

**SOCIAL ACTOR REPRESENTATION ON NEWS  
RELATED TO CORRUPTION CASE OF SOCIAL  
ASSISTANCE FUNDS IN THE JAKARTA POST**

**THESIS**

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**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE  
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES  
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK  
IBRAHIM MALANG**

**2022**

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**2022**

## STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

I state that the thesis entitled "**Social Actor Representation on News Related to Corruption Case of Social Assistance Funds in The Jakarta Post**" is my original work. I do not include any materials previously written or published by another person, except those cited as references and written in the bibliography. Hereby, if there is any objection or claim, I am the only person who is responsible for that.

Malang, 20 November 2022

The Researcher



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## APPROVAL SHEET

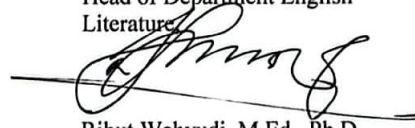
This to certify that Rahma Putri Yunia's thesis entitled Social Actor Representation on News Related to Corruption Case of Social Assistance Funds in The Jakarta Post has been approved for thesis examination at Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, as one of the requirements for the degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S.).

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Motto  
**DEDICATION**

This thesis is mainly dedicated to:

My beloved mother and my lovely father who always be my number one support system and love me wholeheartedly. For my lovely sister and brother, thank you for always being there through my ups and downs, cheering me up, and giving me a lot of love.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

All praises and gratitudes are sending to Allah SWT, the Lord of the universe, His mercies, blessings, and helps always stand behind me so that I can finish writing this thesis. God's mercies and blessings may always be poured down upon our beloved prophet Muhammad, the highest figure in the world, who guides us in the right way (Islam).

This thesis will never be completed without some contributions and supports from many people. Thus, my deepest gratitude is expressed to my advisor Dr. Agwin Degaf, M.A., for his valuable guidance and suggestions given to me for completing this thesis. I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. H. M. Zainuddin, MA. as the Head of UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, Dr. M. Faisol, M.Ag. as the Dean of Humanities Faculty, Ribut Wahyudi, M.Ed., Ph.D. as the Head of English Literature Department and Zainur Rofiq, M.A. as my academic advisor.

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## ABSTRACT

**Yunia, Rahma Putri** (2022) *Social Actor Representation on News Related to Corruption Case of Social Assistance Funds on The Jakarta Post*. Undergraduate Thesis. Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Advisor Dr. Agwin Degaf, M.A.

*Key word: Social Actor Representation, Discourse Analysis, Corruption*

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Social actor representation (SAR) is an exciting topic for research. This article encourages critical thinking by analyzing social actors in the news. Moreover, the examined social actor's representation is a well-known person. This study analyzed the news related to the corruption case of the social affairs minister of Indonesia. The study used van Leeuwen's theory. The researcher chooses to employ Van Leeuwen's concept because of its potential to influence readers' critical thinking. The study examines the exclusion and inclusion strategy used in The Jakarta Post online news. The results of this study are in the form of words, phrases, and sentences. The researcher used a descriptive qualitative method to analyze the data. This study collected the data from The Jakarta Post online news portal. The data are collected at a specific time. The study results show that The Jakarta Post frequently used an inclusion strategy to represent the social actor in their article. The inclusion strategies often found in the results are individualization, indetermination, and functionalization. The next researcher may use additional data sources and online news data distinct from the study for future research. Future researchers could give a quantitative approach to further research.



يونيا ، رحمة بوتري (2022) تمثيل الممثل الاجتماعي حول الأخبار المتعلقة بحالة الفساد في صناديق المساعدة الاجتماعية على جاكارتا بوست .أطروحة جامعية .قسم الأدب الإنجليزي ، كلية العلوم الإنسانية ، جامعة الإسلام نيجري مولانا مالك إبراهيم مالانج .المستشار د .أجوين ديجاف، ماجستير الكلمة المفتاحية: تمثيل الفاعل الاجتماعي ، تحليل الخطاب النقدي ، الفساد

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تمثيل الجهات الفاعلة الاجتماعية هو موضوع مثير للاهتمام

يذكر .تشجع هذه المقالة التفكير النقدي من خلال تحليل الجهات الفاعلة الاجتماعية في الأخبار .علاوة على ذلك ، فإن تمثيل الممثل الاجتماعي قيد الدراسة هو شخص مشهور .تحلل هذه الدراسة الأخبار المتعلقة بقضية فساد وزير الشؤون الاجتماعية الإندونيسي .تستخدم هذه الدراسة نظرية فان ليوين .يختار الباحث استخدام مفهوم تمثيل الفاعلين الاجتماعيين لأن لديه القدرة على التأثير على التفكير النقدي للقراء .تبحث هذه الدراسة في استراتيجيات الاستبعاد والشمول المستخدمة في أخبار جاكارتا بوست على الإنترنت .جاءت نتائج هذه الدراسة في شكل كلمات وعبارات وجمل .استخدم الباحثون المنهج الوصفي النوعي لتحليل البيانات .تجمع هذه الدراسة البيانات من بوابة الأخبار على الإنترنت جاكارتا بوست .يتم جمع البيانات في وقت معين .تظهر نتائج الدراسة أن جاكارتا بوست غالبًا ما تستخدم استراتيجية دمج لتمثيل الجهات الفاعلة الاجتماعية في مقالاتها .استراتيجيات الدمج التي غالبًا ما توجد في النتائج هي الفردية وعدم اليقين والتوظيف .يمكن للباحثين اللاحقين استخدام مصادر بيانات إضافية وبيانات إخبارية عبر الإنترنت تختلف عن البحث لمزيد من البحث .يمكن للباحثين في المستقبل تقديم نهج كمي لمزيد من البحث

## ABSTRAK

**Yunia, Rahma Putri** (2022) *Representasi Aktor Sosial pada Pemberitaan Terkait Kasus Korupsi Dana Bansos di The Jakarta Post*. Tesis Sarjana. Jurusan Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Pembimbing Dr. Agwin Degaf, M.A.

*Kata kunci: Representasi Aktor Sosial, Analisis Wacana, Korupsi*

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Representasi aktor sosial (SAR) adalah topik yang menarik untuk penelitian. Artikel ini mendorong pemikiran kritis dengan menganalisis aktor sosial dalam berita. Apalagi representasi aktor sosial yang diteliti adalah orang terkenal. Kajian ini menganalisis pemberitaan terkait kasus korupsi menteri sosial Indonesia. Penelitian ini menggunakan teori van Leeuwen. Peneliti memilih menggunakan konsep Van Leeuwen karena berpotensi mempengaruhi pemikiran kritis pembaca. Studi ini mengkaji strategi eksklusif dan inklusif yang digunakan dalam berita online The Jakarta Post. Hasil penelitian ini berupa kata, frase, dan kalimat. Peneliti menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif untuk menganalisis data. Studi ini mengumpulkan data dari portal berita online The Jakarta Post. Data dikumpulkan pada waktu tertentu. Hasil studi menunjukkan bahwa The Jakarta Post sering menggunakan strategi inklusif untuk merepresentasikan aktor sosial dalam artikelnya. Strategi inklusif yang sering ditemukan dalam hasil adalah individualisasi, ketidakpastian, dan fungsionalisasi. Peneliti berikutnya dapat menggunakan sumber data tambahan dan data berita online yang berbeda dari penelitian untuk penelitian selanjutnya. Peneliti selanjutnya dapat memberikan pendekatan kuantitatif untuk penelitian selanjutnya.

