

**DISCOURSE ISSUES THREE PERIODS OF JOKOWI'S LEADERSHIP
(NORMAN FAIRCLOUGH'S CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN
KOMPAS.COM NEWS TEXT)**

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ABSTRACT

This research is motivated by the development of issues regarding the three periods of Jokowi's leadership in society. The purpose of this research is to describe President Jokowi's attitudes and responses to the three-period issue discourse in the Kompas.com news text. The method used in this study uses a qualitative approach with the type of critical discourse analysis research. The researcher uses Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis. This text is analyzed in terms of language, vocabulary, semantics, and grammar (micro). Text can also be analyzed through how the text is produced and the things that build it (meso). The text can also be analyzed from the socio-cultural influences that make up the text (macro). The results of the study show that the issue of this discourse was not only announced once but many times. Then there is President Jokowi's response and attitude which is not the same as responding to it. Through the choice of words displayed by journalists, Kompas.com media indirectly wants to present a negative image. From a news perspective, Kompas.com wants to capture the problems and realities that occur on the ground. Kompas.com displays hot and actual news by compiling previous events so that they become complete and comprehensive news. This automatically makes it easier for the reader to understand the construction of a story. The issue of discourse on the three periods is reminiscent of the power practices during the Old Order and New Order periods, where the constitution was not implemented properly so the term limits for the president were distorted.

Keywords: fairclough, three periods, discourse

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini dilatarbelakangi oleh perkembangan isu mengenai tiga periode kepemimpinan Jokowi di masyarakat. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk mendeskripsikan sikap dan tanggapan Presiden Jokowi terhadap wacana isu tiga periode dalam teks berita Kompas.com. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan jenis penelitian analisis wacana kritis. Peneliti menggunakan analisis wacana kritis Norman Fairclough. Teks ini dianalisis dari segi bahasa, kosa kata, semantik, dan tata bahasa (mikro). Teks juga dapat dianalisis melalui bagaimana teks diproduksi dan hal-hal yang membanggunya (meso). Teks juga dapat dianalisis dari pengaruh sosial budaya yang membentuk teks (makro). Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahwa isu wacana ini tidak hanya diumumkan satu kali tetapi berkali-kali. Kemudian ada tanggapan dan sikap Presiden Jokowi yang tidak sama menanggapi. Melalui pilihan kata yang ditampilkan wartawan, media Kompas.com secara tidak langsung ingin menghadirkan citra negatif. Dari sisi pemberitaan, Kompas.com ingin menangkap permasalahan dan realita yang terjadi di lapangan. Kompas.com menampilkan berita-berita hangat dan aktual dengan menyusun peristiwa-peristiwa sebelumnya sehingga menjadi berita yang lengkap dan komprehensif. Hal ini secara otomatis memudahkan pembaca untuk memahami konstruksi sebuah cerita. Persoalan diskursus pada tiga periode ini mengingatkan pada praktik kekuasaan pada masa Orde Lama dan Orde Baru, di mana konstitusi tidak dilaksanakan dengan baik sehingga batasan masa jabatan presiden terdistorsi.

Kata kunci: fairclough, tiga periode, wacana

INTRODUCTION

Leadership is often referred to as the way a leader influences others in an organization. The scope of management can be classified from small, also according to land, to large. The administration of state organizations is in the hands of the President as the head of the government (Firdausy, 2020).

Article 1(1) of the 1945 Constitution confirms that Indonesia is a unitary state in the form of a republic. Indonesia is a country with a presidential government. Republican and presidential elections. That means an elected leader is elected by the people for a fixed term of office, not hereditary, and bound by many rules. According to Article 7 of the 1945 Constitution, the President's term of office is 5 (five) years and can be re-elected only for one period, namely. for two periods (Salam & Ulfah, 2020).

Recently, the public has been shocked by the issue of Jokowi's three leadership periods. This means the 2024 presidential election will not hold because the current president's leadership will continue the power. This issue is causing a stir. There are many arguments built by certain groups as reinforcement of the strength of the party. This issue is constantly raised in society, so various mass media are busy reporting on it.

