

**REPRESENTATION OF SOCIAL ACTORS ON THE NEWS
OF SYRIAN CRISIS ISSUED BY *WWW.NYTIMES.COM***

THESIS

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**ENGLISH LETTERS AND LANGUAGE DEPARTEMENT
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM
STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY OF MALANG
2013**

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OF SYRIAN CRISIS ISSUED BY *WWW.NYTIMES.COM***

THESIS

**Presented to
Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University of Malang
In partial fulfilment of the requirement
For the degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S)**

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STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY OF MALANG**

2013

APPROVAL SHEET

This is to certify that Hadiqun Nuha's thesis entitled *Representation Of Social Actors On The News Of Syrian Crisis Issued By www.nytimes.com* has been approved by thesis advisor for further approval by the Board of Examiners as one of the requirements for the Degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S) in English language and Letters Department.

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CERTIFICATE OF THESIS AUTHORSHIP

I certify that the thesis I wrote to fulfill the requirement for Sarjana Sastra (S.S) entitled *Representation of Social Actors on the News of Syrian Crisis Issued By www.nytimes.com* is my original work. It does not incorporate any materials written by an/other persons, except which were identified in quotations and bibliography. Hence, I am responsible for the authenticity of my thesis.

Malang, July 09, 2013

The Researcher,

Hadiqun Nuha

DEDICATION

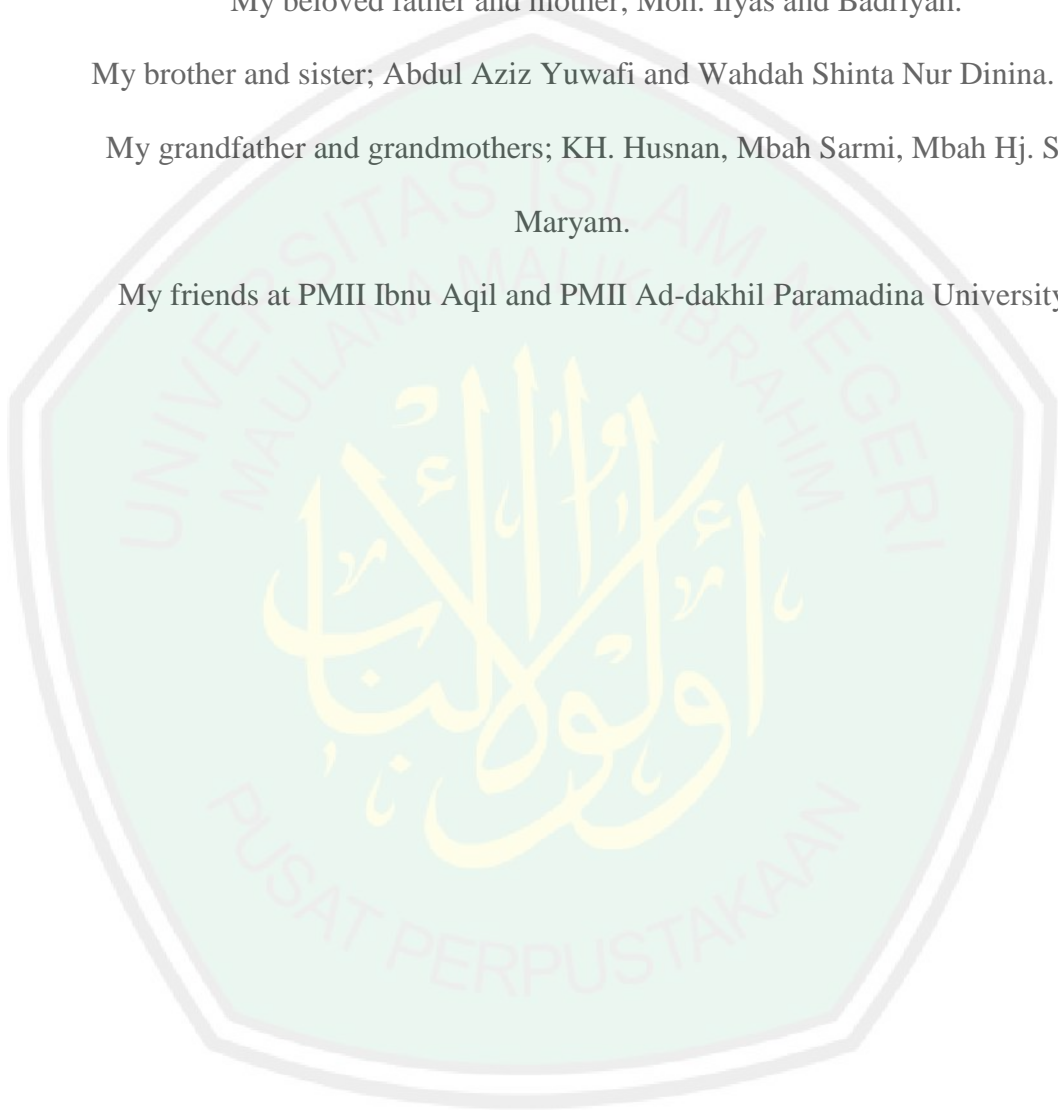
This thesis is dedicated to:

My beloved father and mother; Moh. Ilyas and Badriyah.