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## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter contains of background of the study, research question, significance of the study, scope and limitation, and definition of key terms.

#### **A. Background of the Study**

In early 2020, the first case of the Covid-19 virus pandemic entered Indonesia. The emergence of this virus was predictable in advance. The virus spread is not easy to avoid because it spreads quickly and forces the whole country to carry large-scale social restrictions. The impact of this restriction is that many companies, schools, and public facilities are closed. Many workers are fired off because the company can no longer pay salaries during the pandemic. However, in the middle of the pandemic, an unexpected corruption case emerged: the corruption of social assistance funds carried out by the Indonesian Minister of Social Affairs.

The corruption case is hugely unfair to some people because it occurs during a pandemic where many people are affected by the impact of the pandemic. The news of the corruption case carried out by the Indonesian Minister of Social Affairs became viral and got the attention of all Indonesian people. It makes the public's attention focused on this case, namely as the minister of social affairs who should distribute aid funds to

the people of the whole country; instead, he is the one who corrupts the funds himself. Journalists also do not miss this opportunity to cover and report everything regarding the development of this case, which will always seize the public's attention.

This study examines the representation of social actor in the corruption case of Indonesia's former social affairs minister. Many people have discussed this subject since it concerns the rights of Indonesians affected by this issue. The researcher is interested in investigating the topic because the researcher wants to know how mass media portrays the representation of the social actor in the case. The author will collect the data from The Jakarta Post online mass media. It is critical to study the subject because corruption in Indonesia has been heavily discussed, particularly in how corruptors are penalized and handled after committing these actions.

From the previous study, the representation of social actors has been conducted in several circumstances. Firstly, a study examining media reports on public responses to controversial legislators' monthly/annual income in Nigeria in 2019, which was expected to surpass legislators' salaries worldwide, was conducted by Chiluwa (2021). The data for this study come from news and opinion articles published between 2017 and 2019 that reflect the public's reaction to the salary controversy involving public officers and National Assembly representatives. The report claims that the Nigerian political economy's lack of accountability and pervasive

corruption results from weak political systems that allow politicians to profit themselves.

Secondly, Khalif et al. (2022) investigated how language is used to represent the threat of corruption in Kenyan print media. The study made use of an analytical research design. The study's findings revealed the use of linguistic elements that enhance and amplify corruption-related reporting.

Thirdly, Ogunmuyiwa (2015) investigates and analyzes the discourse placement of corruption by two successive Nigerians, with data drawn from two official speeches. This study contends that official speeches by presidents (primarily in Nigeria) can discursively reveal their commitment to fighting corruption.

Fourthly, according to Riswandi et al. (2021), the study aims to use a critical discourse approach and news text analysis to identify the news on Kompas.com, CNN Indonesia, and Republika.co.id about corruption following the amendment of the KPK law. According to (Ahlstrand, 2021), the researchers concentrated on ideological polarization strategies in the discourse of Kompas.com, an Indonesian online news media site. Using Van Leeuwen's concept of social actor analysis and van Dijk's concept of the ideological square, the article concentrated on Megawati Soekarnoputri as an icon of ideological contestation during the presidential campaign.

Fifthly, Suprihatin et al. (2020) Used Van Leeuwen's theory to eliminate social actors from news coverage of the 2019 election on

MediaIndonesia.com and iNews.id. According to the findings, the background data patterns match the encounters that social actors experienced while working in specific institutions. It denotes that the journey of social actors in administering an institution influences the historical moment shown. Another study used Van Leeuwen's theory to assess the social actor's pictures of the candidate of the Central-Java election 2018 in an online media report.

Sixthly, according to Khasandi (2016), the researcher examined communication in Public Service Vehicles (PSVs) using the Discourse Historical framework adapted by Khosravini to analyze the manifestation and social construction of corruption in PSVs, passenger attitudes toward corruption and ideas for how passengers can help eliminate it. The research was qualitative, with a group discussion examining attitudes and power dynamics.

Seventhly, the study conducted by Mancini et al. (2016) examines how corruption and related subjects are covered in three European democracies: Italy, France, and the United Kingdom. According to Freedom House data, these countries have various levels of press freedom. Dedicated software is used to analyze a considerable amount of newspaper articles.

Eighthly, a study conducted by Suprayogi (2021) aims to explain the method of social actor representation implemented by The Jakarta Post, South China Morning Post, and The New York Times in their coverage of demonstrators and the government. This study followed Theo van



Leeuwen's (2008) framework for social actors, which includes exclusion and inclusion. Another study used Van Leeuwen's theory to assess the social actor's pictures, of the candidate of the Central-Java election 2018, in an online media report (Anindhita et al., 2020).

According to (Ahlstrand, 2021), the researchers concentrated on ideological polarization strategies in the discourse of Kompas.com, an Indonesian online news media site. Using Van Leeuwen's concept of social actor analysis and van Dijk's concept of the ideological square, the article concentrated on Megawati Soekarnoputri as an icon of ideological contestation during the presidential campaign.

The researcher finds the gap from the previous findings to continue further research. The previous study uses the same theory but a different object. This study discusses Van Leeuwen's theory on investigating the representation of social actor in corruption cases involving the former Indonesian minister of social affairs. Data were collected from online mass media. Researchers within a predetermined time collected all data because the more data obtained, the more comprehensive this research. The researcher uses exclusion and inclusion strategies to find answers to research problems. Based on the research problems, the study's objective is to examine the exclusion and inclusion strategy used by The Jakarta Post in the Indonesian Ministry of Social Affairs corruption case.

**B. Research Question**

Based on the research, the research problem is:

How are the exclusion and inclusion strategy used by The Jakarta Post to describe social actors in the corruption case of the Indonesian Ministry of Social affairs?

**C. Significance of the Study**

The researcher expects that the study's findings will be a valuable contribution to the study of language by utilizing Van Leeuwen's discourse analysis in the language of the newspaper, focusing on the representation of social actor discourse analysis involving the former social affairs minister corruption scandal. The following researcher will understand how to apply the extended theory of van Leeuwen representing social actors in online newspaper text. This study can help anyone understand who is marginalized by hiding or showing social actors in media that are full of interest, particularly by employing van Leeuwen's theory of discourse analysis. Furthermore, it can be used as a resource by other researchers conducting essential studies of discourse, particularly those who use text from mass media as their object.

**D. Scope and Limitation**

This research emphasizes implementing van Leeuwen's discourse analysis theory focusing on social actor representation. The exclusion and

inclusion methods are the analysis method used by the researcher. Furthermore, the researcher only chose news regarding the issue from the 5th of December 2020 until the 31st of January 2021. The researcher believes that the terminology utilized throughout this period is a brief representation of political power. It is consistent with Critical Discourse Analysis, which studies language related to governance, dominance, and politics.

