

The Representation of Social Actors in Political Editorial Reports of an On-Line Indonesian National Newspapers

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ABSTRACT

This article is a critical discourse analysis of the representation of social actors in an on-line Indonesian National newspaper's (Media Indonesia) editorial reports on the political issues on 'intolerance' recovery, the allocation of Regional Government Budget, and reclamation project post the Jakarta governor election 2017. In line with this historical event, this study attempts to examine how social actors—Anies, Ahok and society are represented in the MI's editorial reports. The main objectives of this research are: (1) to examine the exclusion and inclusion strategies in which the social actors are represented in the reports, and (2) to describe how the social actors are positioned (whether) in the positive self- and negative other presentation. This study applied Van Leeuwen's Social Actor Network and Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach. The study reveals that the present governor, Anies is mostly represented negatively in the political issues post the Jakarta governor election 2017. Conversely, the other social actor, Ahok is completely portrayed in a positive manner and society is depicted in a neutral mode. In the terms of power and ideology, it is obvious that Media Indonesia has a dominant power over its readers, and embraces secularism ideology in politics and capitalism ideology in economy.

Keywords: exclusion, inclusion, media Indonesia, representations, social actors

ABSTRAK

Artikel ini merupakan analisis wacana kritis representasi aktor sosial dalam redaksi koran Nasional Indonesia (Media Indonesia) on-line tentang isu politik pemulihan 'intoleransi', alokasi APBD, dan proyek reklamasi pasca Jakarta. Pilgub 2017. Sejalan dengan peristiwa sejarah tersebut, penelitian ini mencoba mengkaji bagaimana aktor sosial—Anies, Ahok, dan masyarakat terwakili dalam laporan redaksi MI. Tujuan utama dari penelitian ini adalah: (1) untuk mengkaji strategi eksklusi dan inklusi di mana aktor sosial terwakili dalam laporan, dan (2) untuk menggambarkan bagaimana aktor sosial diposisikan (apakah) dalam diri positif dan negatif presentasi lain. Penelitian ini menerapkan Jaringan Aktor Sosial Van Leeuwen dan Pendekatan Wacana-Sejarah Wodak. Kajian tersebut mengungkapkan bahwa Gubernur saat ini, Anies, lebih banyak direpresentasikan secara negatif dalam isu politik pasca Pilgub Jakarta 2017. Sebaliknya, aktor sosial lainnya, Ahok, sepenuhnya digambarkan secara positif dan masyarakat digambarkan dalam mode netral. Dari segi kekuasaan dan ideologi, terlihat jelas bahwa Media Indonesia memiliki kekuatan dominan atas pembacanya, dan menganut ideologi sekularisme dalam politik dan ideologi kapitalisme dalam ekonomi.

Kata kunci: aktor sosial, eksklusi, inklusi, media Indonesia, representasi

INTRODUCTION

On April 19, 2017, Jakarta people held the democratic party of Governor Election which involved three coupled of candidates. Unlike other regional elections, the Jakarta's governor election attracted the lens of overall Indonesian people nationwide, from Aceh to Papua. This is due to the sequencing very big protests and unrests as the key events of the uprising political tension in the post allegedly 'penistaan agama' committed by the former governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama.

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The Jakarta's election drew substantial interest from National media even though the media did not play a direct role in the uprising. The events prior to and post the election received more coverage in National mass media and many other international news reports. Multiple segments of Jakarta society vied for power during the election, and Indonesian journalists had to explain these different factions to their Indonesian audience. Lippmann revealed that media reports help to form what said as "the pictures in our heads," (Lippmann, 2017), and this study is aimed at better understanding the picture Indonesian news created of the elected new governor of Jakarta. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is employed to describe how one mainstream Indonesian news organizations (Catalano & Waugh, 2020; Jabar & Yunus, 2017; Ulinuha et al., 2013), Media Indonesia, framed the Jakarta Government the new governor Anies Rasyid Baswedan MI's editorial news content.