My brother and sister; Abdul Aziz Yuwafi and Wahdah Shinta Nur Dinina.

My grandfather and grandmothers; KH. Husnan, Mbah Sarmi, Mbah Hj. Siti Maryam.

My friends at PMII Ibnu Aqil and PMII Ad-dakhil Paramadina University.



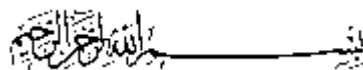
MOTTO

“World is a matter of story, so, be the best story ever (al-hadith ”

“Love your family”



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Thanks to our God, first mover and first reason. The only one who has given us mercies and blessings. Peace be upon to our beloved prophet, the owner of light of Muhammad, because of him, God creates us.

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ABSTRACT

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Keywords: Social Actors, Mass Media, Exclusion and Inclusion, Legitimation

This research attempts to analyze the discourse of mass media which is presented by www.nytimes.com. The issue taken as the object of analysis is about Syrian crisis. Yet, not all reports I use as the object of my analysis, it is only the title and the head of news articles released between February 3, 2012 until February 15, 2012. The focus on this period is important because some outsiders power were trying to involve in the crisis. Such as; United Nations, U.S.A, Iran, Great Britain, and China. These countries represent two world major ideologies, socialism and capitalism.

Mass media, which has huge impact on the society is often used for power and ideology struggle. The contents and language used by mass media is controlled by the capital or the owner. There are selection processes before releasing its news based on certain interest and intention. Mass media as the field of discourse plays language game to represent certain social actors to impress the readers into either positive or negative sense.

To investigate this discourse, I apply the theory of Critical Discourse Analysis proposed by van Leeuwen (2008) which focuses on the way how social actors are represented on the discourse and discursive construction of legitimation. Van Leeuwen has divided the representation into two types: exclusion and inclusion which has other divisions for each, whereas there are four major parts of discursive construction of legitimation. The aims of van Leeuwen's theory is to describe ideology and power struggle between social actors, which results domination, marginalization, legitimation and hegemony.

The result says that there are imbalance portions in representing social actors through exclusion and inclusion strategies and discursive construction of legitimation as proposed by van Leeuwen used on the text. It has relation with ideology and power struggle, domination, and legitimation. The types of strategy used are: exclusion which involves suppression which consists of passive agent deletion, radical exclusion, possessivation; inclusion which consists of assimilation, activation, Abstraction, determination, dissociation, association, appraisement, nomination, participation, subjected, genericization, Individualization, specification, objectivation, identification, impersonalisation, functionalization, circumstantialization, passivation, categorization; and discursive construction of legitimation which consists of authorization, expert authority, moral evaluation, personal authority, evaluation.

ABSTRAK

Nuha, Hadiquun, 2013. *Representation Of Social Actors On The News Of Syrian Crisis Issued By www.nytimes.com*. Skripsi. Jurusan Bahasa dan Sastra Inggris. Fakultas Humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Pembimbing: Drs. Basri Zein, M.A, Ph.D.

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Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis wacana media massa yang digunakan oleh www.nytimes.com. Isu yang diambil sebagai objek analisis adalah tentang krisis Suriah. Namun tidak semua pemberitaan yang dijadikan sebagai objek analisis, akan tetapi hanya judul serta kepala berita yang dimuat antara tanggal 3 Februari 2012 sampai 15 Februari 2012. Berfokus pada periode ini penting sebab beberapa kekuatan politik luar Suriah mencoba untuk terlibat langsung dalam konflik yang terjadi, seperti; Perserikatan Bangsa – Bangsa (PBB), Amerika Serikat (AS), Iran, China, dan Inggris Raya. Negara-negara tersebut paling tidak merepresentasikan dua ideologi besar dunia yakni sosialisme dan kapitalisme.

Media Massa yang mempunyai pengaruh besar terhadap masyarakat sering kali dipakai untuk pertarungan ideologi dan kuasa. Isi dan bahasa yang dipakai oleh media massa dikontrol oleh modal ataupun pemiliknya. Terdapat beberapa proses seleksi sebelum menerbitkan berita yang didasarkan pada niat dan kepentingan tertentu. Media massa sebagai medan wacana melakukan permainan bahasa untuk merepresentasikan aktor sosial tertentu untuk mempengaruhi pembaca baik secara positif maupun negatif.

