REPRESENTING HILLARY CLINTON THROUGH MEDIA LANGUAGE

AN ANALYSISOF "HILLARY CLINTONFOR PRESIDENT" USING TRANSITIVITY SYSTEM APPROACH

A THESIS
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
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PRONOUNCEMENT

The writer honestly confirms that this thesis is written by herself and without taking any works from other researches in S-1, S-2, S-3, and in diploma degree of any university. The writer also ascertains that she does not take any material from other works except from the references mentioned.

Semarang, August 2018

Hestasia Astri Christminar

MOTTO ANDDEDICATION

"since God had planned something better for us so that only together with us would they be made perfect"

-Hebrews 11:40-

"Don't only practice your art, but force your way into its secrets, for it and knowledge can raise men to the divine."

-Ludwig Van Beethoven-

This thesis is dedicated to

my beloved family and

to everyone who helped me finished this thesis

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INTISARI

Seseorang dapat direpresentasikan secara berbeda tergantung pada siapa yang menulisnya, termasuk Hillary Clinton. Ny. Hillary yang saat itu menjadi salah satu kandidat presiden Amerika telah menjadi topik menarik untuk ditulis dalam media. Salah satu media yang memuat Ny. Hillary dalam tajuk rencananya adalah media *The New York Times* yang memiliki slogan "**Kebenaran. Itu didasarkan pada fakta**." Mengeksplorasi bagaimana media ini merepresentasikan Ny. Hillary merupakan tujuan utama dalam penelitian ini. Demi mengungkapkan representasinya dalam tajuk rencana tersebut, penelitian ini mengaplikasikan sistem transitivitas untuk menganalisisnya lebih lanjut. Data yang dianalisis didapatkan dari penyaringan populasi menggunakan teknik *purposive sampling* dengan batasan hanya menganalisis klausa-klausa yang mengandung Ny. Hillary sebagai partisipan dalam sistem transitivitas. Dari analisis data ini, diketahui bahwa media*The New York Times* merepresentasikan Ny. Hillary melalui proses material, relasional, verbal dan mental. Proses material yang menempatkan Ny. Hillary sebagai aktor merupakan proses yang paling banyak mucul dalam data. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa media ini berfokus merepresentasikan Ny. Hillary melalui aktivitas fisiknya. Media ini juga lebih banyak merepresentasikan Ny. Hillary secara positif dengan maksud membuatnya nampak baik. Selain itu, media ini juga menyampaikan representasi tersebut secara negatif untuk menegaskan bahwa yang ditulis media ini merupakan fakta. Detail representasi Ny. Hillary dapat dilihat dalam bab penemuan dan diskusi.

Kata Kunci: Sistem transitivitas, media, representasi, Hillary Clinton.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

In the end of 2016, one of the great events in the world was the US presidential election since the result of the election would influence the country and the world. The election was between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. Both of them are famous public figures that have different background. Mr. Trump comes from business and television background, but Mrs. Clinton is a politician. Many news publishers in the United States raised the election as the popular topic of their articles. One of them is entitled "Hillary Clinton for President". The article was published on September 24, 2016. It was written by the editorial board of *The New York Times* that has slogan "Truth. It's grounded in facts."

The writer thought the title was interesting. Title is the representation of the whole text. From the title "Hillary Clinton for President", the content can be guessed that it is mostly about her, and it looks like being created to support her to be the next president. Thus, the writer read the content and concluded that the article represented Mrs. Clinton as a good person and eligible to be the next president. However, the writer was still not sure whether the conclusion was correct or not since the article also displayed Mrs. Clinton's mistakes. Because of

that reason, the writer wondered how the media represented Mrs. Clinton so that the meaning could be transferred.

In order to reveal the answer of the question, the writer decided to use SFG (Systemic Functional Grammar), especially transitivity system. The transitivity system would be practiced to analyze every clause about Mrs. Clinton in this article so that several processes in this system like material, behavioral, mental, verbal, relational, existential and meteorological can be shown up. Then, the writer meant to explain the result of the analysis to discover the ideational meaning that represents her in the article and to observe the way the author organized the representation. Therefore, the writer rose "Representing Hillary Clinton through Media Language: An Analysis of 'Hillary Clinton for President' Using Transitivity System Approach" as the title of this research.

1.2 Research Question

For confining this research, the writer only concentrates on how the media represents Hillary Clinton in the article entitled "Hillary Clinton for President" using the transitivity system.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

In this research, the writer aims to explain that the representation of Hillary Clinton can be manipulated through implementing the concept of transitivity system in the media.

1.4 Scope of the Study

This research focuses on analyzing the ideational meaning that represents Hillary Clinton in the article authorized by *The New York Times* editorial board through transitivity system and explaining the ways the media present her representation. To elaborate the ideational meaning, the writer only analyzed all clauses in the data that contain Hillary Clinton as the participant. The total is 59 clauses from 109 clauses. The writer would explain the data analysis result and reveal how the media organized the meaning.

1.5 Previous Studies

Applying transitivity system to expose the ideational meanings in a text is not a new study. I found five studies serving the same topic with mine. Nguyen (2012) and Candra (2017) practiced transitivity system to analyze literary texts.

Different from Nguyen (2012), Candra (2017) applied translating method because the story is written in Bahasa Indonesia. This method is less appropriate to explore ideational meaning since it can change the meaning of the clauses being analyzed. Then, instead of presenting the analysis method, Nguyen (2012) detailed the ways she analyzed in the discussion. Like Nguyen (2012), Majid (2014) also did not mention the detail methods to construct the research. Furthermore, based on the analysis, Majid (2014) discovered that the processes found in procedure text conduct two basic concepts. They are the author's convincing and belief. Romadhoni (2014) also got three main ideas in statement of purpose. They are introduction, content, and closing. Each of them consists of several sub-ideas. In this research, he applied total sampling technique, so the data being analyzed is all of the statement of purpose text. The other research is written by Andrianto (2015). He analyzed ten campaign banners selected in certain ways. This research comes on exploring six relational processes, three material processes, and verbal processes. Relational process is the most common process used in the banners since it can represent the candidate directly. However, the data quantity is not enough. If the data are added, the processes involved may be more diverse and the findings may be different.

All of those studies mentioned are not the same with this study although the theory adjusted is the same and the purpose is similar. In this study, the data to be analyzed is *The New York Times* editorial board's language about Mrs. Clinton in a news article. The distinct data from the previous studies was chosen to produce different result of transitivity analysis. To get the data, this study applied

purposive sampling technique, instead of total sampling technique because the focus of this study is only to discover Mrs. Clinton representation through the media language. This study also did not use translating method and has enough data to be analyzed in order to prevent the shortcomings from the previous studies to occur.

1.6 Organization of the Writing

In order to serve the research systematically and to facilitate the readers understanding the content, the research is constructed in five chapters as listed in the following writing organization.

CHAPTER I   :   INTRODUCTION

This chapter has five points that are background of the study (1.1), research question (1.2), purpose of the study (1.3), scope of the study (1.4), previous studies (1.5), and organization of the writing (1.5).

CHAPTER II   :   LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter conveys the theories applied by the writer to analyze the data. The points of this chapter are Systemic Functional Grammar (2.1), Metafunctions (2.2), and Transitivity System (2.3).

CHAPTER III : RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter consists of four points about the methods in conducting the research. They are types of research (3.1), data population, sample, and sampling technique (3.2), method of data collection (3.3), and method of data analysis (3.4).

CHAPTER IV : FINDING AND DISCUSSION

This chapter conducts the data analysis result and the explanation to fulfill the purpose of the study mentioned in chapter I.

CHAPTER V : CONCLUSION

This chapter includes the conclusion based on the data analysis result from chapter IV.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

In organizing the research, the writer applied Theory of Systemic Functional Grammar by Halliday. The literatures used to explain the theory are taken from three books. The first is "Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar" by Halliday and Matthiesen (2014). It is considered as the main reference for the theory. The second is a book written by Fontaine (2013) entitled "Analysing English Grammar – A Systemic Functional Introduction". It serves the same content with the first literature but using simpler language. The third is a book entitled "Making Sense of Functional Grammar" by Gerot and Wignell (1994). The content is similar with previous literatures, but it is completed with simple analysis examples.

2.1. Systemic Functional Grammar

According to Lise Fontaine (2013:1), Systemic Functional Grammar is considered as new terminology to identify the components of grammar and explain their interaction in language. She also stated that "the foundation of SFL is the view of language as a social function" (Fontaine, 2013:5). This grammar is different from the other grammars like traditional grammar and formal grammar. Traditional

grammar is concerned on how to produce correct sentences, and formal grammar focuses on the sentence structures. Meanwhile, functional grammar is intended both on the structures and on how the meanings are constructed in text structures (Gerot and Wignell, 1995:5-6). It covers up traditional and formal grammar weakness that they cannot be applied to analyze the meanings in a text.

Meanings are created by combining function and structure. It means that different structure builds different meanings. Thus, analyzing functional grammar needs a good comprehension in relating the function and structure (Fontaine, 2013:3). However, function in a clause structure is mostly not only one. Therefore, to discover those functions, metafuntions concept is presented (Halliday and Matthiesen, 2014:76).

2.2. Metafunction

Metafunction is a term referring to three different functional components in systemic theory (Halliday and Matthiesen, 2014:361). The first component is ideational metafunction. This metafunction views language as human experience reflection of the world. It represents processes like doing or happening, saying or sensing, being or having accompanied with several different participants and circumstances. That is why the function is even called clause as representation. The second is interpersonal metafunction. It views language as action. This function reflects actions like informing or questioning, ordering or offering,

expressing appraisal and attitude to whoever being addressed and whatever being talked about. It is supposed to be clause as an exchange since it reflects interaction between speaker and listener. The third is textual metafunction. It is also called clause as message. The function connects the clause and the text. It develops the discourse sequences so that the discourse becomes cohesion and coherence (Halliday and Matthiesen, 2014:30-31).

There are also three situation contexts: field, tenor and mode. Field is what happens in the situation; tenor is about social relation; and mode is about contextual coherence (Halliday and Matthiesen, 2014:33). Those contexts can be explored by analyzing metafunctions through functional grammar. The field can be comprehended by analyzing ideational function through transitivity system. The tenor can be understood by finding interpersonal function through mood and modality systems. Then, the mode context can be explained by elaborating mode context through theme and cohesion (Gerot and Wignell, 1995:15).