#### **E. Definition of Key Terms**

In this subchapter contains the definition of some key terms

- 1. Social Actor Representation:** The particular portrayal or depiction of participants or actors in a discourse.
- 2. Exclusion Strategy:** It is a discourse approach in which social actors exclude themselves from the discourse.
- 3. Inclusion Strategy:** It is a discourse approach in which social actors are included in the conversation.
- 4. Social minister corruption case:** Corruption case that occurred during the covid-19 pandemic. This case was reported in late 2020 and dragged the social ministry of Indonesia as a suspect.
- 5. Online mass media:** Mass media provides much information that can be accessed online anywhere and anytime.

## **CHAPTER II REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

This chapter contains theoretical framework related to the issue of the study.

### **A. Discourse Analysis (DA)**

Discourse analysis examines a running conversation between the speaker and the audience (or an author's text and its reader). In discourse analysis, a conversation's context and content are considered. This context can consist of a social and cultural framework, the location of the speaker during the discourse, nonverbal messages such as body language, and images and symbols in the case of textual communication. A common interpretation of discourse is the use of language in certain social circumstances; language is seen as a tool for bringing about some social change or accomplishing some kind of objective.

Discourse analysis derives meaning from the language used in a corpus or group of data. This collection of data could include transcripts of interviews or focus group discussions. While some forms of discourse analysis focus on the particulars of language (such as sounds or grammar), others examine how this language is employed to accomplish its goals. Discourse analysis is distinctive because it posits that social reality is socially constructed or that our comprehension of the world is subjective. Discourse analysis transcends the literal interpretation of words and languages. Discourse analysis investigates the purposes of language, for

instance, what language is used for and how interpretation is constructed in various contexts, including the discourse's social, political, cultural, and historical contexts.

According to (van Leeuwen, 2008), it is now critical to emphasize the distinction between social practices and social practice representation. Simply put, the distinction between "doing something" and "talking about something" is self-evident. The resources for portraying social processes in the text will be discourse, social cognition, or socially specialized methods of comprehending social practices. Van Leeuwen's theory explains how perspectives and actors are presented in a report. Van Leeuwen's approach provided a general model for explaining how to portray social actors in the media. There are two types of van Leeuwen perspectives: exclusion and inclusion strategy. Van Leeuwen discussed in exclusion how social actors are represented in the news. The second is inclusion, which relates to how each particular group is represented in a report.

## **B. Van Leeuwen's Social Actor Representation**

van Leeuwen (2008: 23-54) states that participants or social actors in English discourse can be defined in two ways: exclusion and inclusion, with the approach, used to suit the readers' preferences and purposes for whom they are intended. Van Leeuwen implements his CDA theory by first conducting a sociosemantic inventory of the various ways social actors can

be represented, then establishing the sociological and critical significance of his categories and how they are discovered linguistically.

## 1. Exclusion

Exclusion is a discourse approach wherein the people or social actors are excluded from the field of discourse. Several of the exclusions may be "innocent," details that readers are guessed to know or considered irrelevant to them; others are closely related to misinformation strategies of instilling fear in "our" opponents.

### a) Suppression

There is no mention of the social actor in the statement anywhere in the text. Suppression is known in several ways, the first being passive agent deletion. For instance, *"In Indonesia similar concerns are being expressed about the sinking of Jakarta in 2050."* It informs us that "concerns are being expressed," but it doesn't say who is expressing them. Another example is, *"The second wave of distribution from October to December had yielded around Rp 8.8 billion in bribes, the KPK found."* It can be included in the passivation strategy. Based on the sentence, the social actor is excluded. It does not explicitly mention who is distributing the bribes. KPK, in the sentence, is not the social actor who had yielded the bribes. The social actor does not clearly represent in the sentence. The sentence is about how Juliari and his subordinates carry out the distribution of social assistance. It talks about the second wave of distribution and how much the bribes have taken. The second

wave of distribution in the text needs to be explained in detail because it may require further investigation from the Corruption Eradication Commission to determine how it was distributed. The sentence focuses on how much the bribes are rather than who is distributing the bribes. Secondly, grammatical participants, such as nonfinite clauses, can also be used to achieve suppression. For instance, *“To maintain the quality of the product is not easy.”* The infinitive clause "to maintain the quality of the product" is embedded to carry an attributive clause. This makes it possible to exclude the social actor responsible for "maintaining" the quality of the product. Another example is, *“To ensure that the 3 percent cut was paid, his staff assigned specific contractors – with which he had personal connections – to do the job.”* The infinitival clause "To ensure that the 3 percent cut was paid" is embedded to carry an attributive clause. It excludes the social actor responsible for "ensuring" the 3 percent cut. The sentence does not state who is the social actor. The lowering of the process "ensure" makes the fact that exclusion has occurred slightly less obvious; the trace is slightly less transparent. Thirdly, nominalizations and process nouns exclude social actors. For instance; the word “support” and “stopping” in the sentence *“The level of support of stopping the spread of the virus altogether is at its highest during a pandemic.”* The actor is excluded from the sentence. Fourthly, processes may be recognized as adjectives, such as “fear” in the *“The students are unable to voice their fears about the impact of excessive*

*study hours.*” Fifthly, removing “beneficiaries,” or the people who gain from an activity. For instance, “*The student apologized for coming late.*” It does not mention to who the student apologizes for.

b) Backgrounding

The excluded social actors may not be stated as relevant to a particular action but are listed elsewhere within the text.

2. Inclusion

Inclusion is a discourse approach in which social actors participate in a particular field of discourse.

a) Activation

It happens when social actors are portrayed as active, dynamic characteristics in an activity. Activation is achieved primarily through “participation,” which refers to the significant participation that social actors undertake. For instance, “*The workers sued the company for a pay cut even though it had been set.*” According to the sentence, “The workers” are the participant who sued their company. Another example is, “*The ministers can strengthen anticorruption efforts and serve as a check on corruption in the public sector.*” It refers to significant participation that the social actor participates in an activity. Social actors are portrayed as active, dynamic characteristics in an activity. In the sentence, the ministers can enhance anti-corruption efforts and provide a check on corruption in the public sector.

b) Passivation



Social actors are usually as “experiencing” or “obtaining” the activity. Passivation is classified into two types. The first is subjected, social actors addressed as objects in the representation. For instance, “*The beautiful girls are waiting in line at the beauty salon.*”. The second is Beneficialization, social actors who derive either positive or negative benefits from the action represent a third party. For instance, “*Even though the goods are on sale, customers only get a 20% discount.*”. The sentence “customers only get a 20% discount” is beneficiary.

c) Genericization

It is when the social actors are mentioned in general. It can be shown in the plural form, such as “The boys” in “*The boys are playing football.*” The sentence does not explicitly mention who the boys are; it just addresses some boys playing football.

d) Specification

In contrast to Genericization, it refers to a particular thing, such as “*The social affairs minister*” and “*The new KPK leadership*” The examples are mentioned specifically what minister they are.

e) Assimilation

The social actor can be referred to a group as “*the nation,*” “*this organization,*” “*we,*” “*our,*” or “*the researchers.*” For instance, “*This announcement applies to twelfth graders.*” The word “graders” refers to all students in twelfth grade.