Untuk meneliti wacana ini, peneliti menggunakan teori analisis wacana kritis yang dirumuskan oleh van Leeuwen (2008) yang berfokus pada cara bagaimana aktor-aktor sosial ditampilkan dalam wacana dan dalam konstruksi wacana legitimasi. Van Leeuwen telah membagi model representasi menjadi dua macam: eksklusi dan inklusi yang mana masing-masing mempunyai pembagiannya sendiri-sendiri. Tujuan teori van Leeuwen ini adalah untuk mendeskripsikan pertarungan ideologi dan kuasa antara para aktor sosial yang memunculkan dominasi, marginalisasi, legitimasi dan hegemoni.

Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa terdapat ketidakseimbangan porsi dalam merepresentasikan aktor-aktor sosial yang diteliti melalui strategi eksklusi dan inklusi serta konstruksi wacana legitimasi sesuai yang dirumuskan oleh van Leeuwen. Hal tersebut berkaitan dengan ideologi dan pertarungan wacana, dominasi dan legitimasi. Model strategi yang dipakai adalah: eksklusi model suppression yang didalamnya terdapat passive agent deletion, radical exclusion, possessivation. Sedangkan dalam model inklusi terdapat assimilation, activation, abstraction, determination, dissociation, association, appraisal, nomination, participation, subjected, genericization, Individualization, specification, objectivation, identification, impersonalisation, functionalization, circumstantialization, passivation, categorization; serta dalam model konstruksi wacana legitimasi terdapat authorization, expert authority, moral evaluation, personal authority, evaluation.



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter contains some items, i.e. background of the study, research problems, objectives of the study, scope and limitation of the study, significances of the study, operational definitions of the key terms, and research method.

1.1 Background of the Study

Representation is the production of meaning through language. To represent something means to describe or depict it, to call it up in the mind by description or imagination, to put a likeness of it in our mind (Hall, 2003:06), for example “this painting represents the suffering of our pope”. To represent also means to symbolize, for example “in Nahdlatul Ulama, nine stars of its symbol represent Muhammad PBUH, four of his companions, and four schools of Islamic Jurisprudence” (*ibid*). In representation, there are two processes; first, there is the system by which all objects, people and events are correlated with a set of concepts or *mental representations* which we carry around in our heads. Here, meaning depend on the system of concepts and images formed in our thoughts which can ‘represent’ the world, enabling us to refer both inside and outside our heads. This system is not monolithic or individual concept but different ways of organizing, arranging and classifying concepts then establishing the complex relation between these concepts. After that we share our meaning and concepts to others. However, if we do not have an access to a shared language, we will unable

to do it. So, language is involved in the process of constructing meaning. Our conceptual understanding should be translated into a common language (*ibid*, 7-9).

There are three theories of representation (*ibid*, 24-26), first, the reflexive approach; meaning is thought to relate to the object, person, idea or event in the real world, and language functions like a mirror. It reflects the true meaning of the world. Second, the intentional approach, the meaning of the words depends on what the author intends they should mean. Third, the constructionist approach, it relates with the social character of language, it acknowledges that neither things nor the users of language can fix meaning in language; it means we can't construct the meaning. At present, there are two views on defining representation; first, representation is understood as the accurate description without any distortion. Second, there is a political interest in making representation, representation can't be understood as describing thing as the way the things are.

In van Leeuwen's model of Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA), representation becomes an important term. For him, it is defined as the way how the social actor(s) are presented in the field of the discourse (van Leeuwen, 2010). He wants to show us, how the dominant society or people control the interpretation of certain phenomena and the dominated societies or people are always be described badly through discourse practices. His theory of CDA is aimed to detect how a certain society of people marginalized on the discourse (Eriyanto, 2009: 171). Discourse, as the "recontextualized of social practice", contains participant(s), actions, performance modes, eligibility

conditions (participants, locations, and resources), presentation styles, times, locations, resources (tools and materials) and also contains a dialectical relationship between a certain discursive event and situation(s), institution(s), and social structure(s) (van Leeuwen, 2008). Discourse constitutes social identities, object of knowledge, situations and relationship between societies. It contributes to the power sustainability of status quo. Discourse as recontextualization of social practices shows the social distinction between the have and the poor, majority and minority, strong and weak, through the way how people or thing represented or representation (*ibid*, 04).

