles, coin box, and the text, again it implies two presuppositions. They are; (a) the president is rich but needs money or (b) the president is poor and needs money. The presupposition (b) fails because of the existence of sign (?) and (!) that function as the responses from the beggars. The beggars and those marks here reflect the suffering and poverty of lower class people. This is a refusal to acknowledge "the president is poor and need money". On other hand, the beggars and marks function as the disclaimer and a reversal which is blaming the victim: He (SBY) is not poor and needs money, but we (beggars) are!

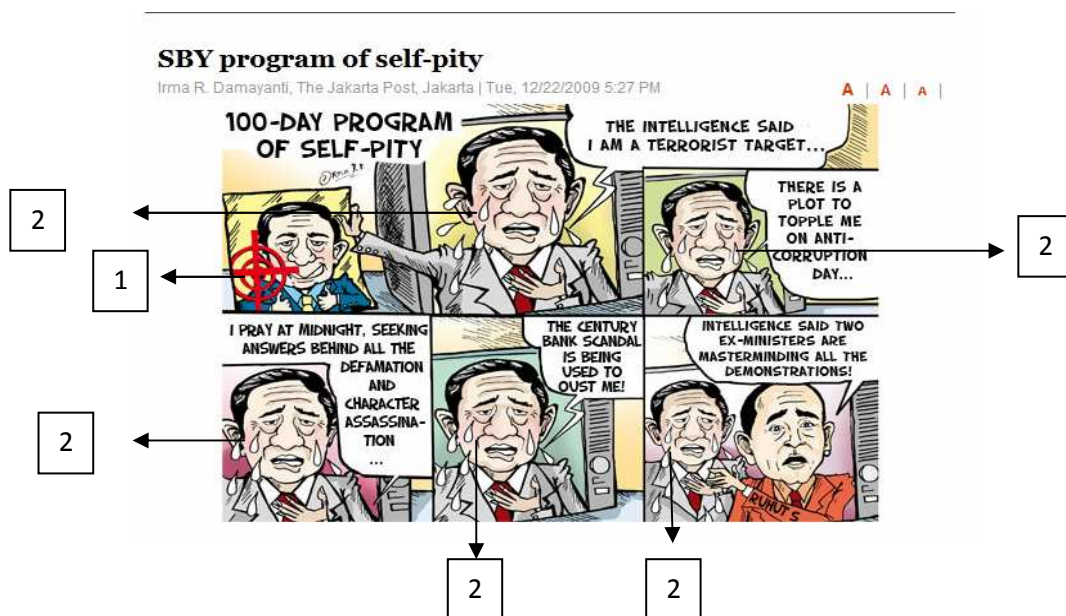
The sentence "coins for president" is categorized into particular affirmative proposition. The analysis shows that the word *coin* functions as the subject suffix *-s* as the quantifier which shows plural noun, *for* as the copula, and *president* as the predicate term. This sentence is a true proposition because there was a fundraising action to help the president's salary in reality.

Diction also has important role in this cartoon. Instead of choosing "Aid for president" or "money for president", the cartoonist is choosing "coins for president". The sense of word *coins* is different from the words "help" or "aid". The word *coins* give more democratic impression. Coin which is identical to small nominal and is

collected one by one represents the spirit of mutual cooperation of middle to lower class people.

The figure of speech in this cartoon is oxymoron. Oxymoron is a figure of speech in which the statement in one phrase containing the contrast/conflict, but it contains truth. The sentence “coins for president” contains a conflict between the words *coins* and *president*. As to explained above, coin is identical to small nominal and is usually given beggars. However, in the sentence, coins are given to a president, someone who makes a lot of money. In here the contrast happens. So, like the former cartoon, this cartoon wants to show to the readers that SBY is an intolerant ruler.

#### 4.1.5. SBY Program of Self-Pity



Picture 5. *SBY Program of Self-Pity* Cartoon on Saturday, December 22<sup>th</sup> 2009

The context of the cartoon based on political issues as follows. The cartoon was published in the late 2009 to criticize the performance of 100 days SBY as the president. Within 100 days, he had been counted four times to show his fears. These fears of the President due to the increasing sense of distrust in the community, especially to law enforcement, and in particular to the eradication of corruption, which has touched the joints of power. Thus, the statements and attitudes of the officials did not gain the trust of the people again. The first self pity act happened when he appeared on TV and showed his picture and said that he was a terrorists target.

Second, when the president reminded that there was a motive beyond the eradication of corruption in the World Anti-Corruption Day on December 9<sup>th</sup>. SBY said that when he gave a briefing on the National Leadership Meeting (Rampimnas) Democrat Party in 2009.

The third and the fourth occurred when he believed that there was a black political behavior. The political behaviors are about defamation and the character assassination accusations about Century Bank bailout funds flow to a number of cadres Democrats party, including his family. The cartoon is closed by a statement by Ruhut Sitompul, someone known as a defender of SBY and cadre of Democrats about the demonstrations were masterminded by two ex-ministers.

#### 4.1.5.1. The Hidden Messages and Analysis

Through the exaggeration style, the cartoonist criticizes the SBY personality which seems to be very weak and childish. The cartoon also shows the relationship between SBY and Ruhut Sitompul. While the analysis of non-verbal and verbal will be served below.

##### 4.1.5.1.1. Non-Verbal Analysis

There are two signs that is indicated as sign; target spot on the SBY's photo and tears. They are indicated as sign, and then turned into object and interpretant through a cognition process.