f) Individualization

Social actor can be referred to as individual or as singularity. For instance, *“The chief executive officer, Mr. Adi Nugroho.”* In the sentence, the chief executive officer is referred to Mr. Adi Nugroho (an individual). Another example is, *“Social Affairs Minister Juliari Batubara”* it means the social affairs minister is Juliari Batubara.

g) Association

It refers to social actor communities or social actor groups. For instance, *“The students and the teachers are working together to clean up the school back yard.”*. In the sentence, “the students” and “the teachers” are associated with helping each other. Another example is, *“Juliari and his subordinates”*, the sentence indicates the cooperation between Juliari and his subordinates.

h) Dissociation

It refers to a group that is distinct from an association group.

i) Indetermination

It happens when social actors are portrayed as unspecified, such as *“many customers...”, “some people...”* and *“someone...”*. For instance, *“Many customers are waiting for the store to open.”*. The phrase “many customers” does not refer to how many people. Another example is, *“Many anticorruption scholars and supporters”*

j) Determination

In contrast to indetermination, determination usually happens when a social actor’s character is specified. For instance, *“A singer got a*

*grammy award for The Best Female Singer.*” In the sentence, a social actor is identified explicitly as “a singer,” not “someone.”

k) Differentiation

It distinguishes a social actor or group of social actors from a similar actor or group. For instance, “*East Javanese people have a different Javanese accent from Central Javanese people.*”. The sentence indicates the difference in accent between “East Javanese people” and “Central Javanese people,” even though they are Javanese.

l) Nomination

In terms of identities and functions that social actors share with others, it can be physical, social status, religion, and anything else that the others will know in common. For instance, “*Mr. President, Joko Widodo*”

m) Categorization

Social actors are defined by the roles and identities they share with others. It could be their appearance, social class, religion, or anything else that most people will also recognize. Here, social actors are described by what they are thought to be (Machin & van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 84). It can be used to make people feel less important or to show dominance and power by some social actors. For instance, “*The most beautiful girl in the world is a popular model.*” It is addressed Bella Hadid as the most beautiful girl in the world without mentioned her in the sentence. Another example is, “*She has been named third-best*

*mayor in the world by the World City Mayors Foundation.*” It proves that she achieved many great things in her performance as mayor so that she earned the title of the third best mayor.

n) Functionalization

It occurs when social actors are referred to in terms of an interaction that they engage in. Typically, it is accomplished through one of the below forms: first, by a noun created from a verb, using suffixes such as -ee, -er, - and -ian; for example, “*employee*”, “*singer*” and “*guardian*” Second, a word denoting a place or tool intimately related to an activity, such as through suffixes such as -er, and -ist such as *painter and bassist*. Third, by combining words indicating a location or tool linked with an activity, -man, -woman, -person, and -people, such as *businessman and chairman*.

o) Identification

It occurs when social actors are expressed in terms other than what they do or when they are positioned as the main clause of a sentence, followed by more than one sub-clause. The function of the sub-clause is to provide additional details or elaboration for the main clause. It has three types; first, classification is when social actors are referred to base on the main categories by which a particular society or institution distinguishes between classes of people. It includes gender, age, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual preference, etc. For instance, “*a Muslim singer gets awarded for being best singer of the year.*” Second is

relational identification, which defines social actors in the context of their personal, family, or professional relationships with one another. It is implemented through a closed set of nouns expressing these relationships, such as *"uncle," "best friend," "colleague,"* etc. Third, Physical identification is the process of characterizing social actors by the physical traits that make them remarkable in a given situation. It can be shown by adjectives that define physical traits. For instance, *"brown hair", "tall", "young" and "small"*

p) Personalization

It occurs when social actors are defined by personal or possessive pronouns and proper names. Social actors are portrayed by making reference to a location or object that is closely connected to either the person or the action that they are portrayed as being engaged in. For instance, *"KH. Abdurrahman Wahid is the 4<sup>th</sup> president of Indonesia."* In the sentence it is stated that the fourth president of Indonesia is KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, this is included in personalization because this title is attached to the individual.

q) Impersonalization

Social actors are represented by abstract nouns or concrete nouns whose meanings do not contain the semantic element "human." There are two different kinds of impersonalization. The first kind is called abstraction, which occurs when social actors are portrayed through a quality attributed to them by and in the representation. It happens when social

actors are represented through relation to a place or thing closely linked with their person or the action in which they are represented as being involved. For example, "*black*" and "*poor*." Second, objectivation happens when social actors are displayed through reference to a place or thing linked with the action in which they are represented as participating. Examples are "*the African man*" and "*the overweight girl*," amongst others.

r) Overdetermination

It occurs when social actors are portrayed as engaging in more than one social practice at the same time. For instance, "*Mrs. Putri is a teacher and a singer.*"

## **CHAPTER III**

### **RESEARCH METHODS**

In this chapter consist of research design, research instrument, data source, data collection and data analysis.

#### **1. Research Design**

This study employs a descriptive qualitative research method to find the answer to the research questions. This strategy is used to obtain valid results and describe the data. To investigate this issue, qualitative researcher employs an evolving qualitative method of inquiry, data gathering in a natural context sensitive to the people and places under investigation, and empirical data analysis that identifies patterns or themes. The research data is in online news portals' words, phrases, and sentences. The researcher aims to examine and analyze the data based on van Leeuwen's representation of social actor theory and uses the exclusion and inclusion strategy to analyze the data.

#### **2. Research Instrument**

Because the data for this study is in the form of texts, which requires objective analysis and description, the researcher will be the primary instrument for gathering and analyzing the data.

#### **3. Data Source**

The data source is the subject where the data is obtained. This study takes data from online news portal, which is The Jakarta Post. It reported

information related to the corruption case of the social affairs minister of Indonesia. Based on online surveys by The Conservation in 2022, The Jakarta Post has surpassed the Top 10 Indonesian Digital Media that are popular in readers' eyes. This study focuses on analyzing the news content. The study does not take the complete information. However, it starts at a specific time from the 5th of December 2020 until the 31st of January 2021. On that date, the Indonesian social minister was suspected as a suspect and underwent an examination before the verdict trial was carried out. This research uses online news as data because it is easily accessible.

#### **4. Data Collection**

There are two steps to collect the data. First, the researcher opened the online news portal to search the news published from the 5th of December 2020 until the 31st of January 2021. Second, the researcher reads the text carefully to choose the relevant information based on the corruption case of the social affairs minister. The research data is from online news words, phrases, and sentences.

#### **5. Data Analysis**

The following steps must be taken to analyze the data: Firstly, the researchers used data from online mass media (The Jakarta Post) within a specified time from 5th of December 2020 to 31st of January 2021. Secondly, the researcher categorized the data based on van Leeuwen's (2008) theory. The researcher arranged the data into a table to make it



easier and more efficient to analyze the data. The data were in the form of phrases and sentences that consist of exclusion and inclusion strategy and determine the types of Exclusion (Suppression-Backgrounding) and Inclusion (activation, passivation, genericization, specification, assimilation, individualization, association, dissociation, indetermination, determination, differentiation, nomination, categorization, functionalization, identification, personalization, impersonalization, and overdetermination). Thirdly, the researcher examines how the exclusion and inclusion strategy is used in the articles based on van Leeuwen's (2008) theory.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

The findings and discussion of this study examine the discourses of several online news related to the corruption case of the minister of social affairs. This analysis aims to determine how social actors are portrayed in the news using exclusion and inclusion techniques. For the first time, the researcher studies phrases or sentences that apply exclusion and inclusion techniques. The news articles related to the corruption news of the Minister of Social Affairs were published in the period from December 2020 to January 2021.