One of the field for representation is mass media. Mass media is an effective means for sharing the meaning. It is supposed to be “primary needs” for society following the development of human life and the advancement of technology. However, media’s matters often assumed as the absolute truth which is believed by society. It is effective to be used as a means to influence and control society’s mind (Effendy, 1998: 151) rather than educate, give information and entertain them (Kasman, 2004: 38). Here representation occurs in mass media through its language, picture, and sign.

To read mass media contains critically, van Leeuwen (in Coulthard and Coulthard, 1996: 34) advises to focus on social actors who are involved in the discourse. Social actor is people, as the doer in the discourse, which is mentioned or omitted in any certain discourse and both have relation with the

discourse.¹ Social actor(s), especially in media discourse, is/are like a puppet that is/are played by the writer through either including or excluding them. Language game which revealed for the representation is the bright picture of the ideology, interest, and domination, who is being marginalized and who is marginalizing. Then, as the product of critical theory, of course, it is expected to dig awareness of society and to give them enlightenment (Sindhunata, 1983). Like other theories of CDA, he also wants to deconstruct the reality represented by the media.

Van Leeuwen sees the representation of social actor is important notion on CDA. He starts his question for studying social actor or participant in the discourse not from linguistic operation such as nominalization or passive agent deletion but from *sociosemantic* in which social actor can be represented and build sociological and critical relevance of his category in linguistic realization. He has two reasons for, first, lack of bi-uniqueness of language (van Leeuwen, 2008: 23). “Agency”, for instance, as sociological concept, is of major and classic important in CDA, in which context as ‘agent’ or ‘patient’”. There is no neat between sociological and linguistic categories. Halliday has studied about the lack of bi-uniqueness of language. He categorized linguistic realization into “literal” or “congruent” others are “metaphorical” or “incongruent”. However, it is congruent

¹ The effort of formulating CDA theory can be seen from his doctoral thesis in University of Sydney, through the study of school text he wanted to show his usefulness of the theory of CDA he stated “this text study serve to demonstrate the usefulness of my theory for the purposes of critical discourse analysis, as well as to describe the role of representation in the production of complicity with the system of compulsory schooling”, see Theo van Leeuwen, *Language and Representation: the Recontextualisation of participants, activities, and reactions*. (Sydney: The University of Sydney, 1993), iii. Retrieved March 13, 2010, from <http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/bitstream/2123/1615/1/01frontVan%20Leeuwen.pdf>

with grammatical system rather than congruent with reality. For Halliday, a clause like “the reports say,” will not be a metaphor because it does not violence the grammatical rule. Van Leeuwen will see that clause as the way how social actors represented, so, it needs “sayer” behind this clause (*ibid*, 24). Second, he believes that meanings belong to culture rather than language and can not be tied to any specific semiotic (*ibid*,.).

He divides the representation of social actor in the field of struggle into two major parts, those are *exclusion* and *inclusion* (*ibid*, 28,33). Exclusion is strategy of the discourse to hide or exclude the social actor(s) of the discourse in a certain text, whether inclusion is strategy of the discourse to reveal or include the social actor(s) of the discourse in a certain text. Both strategy have same function, On one side, the dominant social actor(s) will either be included in the discourse or excluded from the text if it gives some benefits. The dominated social actor(s) will also either be included in the discourse or excluded from the text if it gives them bad description (Eriyanto, 2009: 172-173). Furthermore, each strategy has some other parts, such as; *Exclusion* has suppression, and backgrounding. *Inclusion* has personalization and imperzonalization, genericization and specification. These categories will later be explained in chapter 2.

Representation or Representing social actor in the discourse has relation with legitimation. As argued by Habermas (1988), that main concern on criticism school is about legitimation. It can be defined as the system of idea which is built by political system to support the existence of the system. It is formed for blurring what actually happens is and mystified the existing political system.

Van Leeuwen (2008: 105-106) said discourse as recontextualization of social practice involve not just transformation of social practice into discourse about social practices, but also the addition of specific legitimations of these social practices. Language is the most important path for attempting the system of authority “to establish and to cultivate the belief in its legitimacy.” All language is legitimation.

By representation, van Leeuwen wants to show us, who is “**legitimate**” who is “**illegitimate**”. In term of legitimation, technically, van Leeuwen (*ibid*) has divided into four major parts, they are: Authorization, moral evaluation, rationalization, and mythopoesis. Each division have its own variation. Later will be explained in chapter 2.

I choose this theory for present study by consideration that focusing CDA notion on social actors is very important, because they are the “original” owner of the discourse who wants to reach their interest through the language used. Discussing CDA actually study the social actors (human or thing) themselves (van Leeuwen in Coulthard and Coulthard, 2010: 32-33). By using this theory, we can investigate the certain text as one unit of discourses; it can cover words, sentences, and even one paragraph as the object of analysis. I believe that this theory is the most appropriate one for this study.

