The Representation of Social Actors
in First 100 Days of Office of Jokowi-Basuki

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ABSTRACT

This journal presents the analysis of how the national mass media deliver their ideological point of view to the readers in their online articles regading a political issue in Joko Widodo and Basuki Tjahja Purnama first 100 days of office. It was aimed at investigating the way social actors are represented in the text and to uncover the ideologies underlying the representation. The data were obtained from ten online articles from different nationwide media published in 22 January 2013. A qualitative method was employed to analyse the selected data. The data were analysed based on the sociosemantic approach proposed by Van Leeuwen (2008). The findings showed that Jokowi as the governor of Jakarta was dominated the occurrences as an active participant. Moreover, different impression was shown where the active roles were always associated with Jokowi and the passive roles were always associated with Jakarta. The findings also revealed that the possible ideologies that can be inferred from the representation were democracy and Jokowi as the "city rescuer."

INTRODUCTION

This paper describes the analysis of representation of social actors in national mass media and the investigation of ideologies involved in the representation. The topic was chosen due to a reason that nowadays the mass media tends to be manipulated by some people to control over other people because it shapes public opinions (Bonyadi, 2010). The current paper aimed to answer the following research questions: how are the social actors represented in the text? And what ideologies underlie the representation? Since previously the media was always reporting Jokowi in positive way, so that it gives a positive overview and influence to the readers. Thus, this study is curious about how Jokowi as the newly elected governor of Jakarta are represented after he ruled for 100 days. The positive image of Jokowi was shown in his different style of leading compared with the previous leaders of Jakarta. At a glance, the ideology which was delivered in the news about Jokowi involved Democracy. He was currently able to attract sympathy of the citizens with their way of working which prefers to go directly into the citizens to hear public complaints.

Van Leeuwen's (2008) Sociosemantic Network

Van Leeuwen (2008) introduces the sociosemantic approach as the way to agglomerate the social actors and the ideological consequences in the texts (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Representing the social actors not only serves to reveal the ideology contained in the text, but also to show the reader of the role of social actors so that the readers can determine who they are intended (Post, 2009). There are two major categories of social actor network proposed by van Leeuwen (2008), namely exclusion and inclusion.

Exclusion is the way social actors are omitted in the events or activity for particular purposes. There are two subcategories in exclusion: suppression and backgrounding. In suppression, there is no reference that relates to the social actors in the text. While in backgrounding, the social actors are

excluded but they are stated later in another part of the clause. Inclusion is where the social actors are foregrounded in the text. There are subcategories in inclusion, i.e. the roles that are played by social actors, the way social actors engage to the roles, and the personalization and impersonalization of the social actors.

The roles that are played by social actors or role allocation divided into two subcategories: activation and passivation. Role allocation can be identified by using transitivity system whether the social actor is represented as the agent, patient (subjected or treated as objects), or beneficiary (who benefits from the action). Activation refers to social actors who are represented as active in clauses, while passivation refers to social actors who are represented as the static force or passive in the activity. Moreover, passivation takes place when the social actors are subjected (treated as object in the representation) or beneficialised (benefit from the activity).

In addition, activation and passivation can be realized by the way social actors engage to the roles. It can be divided into three subcategories: participation, circumstantialization, and possessivation. Participation is the role of active or passive participants. Circumstantialization occurs when the social actors are put in certain circumstances. Possessivation occurs when the possesive pronoun is used to activate or passivate a social actor.

Personalization is when the social actors are represented as human being. it is distinguished into two types: determination and indetermination. Determination is when social actors are represented as specified and indetermination is when social actors are represented as unspecified individual. In terms of determination, there are three categories of representation that were used in this study, namely association, categorization, and nomination.

Association refers to groups formed by social actors and/or groups of social actors which are never labeled in the text. Moreover,

the way social actors are represented through identity is examined by nomination and categorization. Nomination involves representation of the social actors in terms of their unique identity. It can be realized by proper noun (formal, semiformal, informal) or additional honorific titles. Categorization involves the representation of the social actors in terms of identities and functions they share with others. There are two types of categorization in nominal group: functionalization and identification. Functionalization can be seen through the activity of the social actors, such as occupation. Identification can be realized through classification, relational identification, and physical identification.

Impersonalization is when the social actors are not represented as human being. The aim is to cover the role or identity of the social actors. There are two types of impersonalization: abstraction and objectivation. Abstraction occurs when a quality of social actors are assigned in the representation, while objectivation occurs when the person

or the action of social actors are associated with a place or a thing in the representation. Meanwhile, there are four types of objectivation: spatialization, utterance autonomization, instrumentalization, and somatization.