#### **A. Findings**

This subchapter contains the research data, the analysis of each data using exclusion and inclusion strategy. The subchapter divided into two sections. The first section is exclusion strategy. In this section there are two articles that each articles have one datum. The second section is inclusion strategy. In this section there are ten articles with various numbers of datum. So, the researcher use “Datum 1.1” means that it is from the first article and it is a first data, so on.

##### **1. Exclusion**

###### **Article 1**

The article entitled “*Minister Juliari named a suspect in COVID-19 aid graft case*” was published on Sunday, December 6th, 2020. The news article is about the social minister named a suspect in the social assistance corruption case. The article represents how the minister of social affairs was arrested and explains how he and his subordinates carried out the corruption process. The text also mentions the distribution of social assistance and the benefits that the corruptors get.

#### **Datum 1**

*“The second wave of distribution from October to December had yielded around Rp 8.8 billion in bribes, the KPK found.”*

Data 1 can be identified as **suppression**. It can be included in the passivation strategy. Based on the sentence, the social actor is excluded. It does not explicitly mention who is distributing the bribes. KPK, in the sentence, is not the social actor who had yielded the bribes. The social actor does not clearly represent in the sentence. The sentence is about how Juliari and his subordinates carry out the distribution of social assistance funds. It talks about the second wave of distribution and how much the bribes have taken. The second wave of distribution in the text needs to be explained in detail because it may require further investigation from the Corruption Eradication Commission to determine how it was distributed. The

sentence focuses on how much the bribes are rather than who is distributing the bribes.

## **Article 2**

The article entitled “[INSIGHT] *Death to the corrupt is not the answer, fighting oligarchy is*” was published on Sunday, December 13th, 2020. The news text discusses how the Juliari corruption case shocked the public because a minister entrusted with the mandate to help people affected by the pandemic has the heart to commit corruption. Based on the text, the reporter also explained what punishment is appropriate for corruptors because public opinion says that corruptors have good political connections and are part of an oligarchy. Therefore, it is unlikely that our law enforcement agencies will impose such a sentence.

## **Datum 1**

*“To ensure that the 3 percent cut was paid, his staff assigned specific **contractors** – with which he had personal connections – to do the job.”*

In data 2, the sentence can be identified as **suppression**. The infinitival clause "To ensure that the 3 percent cut was paid" is embedded to carry an attributive clause. It excludes the social actor responsible for "ensuring" the 3 percent cut. The sentence does not state who is the social actor. The lowering of the process "ensure" makes the fact that exclusion has occurred slightly less obvious; the trace is slightly less transparent.

## **2.Inclusion**

### **Article 1**

The article entitled “*Minister Juliari named a suspect in COVID-19 aid graft case*” was published on Sunday, December 6th, 2020. The news article is about the social minister named a suspect in the social assistance corruption case. The article represents how the minister of social affairs was arrested and explains how he and his subordinates carried out the corruption process. The text also mentions the distribution of social assistance and the benefits that the corruptors get.

#### **Datum 1.1**

*“Social Affairs Minister Juliari Batubara has been named a suspect in a graft case involving the distribution of COVID-19 social aid”*

In datum 1.1, based on the sentence, Juliari was named a suspect in a corruption case related to the distribution of aid funds during a pandemic. The journalist writes, “Social affairs Minister Juliari Batubara.” In this sentence, it is stated in detail who is the minister of social affairs along with his full name, it refers to an individual, and it is called **individualization**. In the sentence above is written clearly who is the suspect in the social assistance fund corruption case. It is intended to tell the reader whom the actor is involved. The journalist represented the social actor by using an

inclusion (individualization) strategy because, at that time, the social actor was the main suspect in the social assistance fund corruption case.

### **Datum 1.2**

*“Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) **chairman** Firli Bahuri said during a press conference on Sunday morning that Juliari, along with his subordinates Matheus Joko Santoso and Adi Wahyono, had purportedly accepted roughly Rp 12 billion (US\$582,020) in bribes from a number of suppliers during the first wave of the ministry’s aid distribution earlier this year”.*

In datum 1.2, based on the sentence, the chairman refers to Firli Bahuri. The word “chairman,” can be included in **functionalization**. The journalist mentions the social actor clearly in the text. The social actor in the sentence is chairman Firli Bauri. The journalist represents the social actor using the social actor’s profession. It can be identified as the third type of functionalization.

### **Datum 1.3**

*“The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) **politician** had instructed Matheus and Adi to handpick and strike distribution deals entailing commission fees with several suppliers, including Ardian IM and Harry Sidabuke, as well as PT RPI – a private company allegedly owned by Matheus – for a period of between May and November, according to Firli.”*

Datum 1.3, the sentence above does not mention who is the social actor in a specific way. The word politician in the sentence belongs to an individual. The word “politician” can be included

as **functionalization**. The journalist represents the social actor using the social actor's profession. It can be identified as the first type of functionalization. Functionalization is when the social actor is explained in terms of an activity or in terms of doing something they participate in, such as a profession or a position. The social actor in the sentence does not mention clearly. The journalist hesitates to mention who the politician is because he or she may have the power.

#### **Datum 1.4**

*“President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo had ordered his administration to maintain transparency in the distribution of social assistance in response to the COVID-19 outbreak, stressing that the public should know the details about those who are eligible to receive the aid and what type of aid is being distributed.”*

In datum 1.4, in that sentence, President Joko Widodo asked his government to maintain transparency in the distribution of social assistance. The journalist writes “President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo” which can be included in **individualization**. It is referred to as singularity or an individual. The journalist represented the social actor by using an inclusion (individualization) strategy because, at that time, the social actor was ordered the staff to maintain transparency in the distribution of social assistance in the face of the COVID-19 outbreak being distributed. The journalist wrote the name clearly in the sentence above to let the reader know who is the social actor.

## Article 2

The article entitled “[INSIGHT] *Death to the corrupt is not the answer, fighting oligarchy is*” was published on Sunday, December 13th, 2020. The news text discusses how the Juliari corruption case shocked the public because a minister entrusted with the mandate to help people affected by the pandemic has the heart to commit corruption. Based on the text, the reporter also explained what punishment is appropriate for corruptors because public opinion says that corruptors have good political connections and are part of an oligarchy. Therefore, it is unlikely that our law enforcement agencies will impose such a sentence.

### Datum 2.1

*“Many had warned of the risk of corruption in COVID-19 emergency measures, such as in aid disbursement and the procurement of equipment.”*

In datum 2.1, the journalist wrote, “many had warned,” It can be included in **indetermination**. The social actors are not mentioned in the text above because it does not explicitly indicate how many people had been warned. The social actor does not represent clearly because it may be more than ten people or more. Indetermination can also be achieved through generalized exophoric reference, which provides social actors with a sense of impersonal authority, an invisible but intensely felt coercive force. The sentence



above talks about the risk of corruption in the middle of the COVID-19 pandemic.