I applied to apply this theory to the news of Syrian conflict on www.nytimes.com. Here, unrest political chaos in Middle East always attracts the world because many powers and interests which intervent, there are about interreligion relationship, oil, sects or schools of religion untill the problem of

ethnocentrism. Like other protests in middle east countries, this crisis is part of waves of democratization² The author of Syrian, Bashar Assad, shells the cities to stop the protestors. However, this conflict doesnot stand alone. There are many powers which include, such as United Nations (UN), US and its allies (Israel, other Arabic countries, and western countries) in one side and Russia and its allies (China, Iran, and Venezuela) in another side. This extraordinary political event attract many power struggles, one of their field of power struggles is mass media which deploy their discourse of Syrian conflict. In this dispute of power, the stronger power will marginalize the weak. The stronger is described in good position and the weak is described badly through the representation strategy on the discourse which is used by mass media. This is appropriate with van Leeuwen representation of social actors and discursive strategies of legitimation which focused on how certain society or person is marginalized on the discourse.

I take US online media because, *first*, there is imbalance representation of each social actor mentioned in this newspaper through its word, sentence, and paragraph. *Second*, the language which is used by this online media drives the readers to the negative stereotype of social actors especially Syria and its supporters (Russia and its allies) represented in its news.

Third, www.nytimes.com is one of major mass media in which some of daily

²The wave of democratization is the theory proposed by Samuel Huntington to predict the future of democracy in certain country with dictatorship, he said that there will be movements from the people to ban dictatorship and ask for regular democarcy, and it has happened in Indonesia when student movement in May 1998 succeeded to force former Presindent Soeharto to resign. (Ihsan Ali Fauzi, lecture note for Political Science, on Oct 04, 2011. Philosophy and Religion Department, Paramadina University).

newspapers in Indonesia subscribe its news and its picture.³. By having huge number of readers and access, this means that www.nytimes.com has a huge influence through its news and its discourse, so, at this point, related to CDA; it is interesting to be investigated since CDA believes that there is relation between discourse and power dispute. So, it is assumed, where discourse broadly accessed there will be huge power dispute too. *Fourth*, by investigating the word, sentence, and paragraph of English online newspaper, van Leeuwen (2010: 23) said “I investigate how the participants of social practices can be represented in English discourse, so, this has relation with the structure of sentence in English itself, for example, English infinitival clause grammatically functioned as subject in *suppression* “to maintain this policy is hard”, or in *possessivation* in *subjection* “a group of socialist students are invited in presidential palace”, this sentence contains prepositional phrase *of* postmodifying nominalization. This structure is specially found in English (*ibid.*, 29-30).

Some researches which used van Leeuwen theory have already been done. Ginting (2010), used van Leeuwen’s theory to investigate the news about the disputation between Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) and Indonesian National Police (POLRI) which was issued by Indonesian national daily *Kompas*. In the end of her research she found that *Kompas* mostly used exclusion strategies

³ It has world’s 97th for most visited website and 30th for US traffic site rank, if we compare it with others international online mass media such as www.ap.org and www.reuters.com where Indonesian media also access and subscribe their news, it still much better than both Global rank 235th plus 129th US rank for www.reuters.com and global rank 2005th plus US rank 505th for www.ap.org. We can see their complete traffic ranks and statistics by just clicking <http://www.alexa.com/siteinfo/nytimes.com#>, this data was accessed on Feb 24, 2012.

of discourse to POLRI and mostly used inclusion strategies to KPK in order to drive reader's attention to KPK much more than to POLRI. KPK was described as the victim of the dispute on the other hand POLRI was the bad institution. Then, Suganda et. al. (2006), researched about the representation of woman migrant workers (TKW) in Malaysia which are issued by Malaysian daily newspaper *Utusan* and *Kompas*. They compared these two newspapers and found that both of them described TKW as powerless, uneducated, poor, and need some help. They include TKW in the discourse in the way of bad imaging and exclude the government, mass media and TKW's boss from the discourse to keep them safe. Next, Jayanti (2011) investigated Ahmadinejad speech at the United Nations. The finding revealed that Ahmadinejad used inclusion and exclusion strategies of discourse to strengthen Muslim's society as the colonized people and their ideologies as well. The strategies were also used to downgrade the power and authority of Israel and some western states showing the intention of the colonized people to dominate and marginalize US and its allies.