Table 4.5 Non Verbal Signs Analysis of *SBY Program of Self-Pity* Cartoon

|   | <b>Sign</b> | <b>Object</b>   | <b>Interpretant</b> |
|---|-------------|---|---------------------|
| 1 | Target spot | Two circles with a cross sign over it.  | Target, major.      |
| 2 | Tears       | water coming out of the eyes when our eyes are exposed to dust, or when we are sad or happy | Anguish, sad.       |



Table 4.5 shows that after going through the semiosis process, target spot designates SBY as the major target of terrorists. While the tears based on the context is interpreted as sad, or anguish. Both signs function as a proponent of the text which will be discussed in the verbal analysis.

#### 4.1.5.1.2. Verbal Analysis

On this cartoon there are 5 sentences and 1 phrase which have been analyzed using Van Dijk's theory. They are:

1. *100-day program of self-pity.*
2. *The intelligence said I'am a terrorist target.*
3. *There is a plot to topple me on anti-corruption day.*
4. *I pray at midnight, seeking answer behind all defamation and character assassination.*
5. *The Century Bank scandal is being used to oust me.*
6. *Intelligence said two ex-ministers are masterminding all the demonstrations.*

The topic of the cartoon is about SBY program of self-pity. There are five sentences and one phrase that have been analyzed in this cartoon. Each sentence presupposes different meaning. The phrase "*100-day program of self-pity*", this phrase presupposes "there is someone childish and has 100 day program". The "someone" here is assumed to be SBY base on the frequency of appearance on the cartoon. First sentence *the intelligence said, I am a terrorist target* presupposes "terrorists have a target". The second sentence *there is a plot to topple me on anti-*

*corruption day* presupposes “there are an anti-corruption day and an effort to topple the president”. The third sentence *I pray at midnight, seeking answer behind all defamation and character assassination* presupposes “there are defamation and character assassination”. While the fourth sentence *the Century Bank scandal is being used to oust me* presupposes “there are Century Bank scandal and an effort to oust the president”. In the last sentence *intelligence said two ex-ministers are masterminding all the demonstrations* there are report of intelligence, demonstration, and two ex-ministers”

Proposition is found in some sentences in this cartoon. The sentence *the intelligence said I am a terrorist target* is categorized into state proposition. The word *the intelligence* as the thing, and the word *said* as the event. Meanwhile the second sentence *I ‘am a terrorist target* is identified as the comment. The word *I* as the thing, then the word *am* as the event, and the word *a terrorist target* as the attribute. The next sentence *there is a plot to topple me on anti-corruption day* is also categorized into state proposition. The phrase *on anti-corruption day* as the thing, and the clause *there is a plot to topple me* as the event. The case role of this sentence is an existence. The other sentences also have been analyzed and categorized into the same proposition class. They are assumed as true propositions because the data which are presented are factive.

From the six propositions, they are identified as statements. However, it is found that some statements are conveyed by indirect sentences. The indirect sentence is used for giving an objective sense. Instead of saying “I’m a terrorist target”, he was

saying the *intelligence said that ....* By putting a competence agent here, it avoids the sense of self-pitying. Unfortunately, from five statements there are only two indirect sentences, the others are direct. Moreover, it is about exaggeration, the dominancy of direct sentences plus the signs (tears, and target spot) that are served by cartoonist strengthen the criticism of SBY personality which seems to be very weak and childish.

The utterance of Ruhut Sitompul *intelligence said two ex-ministers are masterminding all the demonstrations* is a defense to SBY. It seems the cartoonist wants to show the relationship between SBY and Ruhut Sitompul through this one. The figure of speech in this cartoon is hyperbole. It is a figure of speech which exaggerates the reality by its words. The sentence which has been determined as hyperbole is *100-day program of self-pity*. This sentence exaggerates the truth about “100-day program of SBY” and about his speech in some occasions.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter presents some conclusions about this study and suggestions for the readers and the next researchers that can be explained as follows.

#### 5.1 Conclusion

The analyzed data of this study were SBY political cartoons what were taken from [www.thejakartapost.com/channel/cartoon/](http://www.thejakartapost.com/channel/cartoon/) from 2009-2011. There are five cartoons in total. As for the result of the research, the researcher found the hidden messages, the tools that were used to convey the messages and also the ideology of the *Jakarta Post*.

The message that was conveyed in the first cartoon is criticism to SBY's cabinet which is rated as dishonest, unserious, and incompetent. The second and the fourth cartoon also criticize SBY's failure in leading the country. By presenting beggars in the cartoons, the cartoonist wanted to alert the readers to realize the poverty of the people and demolish the authority of SBY as the president. The president authority demolishing efforts also appear in the cartoon of third and fifth. By 'playing' the text and exaggerating the image, the cartoonist is successful in shaping SBY as being a liar, coward, weak, intolerant and melancholy. By Van Dijk's CDA theory, the researcher also got the linguistic tools used to convey the

message such as the choice of figure of speech. The dominant rhetoric among five cartoons is forms of irony which function for satirizing.

Based on the research, the researcher concluded that the ideology of the *Jakarta Post* is con-SBY.

## **5.2 Suggestion**

The researcher realizes that this research is far from the perfect work because of her lack of adequate ability. Therefore, she suggests the next researcher who wants to conduct a further research about CDA (ideological square) - semiotics in political cartoon that they get data which consist of two or more parties that are against each other more clearly in order to conduct deeper and maximum analysis on the research.

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