Haryatmoko (Pahlevi, 2018) notes that public influence is achieved in various ways, starting from slogans in the name of independence or attractive news packages. Media companies that have gained public influence have great power to sway public opinion, filtering appropriate and inappropriate news so that what appears in the news text reflects narrow and partisan interests. Political tendencies and class interests associated with media institutions continue to increase distortions in news texts. In practice, language is the most important point in the executive planning process. Language is not only used to communicate, but also to do something, even Bourdeu views language as a tool of power.

Lubis (2020) explains that Fairclough's concern that can be used for analysis is to see language as a practice of power. A complete analysis can be done by looking at how language has certain ideological values. Fairclough tries to create a discourse analysis model that contributes to social and cultural analysis, so he tries.

Foucault defines discourse as a group of proposals belonging to the same discourse formation, consisting of a few suggestions that form the framework for a group of conditions of existence. Therefore, Foucault argues that discourse is not an eternal ideal form. Discourse is historical from beginning to end or a fragment with limits, divisions, transformations, particular conditions, and temporality.

Juniwati (2012) points out that discourse can be defined in a different sense as the ability to proceed (in conversation) according to an orderly and appropriate passage and the communication of one's thoughts, whether spoken or written, which is formal and orderly. Using these definitions as a guide, ordinary writing that follows a correct or logical order is itself discourse. Therefore, the discussion must have two important elements, namely unity and integration.

Articles are discourse. But what the text says isn't just something written down, as Webster's dictionary describes it; Language is also discourse. So there are two types of discussions namely; spoken and written discourse. The term discourse is used not only for discussion or debate, but also for speeches, writings, and formal undertakings such as scientific reports and plays or plays. Thus, discourse is a complete linguistic record of communicative events, usually consisting of a series of sentences that are naturally related to one another. Spoken and written language can be used in communication (Juniwati, 2012).

The term discourse analysis is a universal term used in many disciplines and with different interpretations. But basically, discourse analysis refers to the study of language or language use. Discourse analysis is the study of the structure of communication. More precisely, discourse analysis is the study of the different (pragmatic) functions of language. In this case, language is used in the continuity or fabric of discourse. Without context and without intersentential and hyperbolic conversational relations, it is difficult for people to speak properly to one another. So language serves as a tool to speak correctly. Therefore, the purpose of analyzing language use is to build effective communication.

Discourse is not a unit of language that is free of values, free of the mission. The discourse that is made cannot be separated from various interests. Discourse can also represent certain ideologies, supporting the hegemony of certain groups in society. From the discourses made in mass media, both print and online, the vision and mission of the press will be illustrated. And every press has certain arbitrary tendencies, depending on who is in power and recognizes the mass media (Sobari T., 2017).

According to Aart Van Zoest, the text is never separated from ideology and can manipulate readers toward ideology. In other words, consciously or not, texts are never separated from attempts to inject ideology into their readers. In this sense, Eriyanto presents ideology as a central concept in critical discourse analysis. According to Eriyanto, texts, conversations, and others are a form of ideological practice or a reflection of a particular ideology.

According to Jorge Larrain, ideology is a worldview that expresses the values of several social groups to defend and promote their interests. From a critical point of view, ideology can be understood as false consciousness. that is, simply commit fraud by distorting the perception of social reality. Therefore, ideology is a system of thought that is expressed in communication, which is mediated in media research through news texts.

Discourse construction in the media, especially print media, plays a very central and essential role, especially in the news topics that are highlighted and in the presentation of the discourse. The formation of discourse in the mass media is strongly influenced by the ideology of the mass media. Each newspaper even has its own section for government news, including news about the President. The president gets special attention from the public because of his role as head of state. Everyone believes that the President makes a very big contribution to the success of the country's development. The president is often in the public spotlight when big problems arise in his country. The many messages about the President make the image of the President in society very diverse (Gallant et al., 2016).

Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis emphasizes the close relationship between micro texts and macro processes and social relations (Fairclough, 1995:97). In the framework of Norman Fairclough's research, the micro, meso, and macro levels do not stand alone from each other, but form a single unit in the universe of texts. The macro and meso levels support and determine what text is created.