2.3. Transitivity System

As mentioned before, transitivity system is a grammatical system to achieve ideational meaning (Halliday and Matthiesen, 2014:213). In analyzing ideational meaning through this system, each element of clause should be divided on its function as participants, processes, or circumstances. Elements classified as participants are nominal group. Then, those included in verbal group are classified

as processes. Circumstances are those categorized as adverbial group or prepositional phrase (Halliday and Matthiesen, 2014:222). Several types of circumstances are listed below:

Table 2.1 Circumstances

Type	Sub-Type	Question answered	Example
Extent	distance	*How far?*	He ran three miles
	duration	*How long?*	He ran for three days
	frequency	*How frequently?*	He ran every day
Location	place	*Where?*	He ran in Toronto
	time	*When?*	He ran last year
Manner	means	*By what means?*	He saved her with a rope
	quality	*How?*	She saved him quickly
	comparison	*Like what?*	She ran like the wind
	degree	*How much?*	She loved him more than anyone
Cause	reason	*Why?*	She ran because she loved to
	purpose	*For what purpose?*	She ran to raise money
	behalf	*On whose behalf*	She ran for her sister
Contingency	condition	*Under what conditions?*	In the event of fire leave the building
	default	*Under what negative conditions?*	Without an agreement, the plan will fail
	concession	*With what concession?*	Despite her help, the plan failed
Accompaniment	comitative	*Who/what with?*	John ran with Jane
	additive	*Who/what else?*	John wears mittens in addition to his gloves
Role	guise	*What as?*	She spoke as his mentor
	product	*What into?*	He was transformed into a prince
Matter	matter	*What about?*	He warned me about the film
Angle	source	*According to whom?*	According to the lecturer, the class is cancelled

	viewpoint	*From whose viewpoint/perspective?*	<u>To me</u>, he's an idiot

There are six types of process that may become the core of a clause. Those are Material Process, Mental Process, Verbal Process, Behavioral Process, Relational Process, and Existential Process.

2.3.1. Material Process

Material process is focused on physical experience (Halliday and Matthiesen, 2014:245). In that process, there are seven possible participants to appear. They can be divided into directly involved and obliquely involved (Hallliday and Matthiesen, 2014:311). Directly involved are Actor and Goal. It is called Actor if the entity performs action, but if the entity receives the action, the participant is a Goal. Every material process always has an Actor. Meanwhile, obliquely involved includes Recipient, Client, Scope, Initiator, and Attribute. Recipient and Client are also called Beneficiary. Recipient is the one to whom goods are given, whereas Client is the one for whom services are provided (Gerot and Wignell, 1995:63). Scope is like a Goal, but it is not directly affected by the Process. Initiator is the one who causes the action to happen (Gerot and Wignell, 1995:76).

The devil	made	me	do	it
Initiator	Actor Material Process			Goal

(Gerot and Wignell, 1995:76)

Then, Attribute is like circumstance of manner, especially quality, but it serves as an adjective that elaborate the result from the Process (Halliday and Matthiesen, 2014:242).

They	washed	the plates	clean
Actor	Material Process	Goal	Attribute

(Halliday and Matthiesen, 2014:238)

Material process occurs in 'doing and happening' clauses. Happening clause appears when the outcome is limited to the Actor in intransitive clause, whereas doing clause happens when the outcome is delivered to the Goal rather than the Actor in transitive clause (Halliday and Matthiesen, 2014:225-226).

2.3.2. Mental Process

Mental process deals with consciousness experience (Halliday and Matthiesen, 2014:245). The process is divided into three types. The first type is named affective or reactive because the process reveals feeling; the second is cognitive as it is the process of thinking; and the last is perceptive since it talks about perceiving through the five senses (Gerot and Wignell, 1995:58).

The toaster	doesn't like	me
Senser	Mental Process: Affective	Phenomenon

(Gerot and Wignell, 1995:58)

As stated above, the participant who can feel, think, and sense is called Senser. However, the participant that can be sensed by the Senser is called Phenomenon

(Gerot and Wignell, 1995:58). Different from material process that every participant should be a thing, Phenomenon as one of participants in Mental Process can take the form of action or fact (Halliday, 2014:251). There is also another participant that may occur in Mental Process. It is Inducer. Similar with Initiator, Inducer is the one that induces the Senser to sense (Gerot and Wignell, 1995:76).

She	made	me	rethink	my attitude
Inducer		Senser		Phenomenon
	Mental Process: Cognitive			

(Gerot and Wignell, 1995:76)

2.3.3. Verbal Process

Verbal process is well-known as saying process. The process has Sayer as the main participant that produces verbal sign or utterance. The other participants in Verbal Process are Receiver (who receives the utterance), Target (that is targeted in the utterance), and Verbiage (the utterance itself) (Gerot and Wignell, 1995:62).

John	told	Jenny	a rude joke
Sayer	Verbal Process	Receiver	Verbiage

Keating	slurred	Howard
Sayer	Verbal Process	Target

(Gerot and Wignell, 1995:63)

In verbal process is also found Beneficiary: Client (to whom) and Recipient (for whom), like in Material Process (Gerot and Wignell, 1995:63).

2.3.4. Behavioral Process

Behavioral process is talking about physiological and psychological process. The process has only one obligatory participant called Behaver.

She	lives	in the fast lane
Behaver	Behavioral Process	Circumstance:place

<div align="right">(Gerot and Wignell, 1995:61)</div>

The other participant that may appear in Behavioral process is Range (Gerot and Wignell, 1995:61).

He	heaved	a great sigh
Behaver	Behavioral Process	Range

<div align="right">(Gerot and Wignell, 1995:61)</div>

Range determines the process scope or domain (Gerot and Wignell, 1995:64).

2.3.5. Relational Process

Relational process also called as 'being and having' process is divided into Identifying and Attributive processes. Identifying process is to identify something, but Attributive process is to set something's quality (Gerot and Wignell, 1995:67). The participants in Identifying process are Token and Value. Token is entity that is identified, and Value is entity that identifies something.

Barry Tuckwell	may be	the finest living horn player
Token	Identifying Process	Value

<div align="right">(Gerot and Wignell, 1995:67)</div>

Another participant that belongs to Identifying Process is Assigner. It is the one that causes the Identifying Process to appear (Gerot and Wignell, 1995:76).

They	call	me	Bruce
Assigner	Identifying Process	Value	Token

(Gerot and Wignell, 1995:76)

Then, the Participants in Attributive Process are Carrier and Attribute. Carrier is entity that is having attribute, and Attribute is entity that contains the features of the Carrier.

Barry Tuckwell	is	a fine horn player
Carrier	Attributive Process	Attribute

(Gerot and Wignell, 1995:67)

Like Identifying Process, Attributive Process also has another participant that may occur to point out the one that causes this Process to exist. It is Attributor (Gerot and Wignell, 1995:76).

She	drives	me	crazy
Attributor	Attributive Process	Carrier	Attribute

(Gerot and Wignell, 1995:76)

2.3.6. Existential Process

Existential process is a process expressing that something exists (Halliday and Matthiesen, 2014:307).

There	's	a unicorn	in the garden
	Existential Process	Existent	Circumstance: Place

'There' above has no representational function. The process can be represented through existing verb, such as: be, exist, or arise (Gerot and Wignell, 1995:72). The participant here is only Existent. It is the entity or event that is marked as being exist (Halliday and Matthiesen, 2014:309).

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHOD

Here, the writer described all of the methods applied in this research. This chapter consists of four sub-chapters that are types of research (3.1); data, population, and sample (3.2); methods of data collection (3.3); and methods of data analysis (3.4).

3.1. Types of Research

The research is descriptive qualitative research. The writer also used systemic function grammar approach, especially transitivity system to analyze the data. The writer practices this type of research since she intends on explaining the ideational meaning interpretation of Hillary Clinton in the article entitled "Hillary Clinton for President" and elaborating the way the media constructs the meaning.

3.2. Data, Population, and Sample

The data of this research are certain clauses taken from the article entitled "Hillary Clinton for President" authorized by the editorial board of *The New York Times*. It is   downloaded   from

https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/25/opinion/sunday/hillary-clinton-for-president.html. The article content is the editorial board's opinion about Hillary Clinton. The data population is all clauses in the article that consists of 109 clauses. Then, the method applied to choose the data is purposive sampling technique. It is because the data the writer analyzed are only clauses containing Hillary Clinton as the participant. The clauses total is 59 clauses about her.

3.3. Methods of Data Collection

In order to collect the data, the writer used observation method, downloading method, and note-taking method. Observation method actually divided into participant and non-participant observation method. In the research, the writer practiced non-participant method because she did not involve in producing the article that she observed. The writer randomly read articles in several online newspapers. When she was interested in an article, she downloaded it. In this case, she selected an article entitled "Hillary Clinton for President" by *The New York Times* on September 25, 2016 and used downloading method to get the article. After it, she practiced note-taking method to take the data to be analyzed because the data are only clauses containing Mrs. Clinton as the participant of the processes.

3.4. Methods of Data Analysis

In analyzing the data, the writer used *teknik padan*, especially referential identity method. All units in clauses containing Hillary Clinton were classified in certain participant, process, and circumstance in transitivity system. Then, the writer explained the analysis in order to build the ideational meaning and described how the author developed the meaning. The detail methods are on the following:

1. Segmenting each part of clause in the data into its function: participant, process, or circumstance.

2. Grouping the clauses according to Mrs. Clinton function as the participant: a goal, actor, senser, etc.

3. Separating the group according to the way the media presents the clauses: in positive or negative ways.

4. Choosing two examples from each group and explaining the analyses of those examples.

5. Concluding the analyses of those examples in the end paragraph of each group. The conclusion displays Mrs. Clinton representation through her function as participant in the data.