Study regarding Indonesian media frames of the Jakarta governor election is an important and timely area of mainstream Indonesian media reports. Since the registration opening for governor election until the current governor's, Anis Rasyid Baswedan and Sandiaga Uno, inauguration, some media coverage of the Jakarta Government generally has predominantly reflected stereotypes. Prior to this research, some studies theoretically related to were conducted concerning politics and construction of reality (Hamad, 2004), Doing (in) Justice to Iran's Nuke Activities (Rashidi & Rasti, 2012), Representation of Social Actors in J. Krishnamurti and Alan Watts' Philosophical Speeches (Dashti & Mehrpour, 2017), and the representation of Muslim women in non-Islamic media (Kabgani, 2013). This study adds to this scholarship by exploring the frames of Indonesian media in an event in the Jakarta's governor election.

According to Fairclough, CDA is a critical approach of Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 2020; Weissenrieder & Fairclough, 1997). Here, discourse analysis can be defined as an analysis on language used; it means the analysis cannot be limited to the description of language form without any bonding with aim and function designed in human's business. Therefore, we can simply define CDA as an analysis of how language is used through critical perspective.

Van Dijk in Post also states that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a multidisciplinary approach to language that strives to highlight the nature of social power and dominance by substantiating the intricate relationship between text, talk, social cognition, power, society, and culture (Van Dijk, 2011). Here, multidiscipline can consist of many discipline studies, such as: history, anthropology, social, politics, communication, and also the language itself. In addition, van Dijk also defines CDA as follows:

"Critical Discourse Analysis is a type of discourse analytical study that primarily studies the way social power abuses, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context."

In the quotation above, van Dijk points that the focus of CDA is actually to criticize how power is abused; he also highlights dominance and inequality that can be meant as to elevate someone or group that have the power (a dominant group), and the other side to position someone or group that have no power in an inappropriate position.

Van Leeuwen introduced two Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) models. He names his model by Representing Social Actors and Representing Social Action. The term 'representing' can also be meant as 'representation' (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2020; van Leeuwen, 2008). Related to this term,

he states that “the term of representation itself is directed to how one, a group, perception, or opinion is presented in the news.”

The above explanation indicates that the primary problem in representation is how the reality is presented in the news. In terms of media that must cover media producer and the reader, the use of words, sentences, and grammatical aspects have the certain meaning when they are received by the reader. Those things in the media producer’s perspective are commonly called as discourse strategies. Therefore, in this study, we will try to analyze the discourse strategies used by media in terms of van Leeuwen’s representing of social actor.

As having explained that representing of social actors is associated with how actors (one or group) are represented in the news. In addition, this model is concerned with how a side is positioned in an inappropriate position and the other side in higher position. For that reason, there will be two strategies appeared in the framework of the theories point; they are exclusion and inclusion. Van Leeuwen states that representations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended. Exclusion means omitting actors of a social action by some linguistic mechanisms; inclusion means putting the actors in the center of attention and being presented in the text clearly.

Exclusion Strategies

Exclusion is the process of omitting actors by some linguistic mechanisms. It has two main subdivisions: suppression and backgrounding. The main difference between suppression and backgrounding is the point that they leave trace or not within representation (van Leeuwen, 2008). The description about both subdivisions will be explained below.

1. Suppression

Suppression is the exclusion that leaves no traces in the representation, excluding both the social actors and their activities. Van Leeuwen calls this kind of exclusion as radical exclusion. The linguistic realization of suppression can be realized in some ways as follows (van Leeuwen, 2008):

- a) Passive agent deletion. Some CDA analysts call this linguistic realization as passivization. This realization is used to exclude social actor(s) from the representation/news discourse. The function of this realization is to omit or delete the real actor(s). See the example: “The robber was shot yesterday.” The focus in this sentence is the victim, ‘the robber’. The only function of this realization is to drive the reader’s attention to be concerned with the victim “the robber” and to pay no attention to the actor “A police”.
- b) Non-finite clauses (e. g., infinitival clauses). According to van Leeuwen, suppression also can be realized through non-finite clauses that function as a grammatical participant. Below is the example: “To maintain the policy is hard”. The clause ‘to maintain the policy’ allows the social actor(s) who are responsible for maintaining the policy to be excluded.
- c) Nominalizations and process nouns. Rashidi and Rasti give example as follows: ‘Financial support came to us’ (Rashidi & Rasti, 2012).