Critical analysis of discourse by Norman Fairclough uses a rational-dialectical approach, nothing that there is a close relationship between social reality and discourse, so that discourse and social reality influence each other (Fairclough 1989:22-23). According to Fauzan (2014: 131) Norman Fairclough's discourse analysis emphasizes four things: First, discourse is formed and society shapes it; second, discourse helps shape and transform knowledge and its objects, social relations and social identity; third, discourse is formed by power relations and related to ideology; fourth, the formation of discourse shows the pull of power.

Based on the above background, it is necessary to have further and critical studies so that the spreading issues do not disrupt the stability of the country. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to describe President Jokowi's attitude and response to the three-period discourse issue in the Kompas.com news text.

METHOD

The method used in this study uses a qualitative approach with a type of critical discourse analysis. According to Fairclough and Wodak, critical discourse analysis examines how existing social groups use language to fight with each other and offer their own versions. The researcher uses Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis. The model put forward by Fairclough is often referred to as a social change model because Fairclough combines discourse analysis based on linguistic, social, and political reasoning, which is then integrated into social change (Eriyanto, 2006).

Fairclough divides discourse analysis into three dimensions, namely text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. The text is related to writing and is analyzed linguistically by considering vocabulary, semantics, and sentences. The Fairclough model has three basic elements, namely representation, relations, and identity (Eriyanto, 2006). Discourse practice is a dimension related to the process of production and consumption of texts, at this level it focuses on how text writers relate to existing discourses and genres. Then the sociocultural dimension begins to enter that dimension, related to the context outside the text and understanding intertextual, meaning that there are social events where texts are shaped by sociocultural practices (Eriyanto, 2006).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Result

Gallant et al. (2019) reveals that Fairclough divides text discourse analysis into three essential elements for describing and analyzing each text: representation, relation, and identity. *Representation in clauses*, Eriyanto (2011) explains that the use of language can choose whether a person, group or certain activity is to be displayed with an action (action) or an event (event).

The highest unit in a discourse is the text itself. While the smallest unit is a sentence. Sentences consist of several words. Fairclough analyzes texts linguistically by looking at vocabulary, semantics, and sentence structure. The results of text analysis in the online media portal Kompas.com regarding the discourse on a three-term presidential term begins with the sentence "the discourse on a three-term presidential term is rolling again". In KBBI, again it means to repeat again; return. Thus this discourse has surfaced more than once. The issues raised which eventually developed in society remained the same, namely regarding the discourse on President Jokowi's term of office where the issue would be three periods.

The first paragraph ends with the sentence "Jokowi's response in the four discourses is not always the same". This shows that there are four different responses from a president regarding the same discourse. This report wants to discuss in detail the meaning of the response from each rolling discourse.

Representation in a combination of clauses, Eriyanto (2011) states that one clause and another clause can be combined to form a meaning that can be interpreted.

Table 1 Combination of clauses

Paragraph 3	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. He stated that he disagreed with the proposal to extend the presidential term of office. 2. He even suspects that there are parties who want to plunge him with
Paragraph 4	He emphasized that he was not interested in taking office for three periods.
Paragraph 5	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. After a long time of rowdy, the president spoke up. 2. Jokowi stated that he would obey the Constitution or the 1945 Constitution. 3. "We not only obey and submit but also obey the constitution,"

The third paragraph shows that Jokowi rejects the three-period discourse issue. Several times he said he would obey and comply with the Constitution. He considers that a handful of people have different goals in this issue of discourse, so he seems to be a scapegoat. On another occasion, when the issue of discourse spread again, he persisted in his stance not to serve again as president. This discourse continues to be rolled out by Jokowi's supporters, but he always answers similarly. He will obey and submit, even adhere to the Constitution.

Representation in the series between sentences; this aspect relates to two sentences or is more organized and structured (Eriyanto, 2011)