CHAPTER IV

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Finding

From 109 clauses, there are 59 clauses conveying Hillary Clinton as the participant. They become the main data which were analyzed in order to fulfill the purpose of this study. The clauses conduct four main types of process. They are material process, relational process, verbal process and mental process. As active participants in those processes, Mrs. Clinton isrepresented as an actor, a token, a carrier, a sayer, and a senser that mostly perform positive activities. As passive participants, not only is she described as a goal and a target that receive positive effects from the actor and the sayer, but she also displayed as a goal and a phenomenon that accept negative effect from the actor and negative sensing from the senser. The result of the analysis is listed in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Finding

No.	Main Process	Type of Participant (Hillary Clinton as)		Positive or Negative	Frequency (Clause)	Percentage (%)
1.	Material	Actor	Non-goal oriented	Positive	17	40,68
				Negative	4	
			Goal oriented	Positive	1	
				Negative	1	
			Indirect goal	Positive	1	
		Goal	People's	Positive	3	8,47

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		action			
		Editorial's action	Positive	1	
		Her Opponent's action	Negative	1	
2.	Relational	Token and Carrier	Positive	21	38,98
			Negative	2	
3.	Verbal	Sayer	Positive	3	5,08
		Target	Positive	1	1,69
4.	Mental	Senser	Positive	1	1,69
		Phenomenon	Negative	2	3,39
Total				59 (P: 49, N: 10)	100

The percentage exhibits material process that draws Mrs. Clinton as an actor (40,68%; 24 clauses) is the most common process found in the data. It indicates that she is mostly represented through her physical activity. The second process often appears in the data is relational process (38,98%; 23 clauses). It portrays Mrs. Clinton through her identities and qualities directly. The third is material process that presents Mrs. Clinton as a goal (8,47%; 5 clauses). It describes her through the others' action. Then, verbal process that puts her as a sayer is the fourth common process occurring in the data (5,08%, 3 clauses). It discloses her through her verbalization. The fifth is mental process that positions Mrs. Clinton as the phenomenon (3,39%; 2 clauses). It displays her through the others' sensing to her. The sixth and seventh processes appearing are verbal process that sets Mrs. Clinton as a target (1,69%; 1 clause) and mental process that funtions her as a senser (1,69%, 1 clause). It exposes her through the others' verbalization and her sensing.

Those main processes are also classified into positive and negative types according to the effect that accepted by Mrs. Clinton. If the process transfers

benefit to her or makes her look good, it belongs to positive type; whereas if the process sends disadvantages to her or makes her look bad, it includes in the negative one. In the data, positive type (49 clauses) is more common than negative type (10 clauses). It implies that the media intended on depicting Mrs. Clinton through positive ways. Nevertheless, the media also presents her in negative ways. Therefore, the media describing Mrs. Clinton in both ways is to emphasize that what it serves is a fact because a fact shows that everyone has not only a good side but also the bad side.

In elaborating the meaning of each clause, the circumstances that follow the process also take important roles. Their occurrence can expose the context of each clause clearly. Without the context, the meaning cannot be explored since the clauses being analyzed are complicated. The table below presents the circumstances obtained in the data.

Table 4.2 Circumstance Types

No.	Type of Circumstance	Frequency
1.	Cause	23
2.	Time	11
3.	Place	10
4.	Role	8
5.	Accompaniment	4
6.	Manner	3
7.	Matter	1
8.	Contingency	1
Total		61

The table displays that there are eight circumstances figured out in the data. They are cause, time, place, role, accompaniment, manner, matter, and contingency circumstances. The most common circumstance found is circumstance of cause. It implies that most processes have a cause that becomes

the basis of their occurrence. The time and place circumstances also occur many times in the data. They appear to specify when and where the processes happen so that those processes are not swapped each other. The other circumstances also emerge to give additional information needed to enlighten the context of the processes.

4.2. Discussion

In order to discover how the media represents Mrs. Clinton, the detail analyses of ideational meaning conducted in the data are presented. To facilitate in classifying the processes into positive or negative type, the discussion is divided into seven main sub-chapters according to her function in the clause. They are Hillary Clinton as an Actor, Hillary Clinton as a Token or a Carrier, Hillary Clinton as a Sayer, Hillary Clinton as a Senser, Hillary Clinton as a Goal, Hillary Clinton as a Target, and Hillary Clinton as a Phenomenon.

4.2.1. Hillary Clinton as an Actor

Hillary Clinton as an actor is exposed in twenty four clauses depicting material process. Through analyzing those clauses, her action can be revealed. The clauses are classified into non-goal oriented, goal oriented, and indirect goal

clausesbecause the criteria to group them into positive or negative type is different. They will be described on the following sub-chapters.

4.2.1.1. Non-Goal Oriented

Among the clauses of the material processes, there are twenty one non-goal oriented clauses. Those clauses describe material process without goal, including those which contain scope. The verbs conveying that process are: *has studied (2), has weighed, has struggled, rebounded, built, displayed, threw, have produced, would need, earned, bears, led (2), helped (2), promote, has learned, has made, has evinced, and made.* Those processes can be separated into two types. They are positive action and negative action. The detail discussion is on the following.

4.2.1.1.1. Positive Action

Positive action clauses are non-goal oriented clauses which evince Mrs. Clinton doing good action. They are discovered in seventeen clauses. The verbs that reflect the process of the clauses are: *has studied (2), has weighed, rebounded, built, displayed, threw, have produced, would need, earned, bears, led (2), helped (2), promote, and has learned*. Those processes include in positive action because they give good effect for their actor, Mrs. Clinton. Below are listed the example analyses of the processes.

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Example 1:

Over 40 years	in public life,	Hillary Clinton	has studied	these forces
Circ: time	Circ: place	Actor	Material process	Scope

(Clause 29)

As can be seen above, example 1 contains material process *has studied*. The one who conducts the process is Hillary Clinton as the actor. The process cannot be separated from its circumstances. The circumstances in this clause are time circumstance *over 40 years* and spatial circumstance *in public life*. *Over 40 years* are not a short time for someone to study. Here, the author also uses present perfect tense to depict the process *has studied*. It means Hillary Clinton still continues to study something *in public life* now. Then, the spatial circumstance implies what she has studied is something important for public. This important thing is mentioned in scope *these forces* which refer to the challenges the United States faces. They are war, terrorism and the pressures of globalization that are eroding democratic values, fraying alliances and challenging the ideals of tolerance and charity; and the despair and rage of poor and middle-class Americans about recession, technological change, foreign competition and war which have heaped on their families (listed in clauses 22 until 28). Those all are political cases in public life, and they are not common lessons for woman to study. Hence, Mrs. Clinton must have serious intention in learning those lessons. The other example of this type of clause is analyzed on the following.

Example 2:

Over eight years	in the Senate	and four	as secretary of state,	she	built	a reputation	for grit and bipartisan collaboration
Circ: time	Circ: place	Circ: time	Circ: role	Actor	Material process	Scope	Circ: cause, purpose

(Clause 42)

The participants of the process *built* are *she* as the actor and *a reputation* as the scope. *A reputation* here becomes the scope as it is not affected by the process. The kind of reputation that she built is explained in the following circumstance, *for grit and bipartisan collaboration*. Not all of politicians can make that reputation, but she gave proof that she was able to create it even though it needed long time to establish. As defined in the time circumstances, she built it about twelve years. That is not a short time, but she managed it. In that time, she did not only occupy one position, but two instead. According the circumstances of place and role, she took position *in the Senate*, actually as senator over eight years and *as secretary of state* in four years. Those positions are not simple position that everyone can take it because they want. Mrs. Clinton should be trusted and worthy to fill those positions.

In sum, two clauses above show that Mrs. Clinton's actions span in both public and political life. She spent forty years to study some political issues in public life. Her hard working led people to give their trust to her to occupy important positions in the United States. Also, she created good name for grit and bipartisan collaboration. Hence, through positive action clauses, she is represented as a strong woman whose dedications for public and the country are undisputed.

4.2.1.1.2. Negative Action

Negative action clauses refer to non-goal oriented clauses that expose Mrs. Clinton doing worse action. They occur in four clauses. The process of the action is reflected in verb: *has struggled, has made, has evinced, and made*. Those processes cause Mrs. Clinton as the actor accept negative effect. Further analyses of the processes can be seen on the following.

Example 3:

She	has evinced	a lamentable penchant	for secrecy
Actor	Material process	Scope	Circ: cause, purpose

(Clause 97)

As pointed out above, the process of that clause is *has evinced*. Then, *a lamentable penchant* here presents as the scope of the process since the process does not give impact to it, and it does not take benefit from the process. The adjective of the scope, *lamentable*, reveals the quality of her tendency that is not good. It is supported with the statement in circumstance of cause *for secrecy*. The circumstance exposes the purpose why she decided to evince that kind of penchant. Secrecy is not expected to occur in the country that follows democracy system like the United States. The action that is wanted to appear in democracy life is transparency not secrecy. Although her action includes in undesirable action, the scope clearly mentions *a* which emphasizes that it is only one lamentable penchant she has done. Meanwhile, the other process analysis is discussed below.

Example 4:

(She)	made	a poor decision	to rely on a private email server	while at the State Department.
Actor	Material process	Scope	Circ: cause, purpose	Circ: time

(Clause 98)

Example 4 in the article follows example 3 and has function to elaborate example 3. The process of example 4 is conveyed in verb *made*. The past tense form shows that the process does not happen again now. The scope is *a poor decision*. Like the previous clause, the adjective of this scope appears to serve the quality of that decision. From the adjective *poor*, it can be seen that her decision is not good. The scope also states *a* to display that there is only one decision meant to be bad decision. The reason why the author gave *poor* quality to her decision is mentioned in the following circumstance of cause which evinces her purpose of doing the action *to rely on a private email server*. That purpose is in accordance with secrecy action which is not accepted in democracy life, like explained in the previous example. She did the action *while at the State Department* as mentioned in circumstance of time. It adds detail to figure out which decision the author means. It also indicates that the actions happened when she occupied important position as the secretary of the states.

In brief, those clauses reveal the mistake she ever created. The mistake is the result of secrecy. It is unwanted action to involve in democracy life. Therefore, Mrs. Clinton's negative actions inform that her weakness is all about secrecy.

4.2.1.2. Goal Oriented

Goal oriented clauses convey the data with material process and goal. The total clauses of this type are two clauses. The process of those clauses is delivered in verb: *have distorted and rallied*. They can be categorized in two groups depending on their goal. They are advantaged goal and disadvantaged goal. Below is the description.