2. Backgrounding

Backgrounding is the exclusion that leaves traces in the representation. Here, the excluded social actors in a specific activity pop up later in another part of the clause, sentence or text. According to van Leeuwen the linguistic realization of backgrounding can be existed from simple

ellipses in nonfinite clauses with *-ing* and *-ed participles*, in infinitival clauses with *to*, and in paratactic clauses (van Leeuwen, 2008). In all of these cases, the excluded social actor is included elsewhere in the same clause or clause complex. It can also be realized in the same way as suppression, but with respect to social actors who are included elsewhere in the text. The two realizations background social actors to different degrees, but both play a part in reducing the number of times specific social actors are explicitly referred to. The examples of backgrounding are as follows:

- a) Clearing the case, police set up the evidence. (using *infinite clause -ing*)
- b) To maintain the policy, government has invited some experts. (*Infinitival clause with to*)
- c) John invited them to the party, but the wilsons didn't show up. (Paratactic clauses)

The first example uses infinite clause with *-ing* and the second uses infinitival clause with *to*. The social actors 'police' and 'government' are backgrounded or found at the rest of the sentence. The third example uses paratactic clauses. Here, the reader will know exactly the specific actor 'the wilsons' in the second clause.

Inclusion

When social actors are visible in respect to the action they are articulated at different positions in respect to the action. Therefore, when analysing a text, it is very important to determine who is the 'agent' / 'actor' and what is the 'goal' and whether the grammatical role given in the text is congruent to that of the social action. Because, writers can reallocate participants in the text where some participants are given the role of 'agent' the participant responsible of producing the action or they are given the role of recipient of the action at the other end. This manipulation of positions is meant to serve a particular purpose by giving more emphasis to one participant rather than the other there are two types of inclusion: activation and passivation (van Leeuwen, 2008).

Activation and Passivation

When the social actor is activated, it is given the role of the grammatical (agent) and the doer who is responsible of the social practice in the text. On the other hand, when the participant is described as passivated, it is given the grammatical role of (goal) or 'recipient' of the social practice in the text.

Van Leeuwen's inventory, following systemic functional linguistics, further takes account of role allocation i.e. semantic roles allocated to different participants within a sentence, for instance agent, patient, beneficiary, ... and also *activation/passivation* dichotomy. In *activation*, "social actors are represented as the active, dynamic forces in an activity". *Passivation* happens when social actors are shown as undergoing an activity. Passivation entails another distinction: *subjection* and *beneficialisation*. "Subjected social actors are treated as objects in the representation", whereas beneficialised social actors are other people or parties who benefit from an activity. Below are examples of activated, subjected, and beneficialised individual or entities, respectively.

- a) *Oleh karena itu, Gubernur Anies Baswedan mesti memulihkan toleransi di Ibu Kota*
- b) *Sejarah juga mencatat siapa kandidat yang secara sadar memolitisasi agama atau setidaknya diuntungkan oleh politisasi agama dan siapa pula kandidat yang menjadi korbannya*

Social actors can also be referred to as individuals (*individualization*) or as groups (*assimilation*). Assimilation itself is of two types, *aggregation* and *collectivisation*. "The former quantifies groups of participants, treating them as 'statistic', the latter does not". Below you can find examples of individualised, aggregated, and collectivised participants, respectively.