### **Datum 2.2**

*“The social affairs minister was not.”*

In datum 2.2, the journalist wrote, “The social affairs minister,” which can be included in **specification**. It occurs when the social actor is represented as a particular thing. Based on the text, the journalist aims to mention the social actor not in general (the minister). It specifically refers to the social affairs minister. The use of specific title in the sentence will make the reader understand who is the social actor.

### **Datum 2.3**

*“Juliari is a well-educated man from a well-to-do family and understands these concepts.”*

In datum 2.3, the journalist describes Juliari as “well-educated” and from a “well-to-do family”; it defines how his social class among the others. It can be included in **categorization**. Based on the sentence, social actors are defined by the roles and identities they share with others. Through the categorization, the social actor is represented by the term social status. As mentioned, Juliari is a well-educated man from a well-to-do family; it does not make the public decrease their resentment towards Juliari.

#### **Datum 2.4**

*“The new **KPK leadership** wants to disprove the public’s perception that it is powerless, lacking the courage of previous incarnations of the commission in striking hard at politically connected targets.”*

In datum 2.4, the journalist mentions “The new **KPK leadership**,” which can be included in **specification**. Based on the sentence, the social actor does not refer to a general but to a particular thing. It refers to the new **KPK leadership**. The text above wants to break the public perception of the **KPK's** performance in handling corruption cases related to the minister of social affairs.

#### **Article 3**

The article entitled “*KPK following money in Juliari case*” was published on Monday, December 7th, 2020. This article explains that the **KPK** is further investigating the flow of funds in the bribery case involving the Minister of Social Affairs Juliari Batubara, including the possibility of the flow of funds to political parties. The **KPK** is also probing whether Juliari or other officials have caused state losses through acts of corruption that carry a maximum penalty of 20 years or life imprisonment, depending on the number of state losses.

#### **Datum 3.1**

*“**KPK spokesperson Ali Fikri** said the commission had pocketed more detailed information regarding the flow of*

*funds involving the distribution of COVID-19 social aid and would soon examine witnesses to confirm their findings.”*

In datum 3.1, the journalist writes “KPK spokesperson Ali Fikri” which can be included in **individualization** because it refers to an individual (Ali Fikri as a KPK spokesperson). The journalist represented the social actor using an inclusion (individualization) strategy because, at that time, the social actor was the KPK spokesperson who gave detailed information regarding the flow of funds involving the distribution of COVID-19 social aid.

### **Datum 3.2**

*“Juliari and his subordinates, Matheus Joko Santoso and Adi Wahyono, are accused of accepting roughly Rp 12 billion (US\$582,020) in bribes from a number of suppliers during the first wave of the ministry’s aid distribution earlier this year.”*

In datum 3.2, the journalist wrote, “Juliari and his subordinates,” which indicates the cooperation between Jauhari and his subordinates in dividing the bribes. It can be included in **association**. It refers not only to an individual but also to a group. In the text, it is written that the cooperation was carried out by Juliari and his subordinates, who clearly stated. The journalist represents social actors clearly in sentences because of the actions of social actors who misuse their power. The journalist does not hesitate to mention who the subordinates are. In this case, Juliari and his subordinates, Matheus Joko Santoso and Adi Wahyono are accused of accepting the bribes.

#### Article 4

The article entitled *"The crisis within a crisis: COVID-19 and corruption"* was published on Monday, December 28th, 2020. The text mainly discusses the bribery case that ensnared Juliari, allegedly related to the procurement of food packages for social assistance programs for the poor affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. Based on the text, corruption cases raise questions about the effectiveness of the Inspectorate's internal control system at the ministry. As part of the Government's Internal Supervisory Apparatus (APIP), the Inspectorate within government agencies is responsible for carrying out the internal control function to ensure good governance.

#### Datum 4.1

*"According to KPK **chairman** Firli Bahuri, the graft case implicating Juliari is allegedly associated with the procurement of food packages under the social assistance program for poor people hard hit by the COVID-19 pandemic."*

In datum 4.1, the word "chairman" can be included in **functionalization**. The journalist represents the social actor using the social actor's profession. It can be identified as the third type of functionalization. It occurs when combining words between a tool and -man. The journalist clearly stated that the KPK leader who was on duty at that time was named Firli Bahuri.

#### **Datum 4.2**

*“Many anticorruption scholars and supporters are eager to know what the investigation by the KPK will reveal regarding the causes of the failure of the APIP to prevent corruption or misconduct.”*

In datum 4.2, the journalist writes, “Many anti-corruption scholars and supporters,” which does not explicitly mention how many scholars and supporters. It can be included in **indetermination**. According to the sentence, the social actor is not clearly mentioned. The social actor does not represent clearly because the number of scholars and supporters may be more than ten or twenty. They want to know how the investigating will prevent the corruption issue.

#### **Article 5**

The article entitled “Indonesians believe corruption more rampant this year, survey finds” was published on Thursday, December 31st, 2020. This article describes a survey conducted by Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting (SMRC), showing that most Indonesians are aware that corruption is increasingly rampant in this country. Public opinion in the survey was influenced by a recently uncovered corruption case involving two ministers, the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries. This survey was conducted because public opinion is so crucial regarding cases that occurred during a pandemic.

### Datum 5.1

*“A majority of Indonesians noticed that corruption had become more rampant in the country, according to a recent survey by Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting (SMRC).”*

In data 5.1, the reporter writes, “A majority of Indonesians,” which unspecifically mention how many people notice the issue. It can be included in **indetermination**. The sentence does not mention how many Indonesians noticed that corruption had become more rampant. Based on the sentence, the social actor is not represented clearly because it may be half of Indonesians or more than half.

### Datum 5.2

*“SMRC executive director Sirojudin Abbas said public opinions in the survey were affected by the recently uncovered corruption cases involving two ministers of President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo -- both have been named suspects and later were replaced by new ministers in a Cabinet reshuffle early last week.”*

In datum 5.2, “SMRC executive director Siroudin Abbas” can be included in **individualization** because it refers to an individual, not a group of participants. The journalist represented the social actor using an inclusion (individualization) strategy because, at that time, the social actor was the executive director of SMRC. It is not referred to as a group. The journalist just mentions the individual’s position.

### Article 6

The article entitled "*How local wisdom upholds commitment to common good*" was published on Saturday, January 9th, 2021. This article describes corruption cases committed by several ministers who were part of President Joko Widodo's cabinet. Corruption cases involving ministers only show a weak, neglected, even non-existent political will to eradicate corruption. The recent corruption cases are enough to prove that the common good in public affairs has been eroded because of subjective interests. Conversely, the common good can be obtained if government officials have the political will—meaning paying attention to the public for the public interest. Based on the article, the reporter also explained how to grow politics in the regions.

#### **Datum 6.1**

*“The ministers can strengthen anticorruption efforts and serve as a check on corruption in the public sector.”*

In data 6.1, the words “The ministers” can be included in **activation**. It refers to significant participation that the social actor participates in an activity. Social actors are portrayed as active, dynamic characteristics in an activity. In the text above, ministers can enhance anti-corruption efforts and provide a check on corruption in the public sector.