4.2.1.2.1. Advantaged Goal

Advantaged goal oriented clauses cover all clauses with material process which goal receives good impact from the process done by Mrs. Clinton. This type of clauses occurs in one clause. The process belonging to this type is: *rallied*. The analysis of the process is on the following.

Example 5:

This year,	she	rallied	mothers of gun-violence victims	to join her in demanding comprehensive background checks for gun buyers and tighter reins on gun sales.
Circ: time	Actor	Material process	Goal	Circ: cause, purpose

(Clause 50)

As could be seen above, the goal of the process *rallied* done by Mrs. Clinton is *mothers of gun-violence victims*. If she only rallied them, it is not clear whether her performance is profitable for the goal or not. However, the clause has

circumstance of cause, *to join her in demanding comprehensive background checks for gun buyers and tighter reins on gun sales*, which can confirm what kind of action she did since the circumstance denotes the purpose of her action. The purpose is to give them benefit. If they choose to accept her intention of gathering them, they will get advantage from her action. Hence, the process here includes in good action. Besides, the purpose is also the reason she preferred the goal to gather. It is because one of the most beneficiary people if the gun sales are tighter and the gun buyers' backgrounds are checked is the goal. It shows that she knows how things work and she cannot achieve to fulfill her purpose without the victims or their relations assists. Then, the other circumstance, *this year*, which states the time when the act happens, reveals that she performed the action in the same year with when the article was published.

To conclude, the goal oriented clause displays that Mrs. Clinton cares with people and their problems. She tries to help them, but she also needs their supports to solve the problems. The clause exposes that her purpose of doing action is that she wants people to get profit from it, and their endorsement will be helpful to realize it.

4.2.1.2.2. Disadvantaged Goal

Disadvantaged goal oriented clauses consist of all clauses with material process which goal gets negative effect from Mrs. Clinton's action. This type of clauses is

conducted in one clause. The process includes in this type is: *have distorted*. The analysis of the process is explained below.

Example 6:

Similarly,	Mrs. Clinton's occasional missteps, combined with attacks on her trustworthiness,	have distorted	perceptions of her character.
Circ: manner, quality	Actor	Material process	Goal

The material process in that clause is marked by verb *have distorted*. The actor here is *Mrs. Clinton's occasional missteps, combined with attacks on her trustworthiness*. It is Mrs. Clinton bad attribute that depicts sometimes she produces careless action, and the others ever threats her dependable. The goal is *perceptions of her character*. Her action and the others' threats make people confused with her true character. In other words, the actor makes the goal unclear whether it is good or bad perceptions. Thus, the goal receives disadvantage from the process.

In addition, the first word in that clause, *similarly* which takes role as circumstance of manner can show another evidence to prove that the material process is not good for the goal since it serves the process quality. The circumstance implies that process has the same quality with the previous process in clause 33: *As a candidate, she has struggled to step back from a pointillist collection of policy proposals to reveal the full pattern of her record*. As described in clause 34, the process in clause 33 is *a weakness of her campaign, and a*

perplexing one, so the quality of the process in example 6 is as bad as it in clause 33. It is clear that the process gives negative effect to the goal.

As explained on the analysis above, disadvantaged goal oriented clause reveals that Mrs. Clinton's reputation is the one who gets bad effect from her action. Her bad action damages her reputation even though it happens sometimes for it is supported with the others' threats to her trustable. In brief, she disadvantages herself by doing careless action.

4.2.1.3. Indirect Goal

Indirect goal clause contains material process that is followed by beneficiary like recipient and client. Material process which consists of beneficiary is only one clause. The process in that clause is conducted in verb: *fought*. Below is the analysis of that process.

Example 7:

Below the radar,	she	fought	for money	for farmers, hospitals, small businesses and environmental projects.
Circ: place	Actor	Material process	Circ: cause, reason	Beneficiary: client

(Clause 66)

The clause above is also included in non-goal oriented clause as the process *fought* is not followed by a goal. However, the clause contains beneficiary so that it belongs to indirect goal oriented clause. It has two circumstances. The

first is *below the radar*. It is considered to be circumstance of place since it describes where the process takes place. That circumstance here adds information that what Mrs. Clinton did is not a noticeable or prominent action. The second circumstance is circumstance of cause, especially reason *for money*. It tells the reason which made her fight below the radar. Then, the beneficiary in this clause is client, *for farmers, hospitals, small business and environmental projects*. It informs that they who get benefit from her fought are people and public services that need money. Through this indirect goal oriented clause, the author wants to apprise that Mrs. Clinton ever helped them who need money although it was not exposed.

Based on the analysis, what Mrs. Clinton did is a good action because her act transferred positive effect for the client. The client took advantages from her action *fought*, but she didn't care either it was displayed or not. Therefore, this indirect goal clause points out that her services for public are sincere action.

4.2.2. Hillary Clinton as a Token or a Carrier

Hillary Clinton as a token or a carrier exists in twenty three clauses evincing relational process, like identifying process and attributive process. Analyzing those processes in the data can disclose her identity and her quality directly. According to the types of value or attribute, those clauses can be divided into two

groups. They are positive and negative types. Further analyses are explained on the following.

4.2.1.1. Positive Type

Positive type consists of relational processes with positive value or attribute. Mrs. Clinton good identities and qualities can be shown by analyzing the processes belonging to this type. In the data, they are depicted in twenty one clauses. The analyses of the data examples are elaborated below.

Example 8:

she	isn't	Donald Trump.
Token	Identifying process	Value

(Clause 19)

That process, *isn't*, pertains to identifying process as it occurs to identify *she* as the token. The negative process indicates denying identity. The intended identity is mentioned in the value, *Donald Trump* that refers to his representation in clause 5, 8, and 104.

and the other, Donald Trump, discloses nothing concrete about himself or his plans	while promising the moon	and offering the stars on layaway.
Material process	Verbal process	Verbal process

(Clause 5)

Mr. Trump to be the worst nominee	put forward by a major party in modern American history.
Identifying process	Material process (passive)

And, viewed against those challenges, Mr. Trump shrinks to his true small-screen, reality-show proportions,
Material process

Clause 5 conducts three processes which can reflect Mr. Trump's action and saying. The first is material process *discloses* followed by *nothing concrete* as the goal and *about himself or his plans* as the circumstance of matter. The process depicts that everything he shows is not tangible. That statement can be proved by observing verbal processes on the following: *promising the moon* and *offering the stars on layaway*. Both of them are impossible promises to fulfill so that the processes clarify that his words cannot be trusted. Then, clause 8 declares that his identity is *the worst nominee* and selected by a great party in the US at that time. It means that the other nominees are better than him, and he should not be chosen by any party. Moreover, clause 104 denotes that he only has small screen to observe some challenges that the US faces. It implies that he is not eligible to be the next president. Those clauses evinces that Mr. Trump is bad candidate for being the next president. The other example is analyzed below.

Example 9:

(Her actions) that	are	all too exceptional.	in Washington
Carrier	Attributive process	Attribute	Circ: place

The process of that clause includes in attributive process because *all too exceptional in Washington* has function as an attribute for the carrier *that*. Here, *that* points out Mrs. Clinton's action in the previous clause: *She displayed a command of policy and diplomatic nuance and an ability to listen to constituents and colleagues* (clause 43). The carrier itself signifies that Mrs. Clinton has pleasant manner. She not only cares about political matters but also creates comfortable circumstances in political life. Then, the attribute presents the quality of the carrier. It declares that her manner is needed to still occur in political life in Washington, which indicates the carrier conducts good quality. It also states circumstance of place, *in Washington*, to specify that the way to keep her manner appearing there is by having her as the next president.

To summarize, the analyses above clarify that Mrs. Clinton's good value and attribute makes her deserve to be the next president. To support it, example 8 implies that she has substantial act, her promises are creditable, she is better than Mr. Trump, and she qualifies as the next president. Besides, example 9 also mentions that her attitude is better to involve in political life in Washington. Hence, positive type clauses exhibit that she is worthy of being the next president.

4.2.1.2. Negative Type

Negative type refers to relational processes with negative value or attribute in the data. Analyzing them can define Mrs. Clinton's bad identities and qualities. This

type of process is two clauses. They will be discussed on the following explanation.

Example 10:

Her vote	in favor of the Iraq war	is	a black mark
Carrier	Circ: matter	Attributive	Attribute

The clause belongs to attributive process because one of the participants *a black mark* gives an attribute to the other participant *her vote* as the carrier. There is also circumstance of matter *in favor of the Iraq war* to specify the vote the author means. It also adds information that her vote influenced the occurrence of war, and it implies that her choice led to the loss of parties in the war. That is the reason why the author presented *a black mark* as the attribute for the carrier. It denotes negative mark which elaborates that her vote is noticed as a bad decision which should not be chosen by her. Then, the other example is analyzed on the following.

Example 11:

That decision	deserved	scrutiny
Carrier	Attributive process	Attribute

Example 11 also includes in attributive process clause. The carrier of that process is *that decision*. It refers to her actions in previous clauses: *She has evinced a lamentable penchant for secrecy* (clause 97) *and made a poor decision to rely on a private email server while at the State Department* (clause 98). As explained in previous discussion (non-goal oriented clauses analyses), those

actions belong to negative action clauses. They display that secrecy is her weakness. That may become the reason the author gave attribute *scrutiny* to the carrier and chose *deserved* to express the attributive process. *Scrutiny* here indicates that her weakness should be worse enough to analyze close up.

As analyzed earlier, Mrs. Clinton's bad attributes are presented as the result of her disadvantaged vote and her poor tendency in secrecy. In other words, her worse decisions led her to have bad features. Therefore, negative type clauses depict that she deserves worse attributes for the mistakes she created.

4.2.3. Hillary Clinton as a Sayer

Hillary Clinton as a sayer is discovered in three clauses portraying verbal process. The process is delivered in verb: *vows, has explained, and negotiate*. Construing meaning conducted in that process can expose Mrs. Clinton's verbalization. The analyses of the process example are explored on the following discussion.