- a) *Amat tidak pantas jika Anies-Sandi ngotot menyetop reklamasi cuma karena ingin beda dengan pendahulu mereka atau dengan pemerintah pusat*
- b) *Di satu sisi, pemerintah pusat berketetapan bahwa reklamasi harus segera dilanjutkan. Di sisi lain, Pemprov DKI bersikap sebaliknya*

The next pair which is treated in the *sociosemantic* features list includes *association/dissociation*. *Association* “refers to groups formed by social actors and/or groups of social actors”) as juxtaposed against another group. Groups may be formed or unformed (*dissociated*) in a text or body of texts.

The last categories covered in the present study are *personalisation/impersonalisation* i.e., whether a given social actor is represented as a human being or not. Impersonalisation further falls into two categories: *abstraction* and *objectivation*. “Abstraction occurs when social actors are represented by means of a quality assigned to them by the representation ... Objectivation occurs when social actors are represented by means of reference to a place or thing closely associated either with their person or with the activity they are represented as being engaged in”. Objectivation divides into four subcategories: *spatialisation*, *utterance autonomisation*, *instrumentalisation*, and *somatisation*. Spatialisation has to do with the place with which social actors are closely related: *Jakarta juara satu kota intoleran*.

Instrumentalisation has to do with the instrument with which social actors are represented as being engaged in an activity. In utterance autonomisation, social actors are represented by means of reference to their utterance. Finally, somatisation “is a form of objectivation in which social actors are represented by means of reference to a part of their body.”

Discourse Historical Approach

The discourse-historical approach tries to incorporate much available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive “events” or practice are embedded (Forchtner, 2011, 2021; Reisigl, 2017). In addition, it analyzes the historical dimension of discursive actions by investigating the ways in which particular genres of discourse are subject to diachronic change. Lastly, it aims to integrate social theories to be able to explain text. According to Wodak, one of the main discursive strategies is referred to as “Meta strategy of Us vs. them”: this strategy highlights the positive self representation and the negative other representation that take place discursively (Wodak & Meyer, 2011; Wodak, 2001). These discursive strategies go in the flowing stages: first, labeling social actors into positive or negative attributes; then, generalizing this positive or negative attributes, then, elaborating arguments to justify these negative or positive attributes (Wodak, 2001).

Wodak has identified the following strategies of positive “self” representation and “negative” other representation as in Table 1.

Table 1 Discursive strategies

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
Referential/nomination	Construction of ingroups and out-groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • membership categorization • biological, naturalizing and depersonalizing metaphors and metonymies • synecdoches (pars pro toto, totum pro pars)

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
Predication	Labelling social actors more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits implicit and explicit predicates
Argumentation	Justification of positive or negative attributions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> topoi used to justify political inclusion or exclusion, discrimination or preferential treatment
Perspectivation, framing or discourse representation	Expressing involvement Positioning speaker's point of view	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> reporting, description, narration or quotation of (discriminatory) events and utterances
Intensification, mitigation	Modifying the epistemic status of a proposition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of (discriminatory) utterances

RESEARCH METHOD

Data Collection

This study aims to analyse the representation of the social actors (Anies, Ahok, and society) in the political issues post the Jakarta governor election 2017. For this purpose, the researcher has chosen three articles related to the topics of political issues published on 20, 28, 3 November 2017. The selection was based on relevance to the topics.

Research Design

In analyzing the linguistic tools with their ideological goals, this study applies critical discourse analysis. CDA can mean as a social study that relates discourse to social processes and social change to provide a deeper and more detailed analysis of discourses by relating them (Ghanizadeh et al., 2020; Hidalgo Tenorio, 2011; Wodak & Kendall, 2007). CDA is also defined a tools to systematically analyse the relationships of power and control, dominance, and discrimination as manifested in language (Wodak & Meyer, 2011). There are basic principles governing CDA studies. First, CDA emphasizes that discursive practices reflect domination strategies of power elites. Second, Ideologies are constructed and disseminated through discourse. Third, Societies and individuals are constructed and contextualized through discursive practices executed using a variety of channels including the media. Forth, CDA also sympathizes with the oppressed and aims to evolve socio-political, socioeconomic and societal

The research is based on the argumentation strategies in Discourse Historical Approach (Wodak, 2001) and the taxonomy of the representation of Social Actors Network (van Leeuwen, 2008).