#### **Datum 6.2**

*“With regard to Indonesian cases, **some ministers** may not perceive fighting corruption as their being in their best interest.”*

In datum 6.2, the words “some ministers” can be included in **indetermination** because it does not refer to a specific number of ministers interested in the issue. The journalist does not represent the social actor clearly because it can be more than three ministers or more. It is not a singularity but a plurality.

### **Article 7**

The article entitled *“KPK praised for top-level arrests, but activists demand more”* was published on Monday, December 14th, 2020. This article discusses how the KPK has eradicated corruption cases that have recently occurred in Indonesia. It is due to the rampant cases of corruption committed by several ministers. Activists say that while they welcome the recent KPK operations targeting high-profile figures, the KPK still has much to do, citing that the KPK has conducted fewer red-handed operations under its current leadership than under its previous leadership.

### **Datum 7.1**

*“**Activists** said that while they welcomed the KPK’s recent operations targeting high-profile figures, the antigraft agency still had more to do, citing the fact that the agency had carried out fewer sting operations under its current leadership than under past KPK leaders.”*

In datum 7.1, the word “Activists” can be included in **functionalization**. The journalist represents the social actor using



the social actor's profession. The representation is not clear because the number of activists is undefined. The second type of functionalization occurs when the word denotes a place or a tool linked to a suffix such as -ist.

### **Datum 7.2**

*“Danang Widoyoko of Transparency International Indonesia said he wanted to see the KPK pick up its performance next year but had doubts about its independence following the revision of the KPK Law.”*

In datum 7.2, the words “Danang Widoyoko of Transparency International Indonesia” can be included in **individualization**. The journalist represented the social actor by using an inclusion (individualization) strategy because, the social actor is an individual. Individualization approach can be referred to an individual or a singularity. The journalist clearly shows who the social actor is in the article.

### **Datum 7.3**

*“This has left anticorruption **activists** and many KPK **employees** worried about potential conflicts of interest when investigators pursue cases related to the government, as well as reduced independence overall.”*

In datum 7.3, the words “activists” and “employees” can be included in **functionalization**. The journalist represents the social actor using the social actor's profession. The word “activist” can be referred to the second type of functionalization because it occurs word denoting between a place or a tool linked to a suffix such as -

ist. Meanwhile, the word “employees” can be identified as the first type of functionalization, it occurs when a noun created from a verb using a suffix such as -ee.

### **Article 8**

The article entitled “Cabinet reshuffle imminent, palace says” was published on Tuesday, December 22<sup>nd</sup> 2020. This article discusses the imminent cabinet reshuffle amidst rampant speculation surrounding President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo's possible actions after a corruption case involving two of his ministers, as well as streams of criticism about the country's pandemic mitigation. Speculation about a reshuffle is rife amid public criticism leveled at Jokowi's sluggish pandemic response and the arrests of two ministers. Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Minister Edhy Prabowo of the Gerindra Party and Social Minister Juliari Batubara of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) were recently arrested by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) on corruption charges.

#### **Datum 8.1**

*“Donny Gahral Adian, a leading expert at the office, said the shake-up would take place in the near future.”*

In datum 8.1, the words “Donny Gahral Adian a leading expert at the office” can be included in **individualization**. it refers to a singularity or an individual. In the sentence above is obviously

mention who is the actor (individual). It is referred to Donny Gahril Adian as a leading expert at the office. The journalist did not represent the actor in detail just emphasized the actor's position as a leading expert.

### **Datum 8.2**

*“He has also been widely criticized for **poor** communication skills.”*

In datum 8.2, the word “poor” can be included in **impersonalization**. It defines how the communication skill of the subject. It can be identified as the first type of impersonalization (abstraction) which occurs when social actors are portrayed through a quality attributed to them by and in the representation. It happens when social actors are represented through relation to a place or thing closely linked with their person or the action in which they are represented as being involved. In the sentence above, the journalist described the communication skill which can be included in the first type of impersonalization. These words are used to make the reader understand that the communication skills possessed by social actors are poor.

### **Article 9**

The article entitled “How democracy is corrupted” was published on Monday, 7th December 2020. This article discusses how the KPK ensnared Juliari, a ruling Indonesian Democratic Party

of Struggle (PDI-P) politician under President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo, and the arrest of Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Edhy Prabowo for allegedly accepting bribes. Juliari, Edhy, and the dozens of politicians arrested by the KPK serve as a reminder that Indonesian democracy may be killed not only by liberal forces within but also by deep-rooted corruption. Democratic elections have produced a government built on political transactions, which only pave the way for corrupt practices.

### **Datum 9.1**

*“That **some individuals** have the heart to steal from state funds meant for millions of people in need as a result of the pandemic is just mind-blowing.”*

In data 9.1, the words “some individuals” can be included in **indetermination** because it does not mention how many individuals that related to the issue. The journalist does not represent the social actor clearly because it can be more than five individuals or more. Indetermination can also be achieved through generalized exophoric reference, which provides social actors with a sense of impersonal authority, an invisible but intensely felt coercive force.

### **Datum 9.2**

*“Like Edhy, Juliari is a **young** politician who is expected to fill in the shoes of current party leaders.”*

In datum 9.2, the word “young” can be included in **identification**. In the sentence, Juliari is described as a “young

politician.” It can be identified as the third type of identification which occurs in physical traits that make them remarkable in the situation. It was not related to the issue of the corruption case. However, journalists used this information to explain that Juliari was still young but had to stop his career in the ministry because of the corruption case.

### **Article 10**

The article entitled "Latest Cabinet reshuffle welcomes business heavyweights, politicians" was published on Tuesday, December 22nd, 2020. This article discusses President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo, who has announced the names of six prominent figures appointed to take over the ministerial positions in the Cabinet reshuffle. This cabinet reshuffle was carried out due to the rampant corruption cases committed by several ministers appointed in 2019. The impact of the corruption case was not only detrimental to the people. However, it made people's attention increasingly focused on the ministers' performance under President Joko Widodo.

### **Datum 10.1**

*“She has been named **third-best mayor** in the world by the World City Mayors Foundation.”*

In datum 10.1, the words “third-best mayor” can be included in **categorization**. Social actors are defined by the roles and identities they share with others. It could be their appearance, social

class, religion, or anything else that most people will also recognize. In the sentence indicates that she has the power and can define how it affect her social status among the others. It proves that she achieved many great things in her performance as mayor so that she earned the title of the third best mayor.

### **Datum 10.2**

*“Former Jakarta deputy governor and **businessman** Sandiaga Uno will step up as the new tourism and creative economy minister, replacing Wishnutama.”*

In datum 10.2, based on the sentence, Sandiaga Uno is the former Jakarta deputy governor and a businessman. The word “businessman” can be included in **functionalization**. It can be identified as the third type of functionalization, which combines words between a tool and -a man. The journalist represents the social actor using the social actor’s profession. Based on the sentence, the social actor will step up as the new minister. This reshuffle cabinet is the impact of the corruption case.

### **B. Discussion**

Based on the findings, the exclusion strategy used by the journalist is suppression. The researcher found two types of suppression in the data; passivation and infinitive clause. Both of the strategies are excluded the social actor from the sentences. This strategy is rarely used because it does not mention who is the social

actor. However, the inclusion strategies often found in the results are individualization, indetermination, and functionalization. The results of this study show that journalists at the Jakarta Post mostly used the inclusion strategy rather than exclusion. Moreover, the inclusion strategy is often used because the journalist wants to represent the social actor in the text.