METHODOLOGY

This study uses critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a theory and method to analyse the news articles. CDA generally analyses news text, political speeches, and advertisements, which aims to reveal the hidden ideas, absences, and assumptions in the text (Machin & Mayr, 2012). CDA has never provided a particular approach to analyse discourse; it always consists of several theories (see Weiss & Wodak, 2003; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). CDA examines language that constructs and is constructed by social relationship and the language may also contain ideologies.

This study was guided by qualitative research method in revealing the representation of social actors in articles. Qualitative method was applied in this study because the

source of data gathered from articles which consist of text analysis (see Creswell, 2002; Caudle, 2004). However, quantitative method was also applied to support the percentage of data analysis, especially for tendencies of data that appear in the analysis.

The data were collected from online sources in the form of articles. The articles chosen were about the newly elected governor and vice governor of Jakarta, Jokowi and Basuki, in their 100 days of office, published in 22 January 2013. The ten national online media utilized in this study were Majalah Detik, Kompas, Tempo, Merdeka, Republika, Liputan 6, Kompasiana, Antara, Wartakota, and Metro TV News. The analysis was in level of major clauses. There are 210 clauses from the whole articles which contain particular social actors, where the

social actors in this analysis include Jokowi and Basuki as new governor and vice governor of Jakarta, Jakarta, Jakarta's citizens, Jakarta Provincial Government, and several social actors that accompany Jokowi-Basuki's actions.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The result of the analysis is that the social actors are represented through both inclusion and exclusion in the text. The strategy of inclusion occurs more often with 86.84% occurrences from the whole clauses, while the strategy of exclusion occurs 13.16%. It clearly shows that the social actors tend to be foregrounded in the text. Meanwhile, exclusion is found less in the text, which shows that some actors are also deliberately hidden by the authors. The occurrences of inclusion and exclusion can be seen in the following table.

| News reports | Category of Representation | | Total |
| | Inclusion | Exclusion | |
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)
Jokowi	75 (32.89%)	12 (5.26%)	87 (38.16%)
Basuki	17 (7.46%)	-	17 (7.46%)
Jokowi-Basuki	35 (15.35%)	2 (0.88%)	37 (16.23%)
Jakarta's people	32 (14.04%)	9 (3.95%)	41 (17.98%)
Jakarta	23 (10.09%)	1 (0.44%)	24 (10.53%)
Jakarta Provincial Government	7 (3.07%)	6 (2.63%)	13 (5.70%)
Other social actors that accompany Jokowi/Basuki's action	9 (3.95%)	-	9 (3.95%)
Total	198 (86.84%)	30 (13.16)	228 (100%)

The Strategy of Inclusion

The first social actor, Joko Widodo, as the new governor of Jakarta, is mostly included in representation (32.89%). It indicates that the media wants Jokowi to always be seen as if he was involved in the action done in Jakarta. Active representation of Jokowi is realized by grammatical participant roles in transitivity, where Jokowi is mostly placed as actor in material process and sayer in verbal process which shows that he is mostly represented as active participant in taking actions. The authors put Jokowi as participant creates an impression to the readers that Jokowi was participating actively in fixing Jakarta. Therefore Jokowi is represented as a figure that is able to manage Jakarta, where Jakarta is known as a city that fraught with problems.

(1) **Gubernur Joko Widodo** mengatakan, kerugian yang ditimbulkan akibat banjir diperkirakan mencapai Rp 20 trilliun. *(Governor Joko Widodo said the loss caused by the flooing is estimated to reach Rp 20 trillion.)*

(Merdeka, clause 98)

Moreover, the text tends to individualized Jokowi. In clause (1), the social actor, *Gubernur Joko Widodo* (Governor Joko Widodo), is represented by singularity and the use of proper noun. The use of

proper noun brings informal impression to the readers, in which it indicates closeness. It also uses strategy of functionalization in representing Jokowi, where Jokowi is represented through his occupation and role as a governor of Jakarta. The text gives a personal detail about the participant because the detail would signify that Jokowi is the focus in the text. The point of investigation is that the text more describes about the world in which one's specific exists. That is the world of the governor, not the world that the governor governs (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

The second social actor is Basuki Tjahja Purnama as the vice governor of Jakarta. Basuki is represented through the same way as Jokowi, where he is mostly treated as actor in material process and sayer in verbal process. However, Basuki is regarded as a complementary actor to action carried out by Jokowi, because Basuki is more mentioned in his collaboration with Jokowi rather than as a specific individual. The role of Basuki as vice governor carries people's expectation that the

governor (Jokowi) should be the one who plays more important roles regarding Jakarta instead of the vice governor (Basuki). In this case, Jokowi and Basuki as social actors are represented through association where they are associated to form a group. The group is represented as a teamwork that exists in relation to the social actor's role as supreme leader of Jakarta.