Table 2 List of Reporting of Intersentence Representations

Reject Statement	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. He emphasized that he has no intention and no interest in serving for three terms. 2. "We are not only obedient and submissive but also obedient to the constitution," 3. However, Jokowi then emphasized that he would always obey the Constitution and the people's will.
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Supporting Statement	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. However, Jokowi stated that the discourse on postponing the election or a three-term president could not be prohibited because that is part of democracy.2. "Anyone is welcome to propose a discourse on postponing elections and extending the term of office for the president, ministers, or political parties because this is democracy. You are free to express your opinion. But when it comes to implementation, everything must obey and obey the Constitution," said the president3. In that forum, Jokowi said he would not prohibit the discourse on the president serving three terms. "This is the forum for the people; the people may have a voice," Jokowi said in front of his supporters at the Youth Center building, the Arcamanik Sports Center. Bandung West Java.
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Core News	Jokowi's attitude has drawn criticism. His statement was considered not firm, and he was even considered to be enjoying the discourse on extending the presidential term. This issue even sparked a wave of mass action in several areas.
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The first line contains President Jokowi's rejection of the issues that attack him. The second line contains a statement showing that he agrees with the issues of the discourse of these three periods. The problem is the inconsistency of the answers. A president's statement should be clear. The president must be firm in giving an attitude because if it is not firm, it will lead to different interpretations in front of the public.

Discussion

1. Relation

This stage relates to how the participants are displayed in the text. According to Fairlough (in Eriyanto, 2011), there are three categories of leading participants in the media: journalists, media audiences, and public participants (politicians, entrepreneurs, experts, and others). In the news text "Four Presidential Discourses for 3 Periods. Jokowi's past and present attitudes feature four participants, namely ministers, politicians, political figures, and party supporters. This news can conclude that if figures criticize Jokowi, he always responds quickly by making statements that he disagrees with three- period discourse and will always obey the Constitution

and the Constitution. However, when he was at large forums, incidentally, supporters of the response were not the same. He seemed to agree and enjoy the discourse of three periods as part of democracy.

2. Identity

Kompas.com is a web portal that contains online news and articles on Indonesia. Kompas.com is one of the most popular news sites in Indonesia. Unlike other Indonesian-language news sites, Kompas.com only has an online edition and relies on advertising for its revenue. Founded in 1995, Kompas.com is part of Kompas Gramedia.

Journalists in the news text "Four Presidential Discourses for 3 Periods. Jokowi's Past and Present Attitudes" seem to be in the position of ordinary people who are "greeted" by Jokowi's attitude inconsistent with the discourse issues that are constantly rolling. His presentation was accompanied by a direct quote from the president's statement. The sentences made were the conclusion of the subject's statement. This is to Kompas.com's slogan, namely, Clear Seeing the World.

3. Production Practice Analysis (Meso)

In analyzing text production practices or the meso dimension, interpretation is carried out on discourse processing, such as spreading and using discourse, media profiles, editor procedures, and how workers produce news texts. (Karikasari, 2020)

Kompas.com started in 1995 under the name Kompas Online. Kompas Online initially only served as an internet edition and Kompas Daily. Then in 1998, Kompas Online transformed into Kompas.com by focusing on developing new content, designs, and marketing strategies. Kompas.com also started its steps as a trusted news portal in Indonesia.

In 2013, Kompas.com made another change, namely, a neater and cleaner page appearance, new features that are more personal, and at the same time adding new technology, namely Responsive Web Design. Responsive Web Design on the new page of Kompas.com allows readers to enjoy 30 Kompas.com in various formats such as desktop PC, Tablet, a smartphone in a one-page design.

In terms of reporting, Kompas.com wants to capture the problems and realities that are happening in the field. Kompas.com displays hot and actual news by compiling the previous event to become a complete and comprehensive beta. It can automatically facilitate the reader in understanding the construction of a story.

Reporting in this media is packaged in a relaxed manner and is easy for the audience to understand. With the news title "Four Presidential Discourses for 3 Periods. Jokowi's Past and Present Attitudes". Journalists have a view in presenting the news. Through the choice of words displayed by journalists, Kompas.com media wants to present a negative image indirectly where the title highlights the attitude shown by a president towards issues that are constantly present. However, it creates different attitudes and responses that impact people's understanding of being multi-interpreted. Journalists represent society as people disappointed with minor issues; even when these issues occur, they can go against the Constitution so that the unified structure of the Indonesian state can falter. Journalists highlight the inconsistent response to each issue in the three-period discourse. This is present. A president should firmly reject and oppose any issues that can shake the ideology that has long been adhered to by the Indonesian people, namely Pancasila.