Form those research findings, I find the gap to continue further research by using van Leeuwen's CDA. First, The subjects those researches are non-English newspaper and political speech, and there is no English media online yet as the subject of study. Second, all previous researchers refer the theory of van Leeuwen's CDA to Eriyanto's text book of media analysis (2009) not to the

original text of van Leeuwen, so, I am not sure that the categorisation they applied is as complete as van Leeuwen's original text⁴.

Yet, this study wants to fulfill the gap of study using van Leeuwen's CDA. My study focus on the use of CDA theory proposed by Theo Van Leeuwen on investigating the power clash doing by some social actors in Syria conflict through their discourse which is deployed in *www.nytimes.com*. In my opinion, we will not get any extended understanding of certain discourse without applying the theory completely. Here I apply van Leeuwen's theory of representation of social actors and discursive construction of legitimation to investigate any form of discourse in word, sentence, even paragraph. Therefore, this study entitled **"Representation of Social Actors on the News of Syrian Crisis Issued by www.nytimes.com".**

1.2 Research Problems

Based on the background of study above the problem statements are formulated as follows:

1. How are exclusion and inclusion strategy used to represent social actors in *www.nytimes.com* in the news of Syrian conflict?

⁴For exclusion, Eriyanto divides into three types: *pasivasi*, *nominalisasi*, and *penggantian anakkalimat*, for inclusion, he divides into seven types: *diferensiasi-indiferensiasi*, *objektivasi-abstraksi*, *nominasi-kategorisasi*, *nominasi-identifikasi*, *determinasi-indeterminasi*, *asimilasi-individualisasi*, *asosiasi-disosiasi*. On the other side, van Leeuwen divides exclusion into two kinds: suppression and backgrounding, whether inclusion into eighteen types: activation, passivation, genericization, specification, assimilation, individualization, association, dissociation, indetermination, determination, differentiation, nomination, categorization, functionalization, identification, personalization, impersonalization, and overdetermination.

2. How are discursive constructions of legitimatationof social actors used in *www.nytimes.com* in the news of Syrian conflict?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

Related to the previous statements of the problems by doing this research I want to explain and describe exclusion and inclusion strategies, and discursive construction of legitimatation used by *www.nytimes.com* in the news of Syrian conflict where some world's big political powers of social actorsare involved.

1.4 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study focuses on applying the theory of critical discourse analysis by van Leeuwen, the model of analysis that I want to apply is exclusion and inclusion strategy and discursive constraction of legitimatation. Furthermore, because of the limited time, I only select the news about Syrian conflict from February 03, 2012 untill February 17, 2012. I believe that thediscourse used on the news in this period is brief description for power struggle and dispute. This is adequite with Critical Discourse Analysis which investigates language in term of its relation with power, domination, and politics. However, In this case, not the whole body of the news are analyzed but only each title and head⁵ of them. The position of head in online newspaper is very important since the readers usually only read the

⁵Term "head" is the name of first paragraph of the news. It is the essence of the news. It makes the readers understand the news without reading the whole part of them.

highlight of the news. However, by only reading the head, the readers will understand what the news to tell us.

1.5 Significances of the Study

I expect that the results of this study can be the part of useful contribution in studying language by using van Leeuwen's CDA in the language of newspaper focuses in political discourse involving Syrian conflict presented by *www.nytimes.com*. Then, the next researcher will know how to apply the extended theory of van Leeuwen in representing social actors in the online newspaper text. This research can guide anyone to have a correct understanding who actually marginalize and being marginalized through hiding or showing social actor in media which full of interest, especially by using van Leeuwen theory of CDA. In addition, it can be an additional source for other researchers in doing critical discourse study especially anyone who uses text of mass media as his/her object.

1.6 Operational Definitions of The Key Terms

Text : It is one of elements of discourse. It is the product of the process of social interaction in the society, it covers written and oral form, but text in this research is only in written form.

Mass Media : It is not strictly media for the masses, i.e. the huge number of listener and reader. But it is means which provide information for public

consumption, such as internet, TV, radio, magazine and newspaper, film, in this research mass media is newspaper.

Social actors : It is the participants of the discourse in which they are placed as the focus for analyzing discourse.

Exclusion : It is first category of representation, it is strategy of discourse where the social actors exclude from the discourse.

Inclusion : It is second category of representation, it is strategy of discourse where the social actors include in the discourse.

Legitimation : It is set of idea which is used as the parameter for measuring action, whether it is right or wrong.

Syrian Conflict : It means that the conflict which has happened in Syria after President Syria Bashar Assad choose to shell and bomb the protestors who has

started their actions on March 2011. The civil protest in demanding democratization and change of leadership become civil war. The government army versus the rebell. In this war, Assad's loyalist kill everyone who does not obey his command to stop the protest.

www.nytimes.com : It is the online edition of national daily which is published in United State of America (USA) *New York Times*, it has gone online since 1994 and considered as the one of the top news cooperation in the world. It has 29 subdomains for supporting its quality of the news. It is used for data resource; on the issue of Syrian conflict.