Example 12:

After opposing driver's licenses for undocumented immigrants during the 2008 campaign,	she	now	vows	to push for comprehensive immigration legislation	as president	and to use executive power to protect law-abiding undocumented people from deportation and cruel detention.
Circ: time	Sayer	Circ: time	Verbal process		Circ: role	
				Circ: cause, purpose		

As can be seen above, the verbal process is presented in verb *vows*. The process uses present tense because it happens *now* as mentioned in circumstance of time. The purpose of her verbalization is *to push for comprehensive immigration legislation - and to use executive power to protect law-abiding undocumented people from deportation and cruel detention*. It provides detail what vow she makes and to inform that her promise would give advantage for certain people. It implies that her vow is a good promise. However, the circumstance of role *as president* confirms that her promise will be realized only if she becomes the next US president. There is also another time circumstance *after opposing driver's licenses for undocumented immigrants during the 2008 campaign*. It appears to report that Mrs. Clinton said in the past is in contrast with what she says now. Thus, it indicates that she revises her verbalization to be better than before even though it is only promises that could be realized in certain condition. The next discussion is the analysis of the other example containing verbal process.

Example 13:

to her credit,	she	has explained	her thinking	rather than trying to rewrite that history.
Circ: cause, reason	Sayer	Verbal process	Verbiage	Circ: accompaniment, additive

That clause consists of one verbal process *has explained* and two participants that are *she* (Mrs. Clinton) as the sayer and *her thinking* as the verbiage. *Her thinking* here means her reason. The clause also has two

circumstances. The first is circumstance of cause, reason *to her credit*. It introduces her motive to produce the verbalization. Then, the second is *rather than trying to rewrite that history* that includes in circumstance of accompaniment, especially negative additive type which conveys meaning 'as alternative to'. Thus, the verbal process is the result of not selecting the circumstance. In addition, *that history* in the circumstance refers to her mistake in clause 67 (example 10). The mistake is she ever voted in favor of Iraq war. Hence, the circumstance implies that her decision to announce the reason why she did the mistake is better than the other choice in that circumstance to repeat the mistake.

Based on the analyses of two data above, Mrs. Clinton as a sayer produces positive saying. Her verbalization occurred to declare better purpose than before and to clarify her mistake in the past. Therefore, through verbal process, she is described as a person who produces verbalization wisely.

4.2.4. Hillary Clinton as a Senser

Hillary Clinton as a senser is reflected in only one clause displaying mental process. Elaborating the meaning of that clause can disclose Mrs. Clinton's sensing. The process of that clause is conducted in verb: *believes*. The analysis is discussed on the next paragraph.

Example 14:

who (Mrs. Clinton)	believes	America cannot simply withdraw behind oceans and walls, but must engage confidently in the world to protect its interests and be true to its values, which include helping others escape poverty and oppression.
Senser	Mental process: cognition	Phenomenon

(Clause 83)

As mentioned earlier, the mental process here is *believes*. It belongs to cognition mental process as a sign that the clause contains someone's thinking. The one who thinks here is *who* that refers to Mrs. Clinton. The phenomenon of that process is projected clauses consisting of three processes that express the idea she likes. Thus, to understand the meaning of example 14, the projected clauses should be analyzed though. Below is the process tables and analysis.

America	cannot	simply	withdraw	behind oceans and walls
Actor		Circ: manner, quality Material process		Circ: place

(Clause 84)

but	must engage	confidently	in the world	to protect its interests and be true to its values,
	Material process	Circ: manner, quality	Circ: place	Circ: cause, purpose

(Clause 85)

which	include	helping others escape poverty and oppression.
Token	Identifying process	Value (Material process)

(Clause 86)

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Clause 84 and 85 include in material process with the same actor that is *America*. The verb conducting the process in clause 84 is *cannot withdraw*. The circumstances here are circumstance of manner, *simply*, that tells the process quality; and circumstance of place, *behind oceans and walls*. The place circumstance implies that the material process is imagery because it is impossible a nation can hide behind oceans and walls. The imagery has function to declare that America cannot keep quiet and do nothing. It serves as an introduction to clause 85.

At the same time, clause 85 with its process *must engage* presents as the recommended option to do since the modal verb *must* here indicates a strong obligation. There is also circumstance of manner *confidently* and circumstance of place *in the world*. They inform how and where the process should be performed. Then, the other circumstance *to protect its interests and to be true to its values* provides the purpose why America obligates to engage. It claims America itself will get benefit if the process has done.

Besides, clause 86, considered to conduct identifying process, occurs to elaborate the values that Mrs. Clinton means in clause 85. They are *helping others escape poverty and oppression*. It is listed in the value of the process. The value here functions not only to add examples of the values but also to specify what America should do. It also conducts material process that implies the process is profitable for the others if it is performed.

To conclude, the mental process in example 14 reveals Mrs. Clinton's thinking. Her thinking states the ideal action should be done by America. That

action might advantage both America itself and the others. Therefore, through mental process, she represents as a person that has positive ideas about America.

4.2.5. Hillary Clinton as a Goal of Others' Action

Hillary Clinton as the goal of the process in the data can be found in five clauses conducting material process. Those clauses inform what kind of actions the others do to Hillary Clinton. The clauses can be divided into three types of clause according to the actor of the process. Those types are people's action, editorial's action, and Mrs. Clinton opponent's action. Further analyses are on the following discussion.

4.2.5.1. People's Action

People's action can be discovered through analyzing all clauses with material process that the actor is general people or the United States' society, and the goal is Mrs. Clinton. People action in the data is discussed in three clauses. The process of those clauses is conveyed in verb: *may dismiss, was charged, and should put*. They are analyzed below.

Example 15:

Some	may dismiss	her shift	as opportunistic
Actor	Material process	Goal	Circ: role

The actor of that clause is *some*. *Some* here represents people. It gets ellipsis in order to emphasize the number of people defined. The goal is *her shift* which refers to her policy changes on immigration during 2008 campaign and now. The description of that policy is explained on the previous clauses. She refused to support driver's licenses for undocumented immigrants during the 2008 campaign, but now she wants to try pushing for comprehensive immigration legislation and protecting law-abiding undocumented people from deportation and cruel detention if she becomes president. However, those two decisions are in contrast and make the people uncertain that *her shift* is purely to help undocumented immigrants. That is why the verb *may dismiss* is used to express the material process in that clause. To support the process, there is also circumstance of role *as opportunistic*. It adds information that those people have an assumption that Mrs. Clinton only creates policy which is profitable for her. The next paragraph is the analysis of the other example for people's action.

Example 16:

As secretary of state,	Mrs. Clinton	was charged	with repairing American credibility	after eight years of the Bush administration's unilateralism.
Circ: role	Goal	Material process	Circ: accompaniment	Circ: time

That clause contains verb *was charged* as the mark of material process. The actor is unwritten due to nonspecific participant that conducts the process. However, the possible actor to do the process is the country. The goal of that

process is Mrs. Clinton. There are three circumstances which give additional information to the process. The first circumstance is on the preceding clause *as secretary of state*. It is circumstance of role which shows her position when the process happened. The circumstance informs that she ever occupied an important position in the US government. Becoming *the secretary of* state in the US is not easy, the candidate should be appointed by the President with Senate advice and consent. If she ever became the *secretary of state*, it means that the number one person in the US believes in her work. The second circumstance is circumstance of accompaniment *with repairing American credibility*. It tells with what Mrs. Clinton was charged. *Repairing American credibility* is a heavy work since it is a great problem at that time, but she was assigned to solve that problem. It shows that her ability in politic is undisputed. The last circumstance is circumstance of time *after eight years of the Bush administration unilateralism* that informs the time when the process occurs. However, the circumstance also implies that *the Bush administration* is the one that causes *American credibility* matter. *The Bush administration* is product of Republican Party, the opponent party of Hillary Clinton. Here, the editorial wants to say that her opponent party ever produced great problem for the United States. The clause explains that she was trusted to take responsibility for the consequences of a policy that she did not create. One more example analysis for this type of action is on the following.

Example 17:

the country	should put	her	to work
Actor	Material process	Goal	Circ: cause, purpose

(Clause 109)

The goal of that process is *her*. *Her* here is Hillary Clinton as mentioned in the previous clause. The clause contains circumstance of cause, purpose *to work*. The circumstance informs the aim of doing the process. The author intention by *work* is work as the US President. Material process marker in that clause is the verb *should put*. *Should* here expresses a polite request and shows how strong the obligation to *put*. The actor of the process is *the country*. The editorial chooses to write *the country* than the people to emphasize that the actor is all the people in the United States, including they who is still in doubt with Mrs. Clinton. The author wants to convince the readers to choose her as the next president of the United States.

According to the analyses above, some people in example 15 think badly of Mrs. Clinton, so they do not accept her decision to change as a good manner instead of her self-interest. It is clearly that she gets unpleasant treatment from those people. In contrast, the people in example 16 gave their trust to her to restore American credibility, and example 17 also describes that she will receive great effect from the societies' action if they decide to realize the suggestion that the editorial give to them. In other words, through example 15, Mrs. Clinton is represented as the victim of some people's action *may dismiss*, but she is depicted as the beneficiary from process *was charged* in example 16 and *should put* in example 17. It is hard to decide which treatment is mainly accepted by her. However, the people in example 15 are only a part of them, while they in data 16 and 17 are all of them. Thus, the clauses here mostly represent Mrs. Clinton as obtaining advantage from the people's action.

4.2.5.2. Editorial Board's Action

Editorial board's action is displayed in all clauses in the data with material process that the actor is the editorial board as the author of this article, and the goal is Mrs. Clinton. The clause that conveys this action is only one clause with verb: *credit*. The discussion is on the next paragraph.

Example 18:

We	credit	her	for arriving	at the right position.
Actor	Material process	Goal	Circ: cause, purpose	Circ: place

(Clause 53)

The actor in example 18 is *we*. *We* here refers to the editorial board of *The New York Times* as the author of this article. The action of the editorial board is *credit* as the mark of material process. *Credit* here shows the strong belief. It talks about not only cognition but also guarantee. That is why *credit* is categorized in material process not mental process. The goal of the process *credit* is *her*. The purpose why the editorial credits her is explained on the following circumstance. The circumstance is *for arriving at the right position*. *For arriving* is circumstance of cause, especially purpose, while *at the right position* is circumstance of place. *The right position* in that circumstance refers to the United States president position. Therefore, the editorial's action here aims to make Mrs. Clinton becomes the next US president.