(2)   Selama berminggu-minggu **Jokowi-Ahok** memperjuangkan perubahan skema persentase beban utang Rp 15 triliun … *(During the weeks, Jokowi-Ahok fought for the change of percentage schemes of Rp 15 trillion debt …)*

(Tempo, clause 83)

In clause (2), Jokowi and Basuki are referred as a single entity. It is frequently realized by hyphen (i.e., *Jokowi-Basuki*). They are considered as actor in material process *memperjuangkan* (struggling for). This active representation shows that as a pair of governor and vice governor, Jokowi and Basuki actively perfoms several actions together. Although, both are

considered as an active participant in taking actions, the collaboration between Jokowi and Basuki are not mentioned as much as Jokowi as a specific individual.

The third social actor is Jakarta's citizens. Citizens of Jakarta are included 14.04% in the text. In strategy of inclusion, they are represented as active and passive. Active representation is realized by grammatical participant roles in transitivity, where they are mostly represented as senser in mental process and sayer in verbal process such as *mengatakan* (said).

(3) **Nano** mengatakan, selain itu, keduanya bekerja keras, mau turun ke lapangan. *(Nano said, besides that, they worked hard and would like to go to the field.)*

(Republika, clause 122)

Clause (3) shows that the action performed by citizen of Jakarta was about opinion of Jokowi and Basuki's performance. The use of the verbal process carries the readers to focus on what has been achieved by Jokowi, as the verbiage. On the other hand, Jakarta's citizens

are mentioned more as active participants rather than passive. This confirms that the active role of citizen of Jakarta cannot be separated from Jokowi's active role in addressing the problem of Jakarta. Moreover, as victims of the flooding that attacked Jakarta in early Jokowi's governorship, Jakarta's citizens are represented as general. While in the actions relate to Jokowi as the objective, Jakarta's citizens are represented as specific individuals, as evident in clause (3).

The fourth social actor is Jakarta. In the text, Jakarta is fully included, but it is mostly placed as passive participant. In clause (4), passive representation of Jakarta is realized by grammatical participant role in transitivity system, where Jakarta is generally positioned as goal in material process which shows that Jakarta is represented as the direct object where the action was intended to. Since Jakarta is well known as a capital city that suffers from several chronic problems, such as flooding, congestion, and air pollution, the authors put Jakarta as passive participant. It carries the

impression of the readers that Jakarta is treated as an object of concern in any actions relates to problem solving taken by Jokowi.

(4) **Jakarta** benar-benar lumpuh. *(Jakarta is really lame.)*

(Detik, clause 15)

Furthermore, the text impersonalizes Jakarta more than the other social actors. Most of impersonalizations of Jakarta are spatialization. This strategy is used to objectivate Jakarta and constructs an assumption that Jakarta is only considered as a place where the context is associated. Jakarta is totally separated from Jokowi, because the findings show that every action taken regarding the problem solving in Jakarta in the text is always associated with Jokowi, while Jakarta always be the affected party. It indicates that Jokowi is not necessarily also feeling the effects, and as if Jakarta does not have its own solution, so that problem solving can only rely on Jokowi as governor.

The fifth social actor is Jakarta Provincial Government i.e., *Pemprov DKI Jakarta.* It is only

included 3.07% the text. Clause (5) shows that despite Jakarta Provincial Government is positioned as active participant, it is activated mostly in relation to long-term programs i.e., *menggenjot rancangan proyek-proyek di Jakarta, salah satunya untuk mengatasi banjir* (boosting the project design to cope with flooding). Meanwhile, short-term actions were still being done by Jokowi individually (i.e., *checking, observing flood location*).

(5) Dalam tiga bulan ini, **jajaran Pemprov DKI Jakarta** masih menggenjot rancangan proyek-proyek di Jakarta, salah satunya untuk mengatasi banjir. *(Within three months, Jakarta Provincial Government still boosts project design in Jakarta; one of them is to cope with flooding.)*

(Detik, clause 53)

Jakarta Provincial Government is also represented as specific individual; nonetheless actions regarding the flood mitigation taken by Jokowi and the city government shows that Jokowi is not the only actor who is

dominated the flood mitigation in Jakarta.