Research Questions

This study strives to analyze and elaborate the exclusion and inclusion strategies represented in MI's editorial reports on the political issues post the Jakarta governor election 2017 from Critical Discourse Analysis point of view. In this regard, there are two questions in this study: (1) What are exclusion and inclusion strategies of MI's editorial reports in representing the social actors?, (2) How do the editorial reports put the social actor in the positive self- and negative other presentation?

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

As this study has a focus on the representation of social actors, the first thing to do is classifying the actors involved in the study. The cases shown in this article cover (1) *Memulihkan Toleransi di Ibu Kota* (2) *Alamat Palsu Penerima Hibah*, (3) *Tersandera Janji Politik*. In these articles, there are three main actors going to be discussed.

Representation

The social actors, Anies, Ahok and society, are represented and made known to the readers via the pages of editorial reports. Why certain topics are given so much (or so little) attention and how certain individuals or groups are given the opportunity to voice their opinions, and conversely others not are introduced and analyzed in the representation study. Thus, representation can mean performing an action that makes present what or who is absent and add something to the context. Representation occurs through the people action as Kress and Leeuwen state that representation is a process in which the sign makers attempt to make a representation of some object or entity. The analysis of this study will undergo the following procedures (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2020): (1) describing the exclusion of social actors. (2) identifying how the social actors are included. (3) explaining how the editorial reports make the positive self- and negative other presentation for the social actors.

Exclusion

This study explores the representation of three social actors in MI's editorial report; Anies Rasyid Baswedan which is co called 'Anies' as the present governor, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) as the former governor, and the Jakarta people who are directly related to the both governors' programs. In this section, there has been shown the frequency of excluded social actors through which they are suppressed or backgrounded as Leeuwen revealed that exclusion is divided into two subcategories: total and partial exclusion (*radical vs. less radical exclusion*). The table 2 shows how the editorial reports suppress and background the main social actors in the discourses.

Table 2 The frequency of the exclusion in the editorial reports

Actor	Suppression frequency	Backgrounding frequency
Anies	11	1
Ahok	-	-
Society	3	-
Total & Percentage (%)	14 (93.33%)	1 (6.67%)

In taking a look at the table 2, the underlying exclusion pattern within the total fifteen examined data yielded some fascinating results which consist of 14 suppressions (93.33.41%) and 1 backgrounding (6.67%). Only two social actors, Anis and masyarakat/rakyat, are nearly totally suppressed from the texts at hand with no Ahok suppressed or backgrounded. Anies, the main target of the news, has been almost radically and unsuspectingly excluded from the discussions on '*politisasi agama*', '*agama sebagai modal politik*', and '*kesalahan informasi reklamas*' which gave him bad and negative images in running and winning the Jakarta's governor election 2017. For more detailed understanding, take a look at the below examples:

- a) *Politisasi agama itu memukul mundur toleransi bukan cuma ke titik nol, melainkan ke level negatif.*

- b) *Anies Baswedan dan Sandiaga Uno telah terpilih sebagai gubernur dan wakil gubernur.*
- c) *Tidak menjadikan agama sebagai modal politik perlu kita ingatkan karena meski pilkada telah rampung, Anies Baswedan.....*
- d) *.....polemik reklamasi terjadi karena informasi tak benar saat Pilkada DKI 2017 yang dimanfaatkan untuk menguliti kesalahan calon lain.*

Some social actors, Anis and society, are extremely excluded from the texts as stated in the utterances (1), (2), and (4). In the first statement, the issue arised is the religious politization that leads to intolerance practice post the Jakarta’s governor election. Nominalization—the process of changing verb into noun—implicated in ‘*politisasi agama*’ without existing the actor is categorized as radical suppression strategy. By using this strategy, the media tries to drive the readers’ attention to the goal. In other words, the media producer wants to show that the goal is more important than the actor who executes the action (politization). All know that the action is addressed to the present government Anies Baswedan.