1.7 Research Design

This study can be classified as the descriptive qualitative research. It is called as descriptive because I want to get systematic description and appropriate interpretation of the data analyzed (Djajasudarma, 2006: 09) and the result of this study is descriptive knowledge not number. It is the knowledge how the exclusion and inclusion strategy used by *www.nytimes.com* in serving the news of Syrian conflict.

Then, it is named as qualitative because first, the data taken for this study are in forms of words or consider as descriptive data. Second, the researcher is the main key instrument in this study (Bogdan and Biklen, 1998: 4-5). Here the data which are in form of words, sentences or paragraphs that are found in *www.nytimes.com* are selected and described based on the theory of van Leeuwen's representation of social actors and discursive construction of legitimation. This research focuses in investigating the news of Syrian conflict

produced by *www.nytimes.com* in the form of word, sentence, and paragraph by seeing the social actors represented.

1.8 Data and Data Source

Data source is the subject where the data of research is gained (Arikunto, 2002: 107). The researcher takes data from the news of www.nytimes.com which inform about events happened in Syrian conflict. However, this research does not take the whole news published. It only uses news issued on February 3, until February 17, 2012. This selected news shows the real power struggle in discourse since the outside Syria powers start to intervene the Syrian conflict.

I analyzed all the forms of discourse i.e. words, sentence, and paragraph by using critical discourse theory especially on exclusion and inclusion strategy of discourse and legitimation discursive construction proposed by Theo van Leeuwen in order to get understanding who actually dominate and being dominated in those text.

1.9 Research Instrument

Since the data of this research is in the form of text which needs objective interpretation and description, I myself will be the main instrument for collecting and analyzing the data. Only human that has ability to do this task.

1.10 Data Collection and Analysis

There are two steps to collect the data which are used in this research.

Firstly, I open the website www.nytimes.com and open the world news section then go to the middle east rubrics, next, I type key words “Syria” in search engine available there, and this will give me all news related to the Syrian conflict. After that, I select those news which is published from Feb 3, 2012 until Feb 17, 2012. Secondly, all selected news have been read comprehensively to choose the texts which are suitable to the theory proposed by van Leeuwen.

After taking the data, I read them intensively then doing analysis by classifying them into a table which consists of some categories of exclusion and inclusion, they are two kinds of exclusion: suppression and backgrounding, and eighteen types of inclusion: activation, passivation, genericization, specification, assimilation, individualization, association, dissociation, indetermination, determination, differentiation, nomination, categorization, functionalization, identification, personalization, impersonalization, and overdetermination. Also kinds of discursive construction of legitimation of van Leeuwen, they are: Authorization, moral evaluation, rationalization, and mythopoesis. After that, the data are explained and interpreted in finding and discussion by mentioning to investigate the imbalance representation of social actors which are mentioned in the text. As qualitative research which interprets the text (Creswell, 1994: 147), of course, all the contents of interpretation based on my understanding toward each datum. Nevertheless, I search some information in the internet to enrich the data analysis.



CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter consists of the literatures which related to the research; Theo van Leeuwen's Critical Discourse Analysis, especially, exclusion and inclusion strategy of discourse and discursive construction of legitimation.

2.1 Theo van Leeuwen's Critical Discourse Analysis

The effort for forming CDA theory has been started by Theo van Leeuwen since his Ph.D thesis. In this thesis, he only had concern on social actor(s) and action as the important part for analysing discourse critically, but later, his project for creating method on CDA has been sophisticated. There are six specific method he provides, they are: representing social actors, representing social action, time in discourse, space in discourse, discursive construction of legitimation, and purpose discursive construction. He has explained each method in detail (van Leeuwen, 2008).

He built his theory of CDA derived from Michael Foucault's concept of discourse as semantics construction of specific aspects of reality that serve the interests of particular historical and/or social context and from Michael Halliday. He then take Bernstein's concept of recontextualization. His assumption that all discourse recontextualize social practices and all knowledge is grounded in practice. In the process of recontextualization there are key elements of social

practice which can not be separated from the purposes and legitimations for the action.

Inspired by the concept of Weber's rationalization, especially, formal rationalization, van Leeuwen (*ibid.*, 03) believes that rationalized social action is proceduralized. In rationalized social interaction, "meaning becomes fragmented and heterogeneous but social action becomes homogenized and proceduralized", van Leeuwen follows Zijderveld to name it as Supersedure Of Meaning By Function in modernity. Everywhere, there are fewer and powerful procedure and format but more discourse and less powerful.