The sixth social actor is several social actors that accompany Jokowi and Basuki in the clauses. The social actors are mostly realized by circumstance of accompaniment or as complements that joined the main social actors in performing an action, usually characterized by propositional phrase. (i.e., *to*). The reason this type of social actor is analyzed is to identify the extent to which Jokowi and Basuki collaborate with other social actors. In the text, these social actors are represented by means of activation within circumstance, where it means that the actors are placed in a particular circumstance. Those are also represented as beneficiary or are treated as third party who gets benefit from the actions. Through the analysis of circumstance of accompaniment in transitivity, some social actors were found.

(6)   Gun Gun berpendapat, Jokowi dapat melakukan blusukan ke **komunitas, pengusaha, maupun suku-suku dinas** untuk membicarakan masalah ini. *(Gun Gun argued, Jokowi can do the visiting to the community, employers, and provincial agencies to discuss this issue.)*

(Kompas, clause 70)

In clause above, a group that consists of the main social actor, *Jokowi* and other social actor, *komunitas, pengusaha, maupun suku-suku dinas* (the community, employers, provincial agencies), is formed. In the case of personalization, they are represented through the strategy of association which indicates that Jokowi have full supports of many parties so that readers would assume if Jokowi is completely able to fix Jakarta. They are also represented through relational identification as parties who have work relation with Jokowi and Basuki. The authors want to emphasize that the impact of the actions taken by Jokowi is not only felt by Jakarta, but also by some circles.

The Strategy of Exclusion

Some exclusion refers to the actor who has been known by the

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readers, i.e., *Jokowi*. This is evident in the strategy of backgrounding. Although the actor is not clearly stated in the action, it is mentioned elsewhere in the clause. It allows the readers speculate who actually perform the action. In this case, Jokowi is not necessarily excluded in the text. Clause (7) shows the example of backgrounding. The realization is in the use of non-finite verb; it is inferred from *menghadapi* (facing). Although the actor is excluded, since the clause is clause complex, somehow the actor is mentioned in the other part of the clause. It is seen through word *Jokowi*. This representation indicates the involvement of the social actor in the clause.

(7) **Menghadapi** itu semua, Jokowi menyatakan tetap optimistis. *(Facing those all Jokowi stated his optimistic.)*

(Tempo, clause 86)

Whereas, in strategy of suppression, the relevant actions are included, but some or all the actors involved in them (e.g. citizens, political observers) are excluded. In this strategy, Jakarta's people are

analysed as the most suppressed social actors, followed by Jakarta Provincial Government. It is not obviously affirmed who is doing the action where Jokowi be the one whom the actions are intended to. This strategy suggests that the authors want the readers to focus more on Jokowi, as the recipient of actions, by omitting anyone who does the actions. In clause (8), Jakarta's citizens are suppressed in the text. The actions are in form of verbal process *diisukan* (rumored). As sayer, they are also deliberately omitted. However, it indicates that in several actions, the authors want the reader to focus instead on sayer, but to the verbiage or recipient who incidentally in the text is Jokowi.

(8) Ia sempat *diisukan* menghilang saat banjir, karena tak terlihat ikut rapat koordinasi di Balai Kota. *(He was rumored to disappear during flooding because he was not seen joining a coordination meeting at City Hall.)*

(Detik, clause 19)

In the case of exclusion, Jakarta Provincial Government is

excluded generally in its short term actions *ditetapkan* (designated). It is realized by the use of passive agent deletion in suppression strategy. This suggests that the provincial government of Jakarta is obviously hidden in the text when the actions taken relate to short-term actions. It deflects the reader's thought, so that the reader does not realize that not only Jokowi who control the flood solving rapidly.

(9) DKI Jakarta akhirnya *ditetapkan* sebagai wilayah tanggap darurat banjir selama 10 hari, sejak 17 Januari sampai 27 Januari. *(Jakarta finally was designated as emergency area for 10 days, from January 17 until January 27.)*

(Detik, clause 27)

CONCLUSION

The present study tried to capture the ideological view of the media in representing the social actors in the online news articles. Van Leeuwen's approach to CDA provided categories of representation of social actor that was appropriate for analyzing the data. Through the investigations of exclusion and inclusion, I discovered that the representation tends to give a positive impression on what has been achieved by Jokowi. Jokowi was represented explicitly as a specific individual, where it shows the expectations of the public and the media that the governor has more vital roles than the other social actors, who are considered as complementary. The possible ideologies that can be obtained from the representation above are democracy, and Jokowi as the "city rescuer." The media were about to show that democracy is happened in Jakarta under the governorship of Jokowi. The media also wants to emphasize the role of Jokowi who was dominating the actions as a person who can rescue Jakarta from various problems.

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