In short, example 18 is created to oppose example 15 (on the previous discussion: People's Action). Even though in example 15 some people believe that Mrs. Clinton only cares about her self-interest, the editorial in example 15

tries to persuade the reader that she still deserves the president position by giving guarantee of the editorial's belief. From that fact, the editorial positively supports Mrs. Clinton so that she receives advantage from the editorial board's action *credit*.

4.2.5.3. Mrs. Clinton Opponent's Action

Mrs. Clinton opponent's action is conducted in clause with material process that the actor is her opponent, and the goal is her. The clause that contains this action is one clause with verb: *might make look*. It is analyzed below.

Example 19:

that	might make	her	look	good
Actor	Material Process	Goal		Circ: manner, quality

(Clause 63)

Republican leaders	warned	their caucus	not to do anything
Sayer	Verbal process	Receiver	Circ: cause, purpose

(Clause 62)

From the two clauses above, material process as example 19 is only conducted in clause 63. The marker of material process in example 19 is the verb *might make look*. The goal of that process is *her*. The circumstance is *good*. It is a kind of circumstance of manner quality. Thus, it can be said that example 19 tells about something positive to give Mrs. Clinton good effect. However, the meaning of that clause cannot be concluded only by analyzing example 19. To construe the

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meaning, example 19 or clause 63 cannot be separated from clause 62 since they are combined as a sentence. Clause 62 takes position as the main clause in that sentence, and clause 63 as example 19 gives detail information about what kind of *anything* which is warned to do by Republican leaders in clause 62. It is marked by the actor *that* in example 19 which refers to *anything* in the previous clause. Republican leaders are the leaders of Republican Party. The party is Mrs. Clinton's opponent party in 2016 campaign. Hence, the process informs that her rival ever prevents her to have good image.

To sum up, example 19 shows that her opponent planned and did bad things to her in the past. It implies that she is harmed by displeasing treatment from them. Therefore, Mrs. Clinton is defined as the victim of the action done by her opponent.

4.2.6. Hillary Clinton as the Target of the Others' Verbalization

Hillary Clinton as the target is realized in one clause containing verbal process. The process of that clause is displayed in verb: *was sworn in*. It appears to clarify what the others' intends to her through their verbalization. The analysis is on the following.

Example 20:

Mrs. Clinton	was sworn in	as a senator	from New York	in 2001,
Target	Verbal	Circ: role	Circ: place	Circ: time

(Clause 61)

Like stated before, example 20 conducts verbal process that is marked by verb *was sworn in*. The example includes in passive clause since Mrs. Clinton is positioned as the target. The clause has three circumstances that follow the process. The first is circumstance of role *as senator*. It informs what the sayer wanted from her to occupy through the verbal process. The sayer here is ellipsis due to common information that the one who has a duty to swear senators in the US is the vice president or surrogate. The second circumstance is place circumstance *from New York*. The circumstance serves the place where she would work. It also tells that the electors who selected Mrs. Clinton were people from the most populous city in the US. It implies that many people trusted her to be the senator from their city. Then, the last circumstance is time circumstance *in 2001*. It shows the time when the verbalization happened.

From the explanation, the verbal process provides facts that people from the most populous city in the US ever chose Mrs. Clinton to occupy senator position, and the vice president approved their choice through the verbalization. The facts support that she also appropriate to be the next president since she ever experienced winning the senator election. Thus, the verbal process here gives advantage for her.

4.2.7. Hillary Clinton as the Phenomenon of the Others' Sensing

Hillary Clinton as the phenomenon is displayed in two clauses conveying mental process. The process is described in verb: *are hesitating* and *has confused*. They need to be analyzed to reveal the others' sensing towards her. The detail analyses are below.

Example 21:

who (those of you)	are hesitating	to vote for Mrs. Clinton
Senser	Mental process: emotive	Phenomenon

(Clause 12)

The sensing process of this clause is conducted in verb *are hesitating*. It is considered as emotive mental process. This kind of mental process occurs to express the senser's feeling. The senser is *who* that refers to *those of you* in clause 11. *Those of you* here point out the readers of the article since it is delivered in written form. As being known, the phenomenon of mental process can be realized not only in a thing form but also in action or fact form. Thus, *to vote for Mrs. Clinton* is defined to be the phenomenon of the process. It clearly states that the readers feel uncertain about choosing her in the election. The phenomenon also clarifies that the readers meant by the author here are not all people who read the article, but they are only the readers who are still in doubt with her. The other example analysis is served in the following paragraph.

Example 22:

Her election-year reversal on that pact	has confused	some of her supporters
Phenomenon	Mental process: cognitive	Senser

The mental process of the clause above is depicted in verb *has confused*. Analyzing this process can disclose the senser's thinking since it includes in cognitive mental process, especially the negative one. The phenomenon of the process is *her election-year reversal on that pact*. *That pact* here is the Trans-Pacific Partnership pact as mentioned in clause 78. The phenomenon is called *her reversal* because Mrs. Clinton promoted the pact in the beginning, but she chose to oppose it after declaring herself to be a candidate of the next president. It exhibits that the reason she changed her mind is to court liberal voters. Of course, the phenomenon here provokes the senser to think negatively. They might think that the phenomenon happens in order to fulfill her interest. The senser here is *some of her supporters*. It details that the senser is not all of her supporter, but it is only a small part of them.

The analyses of both examples prove that mental processes which draw Mrs. Clinton as the phenomenon can reveal people feeling and thinking towards her. Their feeling and thinking express that actually some people whether they belong to her supporters or not are still in doubt with her. Hence, Hillary Clinton as a phenomenon here accepts negative sensing from them.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The media characterizes Mrs. Clinton through four main processes. They are material process, relational process, verbal process, and mental process. The material process that puts Mrs. Clinton as an actor is the most common process appeared in the data. It implies that the media intends to represent her through her physical activity. Those processes are delivered more in positive ways rather than in negative ways. It indicates that the media focuses on making her look good. The media defines her through positive and negative ways to claim that the article is a fact. The media also adds several circumstances to help understand the context of the text. The most common circumstance found in the data is cause circumstance. It shows that the media emphasizes the causal factors to visualize the context.

Through the processes, Mrs. Clinton is presented as a dedicated, kind, and wise woman who do sincere action for public and the country. She also has positive ideas about America. Her nice personality makes people and *The New York Times* editorial board give their trust to her to be the next president. However, she also depicted as a victim of her opponent's action because her opponent ever planned something bad to her. Then, she denotes as a careless woman who disadvantages herself by doing careless action, like secrecy. For the result, her careless action makes her deserves negative sensing from people.

In the end, the results can answer the research question of this study. By analyzing the data, the representation of Mrs. Clinton and the way the media represents Mrs. Clinton can be revealed. This study is expected to facilitate the readers to comprehend the meaning of the article better.

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APPENDIX

POPULATION

No	Clause
1	In any normal election year, we'd compare the two presidential candidates side by side on the issues.
2	But this is not a normal election year.
3	A comparison like that would be an empty exercise in a race
4	where one candidate — our choice, Hillary Clinton — has a record of service and a raft of pragmatic ideas,
5	and the other, Donald Trump, discloses nothing concrete about himself or his plans while promising the moon and offering the stars on layaway.
6	We will explain in a subsequent editorial
7	why we believe
8	Mr. Trump to be the worst nominee put forward by a major party in modern American history.
9	But this endorsement would also be an empty exercise
10	if it merely affirmed the choice of Clinton supporters.
11	We're aiming instead to persuade those of you
12	who are hesitating to vote for Mrs. Clinton
13	because you are reluctant to vote for a Democrat, or for another Clinton, or for a candidate
14	who might appear, on the surface, not to offer change from an establishment and a political system
15	(an establishment) that seems indifferent
16	(a political system) that seems broken.
17	Running down the other guy won't suffice to make that argument.
18	The best case for Hillary Clinton cannot be, and is not,
19	that she isn't Donald Trump.
20	The best case is, instead, about the challenges this country faces, and Mrs. Clinton's capacity to rise to them.
21	The next president will take office with bigoted, tribalist movements and their leaders on the march.
22	In the Middle East and across Asia, in Russia and Eastern Europe, even in Britain and the United States, war, terrorism and the pressures of globalization are eroding democratic values,
23	fraying alliances
24	and challenging the ideals of tolerance and charity
25	The 2016 campaign has brought to the surface the despair and rage of poor and middle-class Americans
26	who say

27	their government has done little to ease the burdens
28	that recession, technological change, foreign competition and war have heaped on their families.
29	Over 40 years in public life, Hillary Clinton has studied these forces
30	and weighed responses to these problems.
31	Our endorsement is rooted in respect for her intellect, experience, toughness and courage over a career of almost continuous public service, often as the first or only woman in the arena
32	Mrs. Clinton's work has been defined more by incremental successes than by moments of transformational change.
33	As a candidate, she has struggled to step back from a pointillist collection of policy proposals to reveal the full pattern of her record.
34	That is a weakness of her campaign, and a perplexing one,
35	for the pattern is clear.
36	It shows a determined leader intent on creating opportunity for struggling Americans at a time of economic upheaval and on ensuring
37	that the United States remains a force for good in an often brutal world.
38	Similarly, Mrs. Clinton's occasional missteps, combined with attacks on her trustworthiness, have distorted perceptions of her character.
39	She is one of the most tenacious politicians of her generation,
40	whose willingness to study and correct course is rare in an age of unyielding partisanship.
41	As first lady, she rebounded from professional setbacks and personal trials with astounding resilience.
42	Over eight years in the Senate and four as secretary of state, she built a reputation for grit and bipartisan collaboration.
43	She displayed a command of policy and diplomatic nuance and an ability to listen to constituents and colleagues
44	that are all too exceptional in Washington.
45	Mrs. Clinton's record of service to children, women and families has spanned her adult life.
46	One of her boldest acts as first lady was her 1995 speech in Beijing declaring
47	that women's rights are human rights.
48	After a failed attempt to overhaul the nation's health care system, she threw her support behind legislation to establish the Children's Health Insurance Program,
49	which now covers more than eight million lower-income young people.
50	This year, she rallied mothers of gun-violence victims to join her in demanding comprehensive background checks for gun buyers and tighter reins on gun sales.
51	After opposing driver's licenses for undocumented immigrants during the 2008 campaign, she now vows to push for comprehensive immigration legislation as president and to use executive power to protect law-abiding undocumented people from deportation and cruel detention.