4. Analysis of Socio-Cultural Practices (Macro)

The third dimension is the macrostructural level analysis which is based on the opinion that the social context that exists outside the media influences how a discourse exists in the media. Socio-cultural practices, such as situational, institutional, and social levels, influence media institutions and discourse. Situational level, related to production and the context of the situation. Institutional level, related to the influence of institutions internally and externally. The social level is related to more macro situations, such as the political system, economic system, and community cultural system (Karikasari, 2020).

The issue of Jokowi's three leadership periods has allegedly emerged due to the approach of the 2024 presidential election. According to the Wikipedia page, the 2024 Indonesian Presidential General Election is a democratic process to elect the President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia for the 2024-2029 term, which will be held on Wednesday, 14 February 2024. This election will be Indonesia's fifth direct presidential election. This general election will be held simultaneously with the General Election for members of the DPR, DPD, and DPRD throughout Indonesia. In contrast, the new Regional Head General Election will be held in November.

The political situation is heating up. Each party began to want to win the hearts of the people. Community leaders began to be visited, and they began to have a dialogue so that one day their voices could lead them to become president of Indonesia. Political parties have begun

preparing pairs of presidential candidates, and some have even announced their presidential passions.

Jokowi, promoted by the Democrat party in the previous presidential election, seemed to want to maintain power with the issue of the three-period discourse being rolled out. Even though this is very contrary to the Constitution, the Constitution strictly regulates the holding of elections as well as the term of office of the president. Article 22E of the 1945 Constitution states that the election for president and vice president, members of the DPR RI, DPD, and Provincial and Regency/ Municipal DPRD, held every five years. Meanwhile, referring to Article 7 of the Constitution, the term of office for the president and vice president is limited to a maximum of two terms, with a term of 5 years each.

The issue of discourse on these three periods creates polemics. The attitude shown by President Jokowi himself is ambiguous. On one occasion, he balked, demonstrating a man who obeyed the laws and decrees of the people. However, on another occasion, his statement was clear as if he wanted to serve as president in the next term.

If you examine the power practices of the old and new orders, this sort of thing happened. Salama et al. (2020) revealed that the presidential term of office in Indonesia during the Old Order was five years and could be re-elected, but with the issuance of MPRS Decree No.III/1963 concerning the appointment of President Soekarno for life so that guided democracy occurred. During the New Order era, namely during President Soeharto, he served as president for 32 years.

This fraudulent practice makes the government order chaotic. The stakeholders need to obey the rules made. Ultimately, the country is twisted and controlled by people who want to perpetuate power—making the state a tool to control the people. It is the people themselves who are ultimately the victims. Victims of power who continue to be oppressed by miserable rules.

In a democratic country, it should be the people who hold the supreme power Democracy allows citizens to participate either directly or through representatives in the formulation, development, and making of law Rules are made by the people, for the people, and by the people. With the issue of this three-period discourse, we as the people must be more concerned about overseeing the implementation of the presidential term-limiting rules. This discourse is a concern because it is feared that it will become the target of abuse of power and authority and the existence of political bias interests that will only benefit certain parties. For this reason, the

discourse on the three-term presidential term must be watched out for so there will be no chaos in the Indonesian government.

CONCLUSION

Texts are used as ideological practices whose existence is vague. Mass media is sometimes used to drive public opinion to achieve the goals of power or ideology. According to Fairclough, texts can be analyzed in terms of their language, vocabulary, semantics, and sentence structure (micro). Text can also be analyzed through how it is produced and the things that construct it (meso). Text can also be analyzed from the socio-cultural influences that make the text made (macro).

The results of the study show that the vocabulary contained in the news text entitled "Four Presidential Discourses for 3 Periods. Jokowi's Past and Present Attitudes" shows that the issue of this discourse has not only blown once but many times in responding to it. Kompas.com media wants to indirectly present a negative image through the choice of words displayed by journalists. Regarding reporting, Kompas.com wants to capture the problems and realities in the field. Kompas.com displays hot and actual news by compiling previous events to become complete and comprehensive news. This automatically makes it easier for readers to understand the construction of a story. With the issue of this three-period discourse, we as the people must be more concerned about overseeing the implementation of the presidential term-limiting rules. This discourse is a concern because it is feared that it will become the target of abuse of power and authority and the existence of political bias interests that will only benefit certain parties. For this reason, the discourse on the three-term presidential term must be watched out for so there will be no chaos in the Indonesian government.

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