Moreover, the statements (2) and (4) use the strategy of passive without existing the actor which is called passive agent deletion. The actors in both expression are not explicitly stated but well-known to whom they are intended. The issues are regarding the governor election in Jakarta and the controversial legal standing of reclamation project prior to and after the election. The primary actors in election anywhere are the people with their votes’, they, however, disappear from the text due to the media’s representation strategy and ideology. Meanwhile, the conflicting argument on the reclamation project happened primarily between the two couples of candidated, Anies-Sandiaga in one side and Ahok-Djarot in the other side.

In this study, only one backgrounding strategy occurred in the case of religious politization as number (3) revealed. The datum here is a sentence by using clause complex analysis. It shows that the focus of statement is in the first clause ‘*tidak menjadikan agama sebagai modal politik perlu kita ingatkan karena meski pilkada telah rampung*’. In the clause, there is an actor excluded, but the actor ‘Anies Baswedan’ is presented in the second clause. This exclusion strategy is categorized as backgrounding.

Moreover, in terms of three linguistic realizations in suppressions, the results are shown in the table 3.

Table 3 The percentage of the linguistic realizations in suppressions

Actor	Passive Agent Deletion	Nominalization and Process Noun	Noun Finite Clause
Anies	3	7	1
Ahok	-	-	-
Society	1	1	1
Total & Percentage (%)	4 (28.57%)	8 (57.14%)	2 (14.29)

The table 3 indicates that nominalization and process noun have the highest occurrences in presenting the suppressed social actors in this study, followed by passive agent deletion and noun finite clause. In other words, media are likely to use nominalization for actions with no explicitly mentioning the real actors behind them.

Inclusion

The second type of social actor representation is *inclusion* which has two primary subcategories; activation and passivation pattern. The table 3 below tells the reader that, among the most commonly represented social actors, Anies is more activated than passivated. More specifically, he is commonly passivated-participated-personalized actors with regard to some issues discussed in the editorial report as shown in the following table 4.

Table 4. The frequency of activated inclusion

Actor	Activated-participated-personalized	Activated-participated-impersonalized	Activated-circumstantialized-personalized	Activated-circumstantialized-impersonalized	Activated-possessivated-personalized	Activated-possessivated-impersonalized
Anies	12	-	4	-	-	-
Ahok	-	-	3	-	1	-
Society	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total & Percentage (%)	12 (54.55%)	2 (9.09%)	7 (31.82%)	-	1 (4.55%)	-

Unlike the subcategory of activated inclusion, the passivated inclusion in representing social actors was not used as frequent as the former subcategory. This is possibly due to media strategy and ideology in representing an actor pros or cons with the media itself. For more detailed, see the below table on the frequency of passivated inclusion.

There are six subcategories of activated Inclusion according to van Leeuwen (2008), as follows: (1) activated-participated-personalized, (2) activated-participated-impersonalized, (3) activated-circumstantialized-personalized, (4) activated-circumstantialized-impersonalized, (5) activated-possessivated-personalized, (6) activated-possessivated-impersonalized.

- a) *Itu bila Anies tidak ingin sejarah kelam intoleransi di DKI dicatat lebih panjang oleh sejarawan.*
- b) *Berbeda 180 derajat dengan Ahok-Djarot, Anies-Sandi kukuh berprinsip bahwa reklamasi wajib dihentikan.*
- c) *Karena itulah, Gubernur Anies Baswedan tidak boleh kenal lelah menyisir RAPBD seperti juga pernah dilakukan pendahulunya*
- d) *Semua tahu itu toleransi seremonial dan formal.*