52	Some may dismiss her shift as opportunistic,
53	but we credit her for arriving at the right position.
54	Mrs. Clinton and her team have produced detailed proposals on crime, policing and race relations, debt-free college and small-business incentives, climate change and affordable broadband.
55	Most of these proposals would benefit from further elaboration on how to pay for them, beyond taxing the wealthiest Americans.
56	They would also depend on passage by Congress.
57	That means
58	that, to enact her agenda, Mrs. Clinton would need to find common ground with a destabilized Republican Party,
59	whose unifying goal in Congress would be to discredit her.
60	Despite her political scars, she has shown an unusual capacity to reach across the aisle.
61	When Mrs. Clinton was sworn in as a senator from New York in 2001,
62	Republican leaders warned their caucus not to do anything
63	that might make her look good.
64	Yet as a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, she earned the respect of Republicans like Senator John McCain with her determination to master intricate military matters.
65	Her most lasting achievements as a senator include a federal fund for long-term health monitoring of 9/11 first responders, an expansion of military benefits to cover reservists and the National Guard, and a law requiring drug companies to improve the safety of their medications for children.
66	Below the radar, she fought for money for farmers, hospitals, small businesses and environmental projects.
67	Her vote in favor of the Iraq war is a black mark,
68	but to her credit, she has explained her thinking rather than trying to rewrite that history.
69	As secretary of state, Mrs. Clinton was charged with repairing American credibility after eight years of the Bush administration's unilateralism.
70	She bears a share of the responsibility for the Obama administration's foreign-policy failings, notably in Libya.
71	But her achievements are substantial.
72	She led efforts to strengthen sanctions against Iran,
73	which eventually pushed it to the table for talks over its nuclear program,
74	and in 2012, she helped
75	(she) negotiate a cease-fire between Israel and Hamas.
76	Mrs. Clinton led efforts to renew diplomatic relations with Myanmar, persuading its junta to adopt political reforms.
77	She helped
78	(she) promote the Trans-Pacific Partnership, an important trade counterweight to China and a key component of the Obama administration's pivot to Asia.
79	Her election-year reversal on that pact has confused some of her supporters,

80	but her underlying commitment to bolstering trade along with workers' rights is not in doubt.
81	Mrs. Clinton's attempt to reset relations with Russia, though far from successful, was a sensible effort to improve interactions with a rivalrous nuclear power.
82	Mrs. Clinton has shown herself to be a realist
83	who believes
84	America cannot simply withdraw behind oceans and walls,
85	but must engage confidently in the world to protect its interests and be true to its values,
86	which include helping others escape poverty and oppression.
87	Mrs. Clinton's husband, Bill Clinton, governed
88	during what now looks like an optimistic and even gentle era.
89	The end of the Cold War and the advance of technology and trade appeared to be awakening the world's possibilities rather than its demons.
90	Many in the news media, and in the country, and in that administration, were distracted by the scandal du jour — Mr. Clinton's impeachment — during the very period
91	in which a terrorist threat was growing.
92	We are now living in a world darkened by the realization of that threat and its many consequences.
93	Mrs. Clinton's service spans both eras,
94	and she has learned hard lessons from the three presidents
95	she has studied up close.
96	She has also made her own share of mistakes.
97	She has evinced a lamentable penchant for secrecy
98	and made a poor decision to rely on a private email server while at the State Department.
99	That decision deserved scrutiny,
100	and it's had it.
101	Now, considered alongside the real challenges - that email server, – looks like a matter for the help desk.
102	that will occupy the next president,
103	which has consumed so much of this campaign,
104	And, viewed against those challenges, Mr. Trump shrinks to his true small-screen, reality-show proportions,
105	as we'll argue in detail on Monday.
106	Through war and recession, Americans born since 9/11 have had to grow up fast,
107	and they deserve a grown-up president.
108	A lifetime's commitment to solving problems in the real world qualifies Hillary Clinton for this job,
109	and the country should put her to work.

MAIN DATA

Mrs. Clinton as the Actor: Non-Goal Oriented Tables

29	Over 40 years	in public life,	Hillary Clinton	has studied	these forces
	Circ: time	Circ: place	Actor	Material process	Scope

30	(Hillary Clinton)	(has) weighed	responses	to these problems.
	Actor	Material process	Scope	Circ: cause, purpose

33	As a candidate,	she	has struggled	to step back	from a pointillist collection of policy proposals	to reveal the full pattern of her record.
	Circ: role	Actor	Material process	Circ: cause, purpose	Circ: place	Circ: cause, purpose

41	As first lady,	she	rebounded	from professional setbacks and personal trials	with astounding resilience.
	Circ: role	Actor	Material process	Circ: place	Circ: accompaniment

42	Over eight years	in the Senate	and four	as secretary of state,	she	built	a reputation	for grit and bipartisan collaboration
	Circ: time	Circ: place	Circ: time	Circ: role	Actor	Material process	Scope	Circ: cause. purpose

43	She	displayed	a command of policy and diplomatic nuance and an ability	to listen	to constituents and colleagues
	Actor	Material process	Scope	Circ: cause, purpose	Circ: cause, behalf

48	After a failed attempt	to overhaul the nation's health care system,	she	threw	her support	behind legislation	to establish the Children's Health Insurance Program,
	Circ: time	Circ: cause, purpose	Actor	Material process	Scope	Circ: place	Circ: cause, purpose

54	Mrs. Clinton and her team	have produced	detailed proposals	on crime, policing and race relations, debt-free college and small-business incentives, climate change and affordable broadband.
	Actor	Material process	Scope	Circ: matter

58	that,	to enact her agenda,	Mrs. Clinton	would need	to find common ground with a destabilized Republican Party,
		Circ: cause, reason	Actor	Material process	Circ: cause, purpose

64	as a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee,	she	earned	the respect of Republicans like Senator John McCain	with her determination	to master intricate military matters.
	Circ: role	Actor	Material process	Scope	Circ: accompaniment	Circ: cause, reason

70	She	bears	a share of the responsibility	for the Obama administration's foreign-policy failings, notably in Libya.
	Actor	Material process	Scope	Circ: cause, reason

72	She	led	efforts	to strengthen sanctions against Iran,
	Actor	Material process	Scope	Circ: cause, purpose

74	and	in 2012,	she	helped
		Circ: time	Actor	Material process

76	Mrs. Clinton	led		efforts	to renew diplomatic relations with Myanmar, persuading its junta to adopt political reforms.
	Actor	Material process		Scope	Circ: cause, purpose

77	She		helped	
	Actor		Material process	

78	(she)	promote	the Trans-Pacific Partnership, an important trade counterweight to China and a key component of the Obama administration's pivot to Asia.
	Actor	Material process	Scope

94	and	she	has learned	hard lessons	from the three presidents
		Actor	Material process	Scope	Circ: place

95	she	has studied up	close.
	Actor	Material process	Circ: manner, quality

96	She	has also made	her own share of mistakes.
	Actor	Material process	Scope

97	She	has evinced	a lamentable penchant	for secrecy
	Actor	Material process	Scope	Circ: cause, reason

98	(She)	made	a poor decision	to rely on a private email server	while at the State Department.
	Actor	Material process	Scope	Circ: cause, reason	Circ: time

Mrs. Clinton as the Actor: Goal oriented Tables

38	Similarly,	Mrs. Clinton's occasional missteps, combined with attacks on her trustworthiness,	have distorted	perceptions of her character.
	Circ: manner, quality	Actor	Material process	Goal

50	This year,	she	rallied	mothers of gun-violence victims	to join her in demanding comprehensive background checks for gun buyers and tighter reins on gun sales.
	Circ: time	Actor	Material process	Goal	Circ: cause, purpose

Mrs. Clinton as the Actor: Indirect Goal Table

66	Below the radar,	she	fought	for money	for farmers, hospitals, small businesses and environmental projects.
	Circ: place	Actor	Material process	Circ: cause, purpose	Beneficiary: client

Mrs. Clinton as the Token or Carrier Tables

4	where one candidate — our choice, Hillary Clinton —	has	a record of service and a raft of pragmatic ideas,
	Carrier	Attributive process	Attribute

19	she	isn't	Donald Trump.
	Token	Identifying process	Value

20	The best case	is,	instead, about the challenges this country faces, and Mrs. Clinton's capacity to rise to them.
	Carrier	Attributive process	Attribute

31	Our endorsement	is rooted	in respect for her intellect, experience, toughness and courage over a career of almost continuous public service, often as the first or only woman in the arena
	Carrier	Attributive process	Attribute

32	Mrs. Clinton's work change.	has been defined	more by incremental successes than by moments of transformational
	Token	Identifying process	Value

34	That	is	a weakness of her campaign,
	Carrier	Attributive process	Attribute

39	She	is	one of the most tenacious politicians of her generation,
	Token	Identifying process	Value

40	whose willingness to study and correct course	is	rare in an age of unyielding partisanship.
	Carrier	Attributive process	Attribute

44	(Her action) that	are	all too exceptional in Washington.
	Carrier	Attributive process	Attribute

45	Mrs. Clinton's record of service to children, women and families	has spanned	her adult life.
	Token	Identifying process	Value

46	One of her boldest acts as first lady	was	her 1995 speech in Beijing
	Token	Identifying process	Value

59	whose unifying goal in Congress	would be	to discredit her.
	Carrier	Attributive process	Attribute

60	Despite her political scars,	she	has shown	an unusual capacity to reach across the aisle.
	Circ: contingency, concession	Carrier	Attributive process	Attribute

65	Her most lasting achievements as a senator	include	a federal fund for long-term health monitoring of 9/11 first responders, an expansion of military benefits to cover reservists and the National Guard, and a law requiring drug companies to improve the safety of their medications for children.
	Token	Identifying process	Value