The findings show that the social actor is implicitly represented in the text. It aims to show the reader who the social actor is and how he is portrayed in the issue. It can be proven through the many inclusion strategies contained in the researched article data. The article data show that the journalist uses a not profitable strategy for social actors because, in this analysis, social actors are represented as they are without being hidden.

Based on the analysis, the researcher classified the social actors into two categories. The first category is primary actors. Primary actors are directly involved in the corruption case as suspects. The second category is secondary actors. Secondary actors are indirectly involved in the case. They are mentioned in the news to add some additional information regarding the issue.

The primary actors that had been identified are, Juliari Batubara and his subordinates, Matheus Joko Santoso and Adi Wahyono. They are collaborated to receive the bribes. Juliari Batubara is represented using some inclusion strategies

(individualization, categorization and identification). Meanwhile, Matheus and Adi only represented as Juliari's subordinate who received the bribes. The journalist did not examine them as an individual. The journalist only emphasized the relationship among them.

The term individualization is used to represent Juliari Batubara as in datum 1.1. He is the prime suspect in the corruption case. The article blatantly mentions his name after his position as a social affairs minister. It is used to show the readers how vital his role is in this issue. In addition, it was also emphasized that the primary perpetrator of corruption in social assistance funds was the Minister of Social Affairs. The journalist uses an individualization strategy to attract public attention because there was a pandemic and social assistance should be distributed to people who affected by the covid-19 pandemic.

Juliari Batubara is also represented by the term social status (categorization) as in datum 2.3. The article mentions that Juliari Batubara is a well-educated man from a well-to-do family. Even though he has been named a suspect in a corruption case, the journalist still reports on the positive side of the figure of Juliari Batubara which cannot cover up that he is the prime suspect in this issue. In datum 9.2, Juliari Batubara is represented as a young politician who is expected to be the next party leader. The article



mentions his physical traits that do not relate to the issue. Based on the article, the journalist attempted to show the readers that Juliari Batubara might have a bright career as a politician if he did not involve in this corruption case.

The secondary actors that had been identified are Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) chairman Firlil Bahuri, KPK spokesperson Ali Fikri and President Joko Widodo. The journalist provides all information from them in the news articles. They are represented by using the inclusion strategy (functionalization) except president Jokowi represented by using individualization. Although, they are not the main actors, their names are mentioned in the article to add information related to this corruption case. They also have their respective roles according to their position which are useful in reporting this case.

The study found that the mass media tends to represent the actor blatantly because the corruption issue often occurs regularly each year. Institutionally, the corruption case of the minister of social affairs occurred because, in social assistance, the government procured and distributed the basic food itself. This model gives vendors enormous room to play for money. According to the article on the data, Juliari appointed two people directly as commitment-making officials (PPK). They are Matheus Joko Santoso and Adi Wahyono. Since the beginning of the implementation of the social

assistance program, their hands have been dirty. They arrange for private companies that are partners with the Ministry of Social Affairs to deposit IDR 10,000 from each social assistance package to them. The social assistance package itself is worth IDR 300 thousand. The current government often forgets the processes, transparency, and accountability that lead to significant cases like this. Socially, corruption in our society is still considered a regular thing, and they do not feel that what is being done is corruption. Once caught, they feel they did not commit corruption but made an administrative error. Language plays an important role there as it can turn the word corruption into an administrative error.

Mass media such as The Jakarta Post certainly have the freedom to eradicate corruption in Indonesia. The media can report to the public any violations committed by the government, participate in disciplining corrupt governments, and form social and political norms to prevent corruption. This research identified that The Jakarta Post is not taking sides with the suspects because the articles used more inclusion strategies representing social actors blatantly. In reporting on this issue, apart from the main suspect, there is an essential point that the mass media are trying to convey, such as this corruption case can harm the state and society and thus hinder the government's goals in handling and tackling COVID-19 cases.

The journalist highlights the news by making Juliari Batubara an important figure in Indonesia and providing information sequentially regarding the arrest and determination of Juliari as a suspect. The journalist also wants to show the public that during corruption cases committed by irresponsible officials, the government, especially the Ministry of Social Affairs, is still trying to distribute basic food assistance packages for people affected by the Covid-19 pandemic. The Jakarta Post is a source of reliable information, impartial and open in presenting the news so that the public knows how the government handles this corruption case. It indicates that the mass media is not manipulated by a group or person in power.

The current study supports a previous study by Suprayogi (2020) that examined the social action representation by several online mass media in their coverage of demonstrators and the government. This study followed van Leuween'd (2008) theory. The previous study uses the same theory but with different objects. The object of the current research is a corruption case involving the Indonesian Minister of Social Affairs. The previous study shows that protesters are represented as determined people, active through the field and online protests, and violent and potentially criminal activities. Meanwhile, the result of the current study is that the social actor is represented clearly within the articles. The journalists focus

on social actors who are the main suspects in corruption cases. They also reported the process of arresting and determining Juliari Batubara in detail.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter contains the conclusion of the results and discussion of this study

#### A. Conclusion

So far, corruption cases news has tended to focus on the cases, but in this study, the focus of reporting is on individuals. It can be proven from the many social actor representation strategies found. The most commonly found strategy is the inclusion strategy, which occurs when social actors include in the text. In addition, the media often show trends or advantages in their reporting. In this study, for example, social actors are represented by different approaches; the goal is to develop a view that fits the social actor. It happened because every news outlet has a different political worldview.

From the results of research on the news of Juliari Batubara's arrest published by The Jakarta Post, it can be concluded that the representation made by The Jakarta Post clearly shows the figure of Juliari Batubara as the main suspect in this corruption case. In addition, The Jakarta Post also presents news that focuses on the arrest and determination of Juliari Batubara as a primary suspect and how this case can impact the government and society. This mass media is neutral and does not side with the suspect.

The study discovered that the mass media frequently portrays the actor obviously because the corruption issue arises every year.

Institutionally, the minister of social affairs was implicated in corruption since the government acquired and distributed essential food for social assistance. This arrangement provides vendors with a vast amount of financial flexibility. Socially, corruption in our culture is still regarded as expected because the practice is widespread, and people do not perceive the actions as corrupt. They believed they had not engaged in corruption but made an administrative error. Language plays a crucial role there because the word corruption might be translated as an administrative error.

## **B. Sugesstion**

The limitations of this research are that the data taken from the specified period does not produce much data and this research only focuses on the representation of social actors. This research only use the qualitative method. For further research, you may use more data sources and online news data that differs from the study. This research only uses qualitative methods, so it cannot be generalized that most news related to corruption cases use an inclusion strategy. Future researchers might be able to give a quantitative approach to further research. If another researcher wants to study the same discourse topic, they should use a different theory of discourse because Van Leeuwen's theory was too centered on the text only. The next researcher can find a different theory to help them investigate the discourse from a different point of view.

Even if further researchers use other theories of discourse analysis, they can achieve more reliable outcomes.

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## CURRICULUM VITAE



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