The previous table of activated inclusion frequency indicates that, among the most commonly represented social actors, Anies is the most activated actor. He is activated with regard to the three topics on the MI's editorial reports. The statement (1) points out that the active actor is realized through grammatical participant role which is clearly foregrounded and refer to human beings such as personal or possessive pronoun, proper names, or noun. In short, the social actor 'Anies' in (1) is activated-participated-personalized actor. There are still some other social actors of this mode, see the appendix of activated and passivated actors. While the statement (2) '*.....dengan Ahok-Djarot....*' denotes that Ahok refers to "activated-circumstantialized-personalized" social actor since the word 'Ahok' is preceded by prepositional circumstantials with *by* or *from*. By writing the sentence (2), media producer wants to describe the condition and circumstance at which Ahok governed Jakarta, and then compare them with the present condition of Anies' government with regard to reclamation project.

Moreover, in the expression (3) the editorial strives to describe the action that Anies should take in controlling the planning of Regional Government Budget by comparing to what the former

governor ever did. The analysis in the expression (3) highlights the phrase ‘.....*pendahulunya*’. This is included in activated-possessivated-personalized since the sentence uses a possessive pronoun to activate. Regarding the statement (4), the pronoun ‘*semua*’ is mostly intended to the Jakarta people as the users and subjects of DKI’s government work programs and policies. As the statement (1), the social actor ‘*semua*’ constitutes an activated-participated-personalized actor.

Table 5 The frequency of passivated inclusion

Actor	Passivate d-participated-personalized	Passivated-participated-impersonalized	Passivated-circumstantialized-personalized	Passivated-circumstantialized-impersonalized	Passivated-possessivated-personalized	Passivated-possessivated-impersonalized
Anies	3	1	-	-	-	-
Ahok	1	-	-	-	-	-
Society	1	-	-	-	-	-
Total &	5					
Percentage (%)	(83.33%)	1 (16.67%)	-	-	-	-

Corresponding the activated inclusion, passivated inclusion comprises the six modes: (1) passivated-participated-personalized, (2) passivated-participated-impersonalized, (3) passivated-circumstantialized-personalized, (4) passivated-circumstantialized-impersonalized, (5) passivated-possessivated-personalized, (6) passivated-possessivated-impersonalized.

- a) *Sejarah juga mencatat siapa kandidat yang secara sadar memolitisasi agama dan siapa pula kandidat yang menjadi korbannya.*
- b) *Di ketiga kota itu agama menjadi rahmat yang menautkan, bukan laknat yang memecah belah rakyat.*
- c) *Tak kurang dari Wakil Presiden Jusuf Kalla ikut menantang Pemprov DKI Jakarta segera memberikan solusi.....*

Unlike the representation of activated social actors, the MI’s editorial reports use the passivated inclusion only in six statements, four of which refer to Anies Baswedan, one is addressed to each ‘masyarakat’ and Ahok. Anies is passivated regarding historical record on his ‘intolerance’, and his alignment to the ‘national interest’ in the reclamation project. In utterance (1) Anies and Ahok were positioned and represented as “undergoing” the activity, or as being recorded a bad actor and a victim in terms of ‘religious politization. Both of the actors are categorized as passivated-participated-personalized actors. Similarly, in the statement (3) Anies was represented as the passivated-participated-impersonalized since ‘*Pemprov DKI Jakarta*’ denotes abstract noun or concrete noun whose meanings do not include the semantic feature “human.”

Furthermore, according to the editorial report in statement (2) that Jakarta people suffer from severe torment due to intolerance practices post the governor election in Jakarta. In this regard, the actor ‘*rakyat*’ is classified as passivated-participated-personalized actor since it is realized through grammatical participant role and refers to human beings such as personal or possessive pronoun, proper names, or noun.

Negative and Positive Representation

Wodak stated that every discourse has a tendency for positive self-representation and negative other representation (Wodak & Meyer, 2011). Therefore, discourse producer tends to make the dividing line between the ‘in-group’ and ‘out-group’ to build up their arguments. The table

below shows how the text/news producer put the three social actors in different representation in either positive or negative way.