67	Her vote in favor of the Iraq war	is	a black mark,
	Carrier	Attributive process	Attribute

71	her achievements	are	substantial.
	Carrier	Attributive process	Attribute

80	her underlying commitment to bolstering trade along with workers' rights	is	not in doubt.
	Carrier	Attributive process	Attribute

81	Mrs. Clinton's attempt to reset relations with Russia, though far from successful,	was	a sensible effort to improve interactions with a rivalrous nuclear power.
	Carrier	Attributive process	Attribute

82	Mrs. Clinton	has shown	herself to be a realist
	Carrier	Attributive process	Attribute

93	Mrs. Clinton's service	spans	both eras,
	Carrier	Attributive process	Attribute

99	That decision	deserved	scrutiny
	Carrier	Attributive process	Attribute

100	it's	had	it.
	Carrier	Attributive process	Attribute

108	A lifetime's commitment	to solving problems	in the real world	qualifies	Hillary Clinton	for this job,
	Attributor	Circ: cause, purpose	Circ: place	Attributive process	Carrier	Attribute

Mrs. Clinton as the Sayer Tables

51	After opposing driver's licenses for undocumented immigrants during the 2008 campaign,	she	now	vows	to push for comprehensive immigration legislation	as president	and to use executive power to protect law-abiding undocumented people from deportation and cruel detention.
	Circ: time	Sayer	Circ: time	Verbal process		Circ: role	
						Circ: cause, purpose	

68	to her credit,	she	has explained	her thinking	rather than trying to rewrite that history.
	Circ: cause, reason	Sayer	Verbal process	Verbiage	Circ: accompaniment, additive

75	(she)	negotiate	a cease-fire between Israel and Hamas.
	Sayer	Verbal process	Verbiage

Mrs. Clinton as the Senser Table

83	who (Mrs. Clinton)	believes	America cannot simply withdraw behind oceans and walls, but must engage confidently in the world to protect its interests and be true to its values, which include helping others escape poverty and oppression.
	Senser	Mental process: cognition	Phenomenon

Mrs. Clinton as the Goal: People Action Tables

52	Some	may dismiss	her shift	as opportunistic,
	Actor	Material process	Goal	Circ: role

69	As secretary of state,	Mrs. Clinton	was charged	with repairing American credibility	after eight years of the Bush administration's unilateralism.
	Circ: role	Goal	Material process	Circ: accompaniment	Circ: time

109	and	the country	should put	her	to work.
		Actor	Material process	Goal	Circ: cause, purpose

Mrs. Clinton as the Goal: The Editorial Board's Action Table

53	but	we	credit	her	for arriving	at the right position.
		Actor	Material process	Goal	Circ: cause, purpose	Circ: place

Mrs. Clinton as the Goal: Mrs. Clinton's Opponent Action Table

63	that	might make	her	look	good.
			Goal		Circ: manner, quality
		Material process			

Mrs. Clinton as the Target Table

61	Mrs. Clinton	was sworn in	as a senator	from New York	in 2001,
	Target	Verbal	Circ: role	Circ: place	Circ: time

Mrs. Clinton as the Phenomenon Tables

12	who (those of you)	are hesitating	to vote for Mrs. Clinton
	Senser	Mental process: emotive	Phenomenon

79	Her election-year reversal on that pact	has confused	some of her supporters
	Phenomenon	Mental process: cognitive	Senser

THE ARTICLE

HILLARY CLINTON FOR PRESIDENT

By The Editorial Board Sept. 24, 2016

In any normal election year, we'd compare the two presidential candidates side by side on the issues. But this is not a normal election year. A comparison like that would be an empty exercise in a race where one candidate — our choice, Hillary Clinton — has a record of service and a raft of pragmatic ideas, and the other, Donald Trump, discloses nothing concrete about himself or his plans while promising the moon and offering the stars on layaway. (We will explain in a subsequent editorial why we believe Mr. Trump to be the worst nominee put forward by a major party in modern American history.)

But this endorsement would also be an empty exercise if it merely affirmed the choice of Clinton supporters. We're aiming instead to persuade those of you who are hesitating to vote for Mrs. Clinton — because you are reluctant to vote for a Democrat, or for another Clinton, or for a candidate who might appear, on the surface, not to offer change from an establishment that seems indifferent and a political system that seems broken.

Running down the other guy won't suffice to make that argument. The best case for Hillary Clinton cannot be, and is not, that she isn't Donald Trump.

The best case is, instead, about the challenges this country faces, and Mrs. Clinton's capacity to rise to them.

The next president will take office with bigoted, tribalist movements and their leaders on the march. In the Middle East and across Asia, in Russia and Eastern

Europe, even in Britain and the United States, war, terrorism and the pressures of globalization are eroding democratic values, fraying alliances and challenging the ideals of tolerance and charity.

The 2016 campaign has brought to the surface the despair and rage of poor and middle-class Americans who say their government has done little to ease the burdens that recession, technological change, foreign competition and war have heaped on their families.

Over 40 years in public life, Hillary Clinton has studied these forces and weighed responses to these problems. Our endorsement is rooted in respect for her intellect, experience, toughness and courage over a career of almost continuous public service, often as the first or only woman in the arena.

Mrs. Clinton's work has been defined more by incremental successes than by moments of transformational change. As a candidate, she has struggled to step back from a pointillist collection of policy proposals to reveal the full pattern of her record. That is a weakness of her campaign, and a perplexing one, for the pattern is clear. It shows a determined leader intent on creating opportunity for struggling Americans at a time of economic upheaval and on ensuring that the United States remains a force for good in an often brutal world.

Similarly, Mrs. Clinton's occasional missteps, combined with attacks on her trustworthiness, have distorted perceptions of her character. She is one of the most tenacious politicians of her generation, whose willingness to study and correct course is rare in an age of unyielding partisanship. As first lady, she rebounded from professional setbacks and personal trials with astounding resilience. Over eight years in the Senate and four as secretary of state, she built a reputation for grit and bipartisan collaboration. She displayed a command of policy and diplomatic nuance and an ability to listen to constituents and colleagues that are all too exceptional in Washington.

Mrs. Clinton's record of service to children, women and families has spanned her adult life. One of her boldest acts as first lady was her 1995 speech in Beijing declaring that women's rights are human rights. After a failed attempt to overhaul the nation's health care system, she threw her support behind legislation to establish the Children's Health Insurance Program, which now covers more than eight million lower-income young people. This year, she rallied mothers of gun-violence victims to join her in demanding comprehensive background checks for gun buyers and tighter reins on gun sales.

After opposing driver's licenses for undocumented immigrants during the 2008 campaign, she now vows to push for comprehensive immigration legislation as president and to use executive power to protect law-abiding undocumented people from deportation and cruel detention. Some may dismiss her shift as opportunistic, but we credit her for arriving at the right position.

Mrs. Clinton and her team have produced detailed proposals on crime, policing and race relations, debt-free college and small-business incentives, climate change and affordable broadband. Most of these proposals would benefit from further elaboration on how to pay for them, beyond taxing the wealthiest Americans. They would also depend on passage by Congress.

That means that, to enact her agenda, Mrs. Clinton would need to find common ground with a destabilized Republican Party, whose unifying goal in Congress would be to discredit her. Despite her political scars, she has shown an unusual capacity to reach across the aisle.

When Mrs. Clinton was sworn in as a senator from New York in 2001, Republican leaders warned their caucus not to do anything that might make her look good. Yet as a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, she earned the respect of Republicans like Senator John McCain with her determination to master intricate military matters.

Her most lasting achievements as a senator include a federal fund for long-term health monitoring of 9/11 first responders, an expansion of military benefits to cover reservists and the National Guard, and a law requiring drug companies to improve the safety of their medications for children.

Below the radar, she fought for money for farmers, hospitals, small businesses and environmental projects. Her vote in favor of the Iraq war is a black mark, but to her credit, she has explained her thinking rather than trying to rewrite that history.

As secretary of state, Mrs. Clinton was charged with repairing American credibility after eight years of the Bush administration's unilateralism. She bears a share of the responsibility for the Obama administration's foreign-policy failings, notably in Libya. But her achievements are substantial. She led efforts to strengthen sanctions against Iran, which eventually pushed it to the table for talks over its nuclear program, and in 2012, she helped negotiate a cease-fire between Israel and Hamas.

Mrs. Clinton led efforts to renew diplomatic relations with Myanmar, persuading its junta to adopt political reforms. She helped promote the Trans-Pacific Partnership, an important trade counterweight to China and a key component of the Obama administration's pivot to Asia. Her election-year reversal on that pact has confused some of her supporters, but her underlying commitment to bolstering trade along with workers' rights is not in doubt. Mrs. Clinton's attempt to reset relations with Russia, though far from successful, was a sensible effort to improve interactions with a rivalrous nuclear power.

Mrs. Clinton has shown herself to be a realist who believes America cannot simply withdraw behind oceans and walls, but must engage confidently in the

world to protect its interests and be true to its values, which include helping others escape poverty and oppression.

Mrs. Clinton's husband, Bill Clinton, governed during what now looks like an optimistic and even gentle era. The end of the Cold War and the advance of technology and trade appeared to be awakening the world's possibilities rather than its demons. Many in the news media, and in the country, and in that administration, were distracted by the scandal du jour — Mr. Clinton's impeachment — during the very period in which a terrorist threat was growing. We are now living in a world darkened by the realization of that threat and its many consequences.

Mrs. Clinton's service spans both eras, and she has learned hard lessons from the three presidents she has studied up close. She has also made her own share of mistakes. She has evinced a lamentable penchant for secrecy and made a poor decision to rely on a private email server while at the State Department. That decision deserved scrutiny, and it's had it. Now, considered alongside the real challenges that will occupy the next president, that email server, which has consumed so much of this campaign, looks like a matter for the help desk. And, viewed against those challenges, Mr. Trump shrinks to his true small-screen, reality-show proportions, as we'll argue in detail on Monday.

Through war and recession, Americans born since 9/11 have had to grow up fast, and they deserve a grown-up president. A lifetime's commitment to solving problems in the real world qualifies Hillary Clinton for this job, and the country should put her to work.