Table 6 Positive and negative representation of social actors

Strategy	Social Actors									
	Anies			Ahok			Society			
	+	-	n	+	-	n	+	-	n	
Exclusion										
a. Suppression	2	9						1	2	
b. Backgrounding	1									
Inclusion										
a. activated-participated-personalized	5	7								2
b. activated-participated-impersonalized										
c. activated-circumstantialized-personalized	1	3		3						
d. activated-circumstantialized-impersonalized										
e. activated-possessivated-personalized				1						
f. activated-possessivated-impersonalized										
Inclusion										
a. passivated-participated-personalized	1	1	1	1					1	
b. passivated-participated-impersonalized		1								
c. passivated-circumstantialized-personalized										
d. passivated-circumstantialized-impersonalized										
e. passivated-possessivated-personalized										
f. passivated-possessivated-impersonalized										

In the MI's three editorial reports on the political issues post the Jakarta governor election 2017, Anies is the most frequent actors viewed and mentioned in a negative manner, although he is reported positively in some occasions. Conversely, Ahok, the former governor, always has the good image when comparing with Anies in cases of the allocation of Regional Government Budget and the reclamation project. Society '*masyarakat*' as the third social actor in this study is commonly stated in a neutral way and seen as the actor who benefits from the both governors' policies and work programs.

Some following statements figure out, for example, an actor in a positive tone and the other in a negative way.

- Politisasi agama menjadi pangkal kebutralan Pilkada DKI.* (actor = Anies)
- Keberlanjutan reklamasi, misalnya, akan menjadi penegasan bahwa ada kepastian hukum di negeri...* (actor = Anies)
- Sejarah juga mencatat siapa kandidat (actor = Anies) yang secara sadar memolitisasi agama dan siapa pula kandidat (actor = Ahok) yang menjadi korbannya*
- Orang dari berbagai etnik, daerah asal, agama, dan gender, tumpah ruah di Jakarta* (actor = society)

Overall the MI's editorial reports, Ahok is representing the 'self' group and Anies is representing 'the other' group, while society is in neutral position. However, the representation of the conflicting two groups, the 'self' and the 'other', and the neutral group takes various ways. As social actors, they could be represented using mass nouns, or pronouns or proper nouns...etc. The

central government figures, for example, are regarded as part of the group of 'self'. Accordingly, if the central government figures indicated a positive attitude toward Ahok, it is assumed as a positive-self representation and if the central government figures have a negative attitude towards Anies, then it is a negative representation of 'the other'. Meanwhile, society is seen to be a neutral group who benefit from both the former and present governors' work programs and policies.

In terms of the representation of social actors, Anies was mentioned in the editorial reports related to expressions that imply the meaning of social chaos using the nominalization '*politisasi*' and the verb '*...menjadikan agama*' in '*Tidak menjadikan agama sebagai modal politik perlu kita ingatkan*'. The use of the verb '*ingatkan*' also implies the meaning that something wrong happens. While Ahok as the 'self' group was stated regarding the religious politization since he took disadvantages (the victim) of the issue during the governor election, and in the case of reclamation project of Teluk Jakarta supposed to be in line with national interest in economy development.

CONCLUSION

Representation is a way and a process in which the sign (news) makers attempt to make a representation of social actor or entity. Through representation certain topics are given so much (or so little) attention and certain individuals or groups are given the opportunity to voice their opinions, and not the others. The three social actors involved in this study have representation. Anies is mostly mentioned in a negative manner, and reported positively in some occasions. Conversely, Ahok always has a good image when compared with Anies in the political cases of the Regional Government Budget allocation and the reclamation project. While society 'masyarakat' as the third social actor is commonly stated in a neutral way and seen as the actor who benefits from the both governors' policies and work programs. In the terms of power and ideology, Media Indonesia has a dominant power over its readers, and embraces secularism ideology in politics and capitalism ideology in economy.

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