Discourse as part of rationalization then stated as recontextualized social practice. So, to study discourse, it is important to see the text as representation where based on practice, "what people do", because interpreting text without recourse to experience will be hard to be understood. By focusing on representation, CDA find which socially dominant subjects make and distribute about the "others" dominate in order to provide ideological scaffolding for the unequal social practices themselves (van Leeuwen, 1993: 09). Now, it is important to stress the difference between social practices and representation of social practices. To make it simple, Just like the obvious difference between "doing something" and "talking something". Discourse, which is social cognition, socially specific ways of knowing social practices, will be used as resources for representing social practice in text (van Leeuwen, 2008: 06).

For van Leeuwen, his understanding about social practice is taken from Max Weber. Van Leeuwen (*ibid.*, 07) said:

Social practices are socially regulated ways of doing things-but the word “regulate” may give the wrong impression here, since “regulation,” in the sense in which we normally understand it, is only one of the ways in which social coordination can be achieved. Different social practices are “regulated” to different degrees and in different ways-for instance, through strict prescription, or through traditions, or through the influence of experts and charismatic role models, or through the constraints of technological resources used, and so on.

Weber (1968: 8) differs between practice and reactive. For reactive, it is an action which does not involve the process of thinking. When stimulus comes action is done. There is only short gap between stimulus and response. What Weber wanted to define as social practice is a human action which involving the process of thinking. He gave us the example about social practice. It is *economical practice*, he defined it as “primary consciousness orientation to economical consideration..not a subjective value but a belief that this action is really needed”.

In his social practice theory, Weber wanted to give attention to the individual, pattern, and regularity of practice. For him there are four kinds of practice. First, rationalization of means and goals or the practice which is determined by hope toward the object’s behaviour in our environment and others behaviors; this hopes are used as the “requirements” or “means” for achieving actor’s goals through rational effort and consideration”. Second, rationalization of value or practice which is based on a certain belief of consciousness about ethics, aesthetics, religious, etc. It is free from the goal’s parameters. Third, affectual practice, which is influenced by the emotional side of the actors. Fourth, traditional practice, determined by how the actors act as usual and often done (Goodman and Ritzer, 2008: 137). However, there is a high possibility on the mixing of these division of practices (*ibid.*, 138).

Although not all elements of social practice is represented, Different social practices involve different degrees of freedom, different margins for resistance and different modes of enforcing conformity. Here, too, different social contexts offer writers and speakers different amounts of freedom. And the rules, or strategies, or best practice models they follow are not autonomous linguistic structure potentials, but modalities of institutionalized social control that should themselves be studied as different kinds of practices. There are ten elements of social practices (van Leeuwen, 2008: 07-12):

- 1). Participant or social actors, A social practice first of all needs a set of participants in certain roles. The other elements of the practice are usually syeen as “context” but as the concept of “social practice” combine both “text” and “context”.
- 2). Actions, The core of any social practice is a set of actions performed in a sequence, which may be fixed to a greater or lesser degree and which may or may not allow for choice, that is, for alternatives with regard to a greater or lesser number of the actions of some or all of the participants, and for concurrence, that is, for the simultaneity of different actions during part or all of the sequence.
- 3). Performance modes, that social practice also performed at a certain pace.
- 4, 5, 6). Eligibility Conditions for participants, Locations, and Resources, that there should be “specific qualification” for participant, location or resources in doing certain social practice. Different social practice should be different eligibility conditions.
- 7). Presentation styles, Social practices also involve dress and body grooming requirements, or presentation styles, for the participants. Like performance modes, presentation styles may apply to the whole of a social practice or to specific parts of it.
- 8).

Times, Social practices and specific parts of them take place at more or less definite times. However, although the time constraints on social practices vary in strictness, they are never fully absent: the writing and publishing of book, for instance, are subject to time schedules, and counseling on how to “prepare” children for the first day must take place toward the time that such preparation is due to begin. 9). Locations, Social practices are also related to specific locations. But on the whole, the text is not very explicit about location.

Next, in recontextualization, there are three forms of recontextualized social practice (*ibid.*, 12-13), (1) sequence of non-linguistic actions, (2) sequence in which linguistic and non-linguistic actions alternate, (3) sequence of linguistic action or ‘genre’ (linguistically realised activity or goal-oriented social process).

Then van Leeuwen said:

Recontextualization not only makes the recontextualized social practices explicit to a greater or lesser degree, it also makes them pass through the filter of the practices in which they are inserted...it is usually embedded in their common sense; in their of relating to each other, and in what they take the purposes of the recontextualizing practice to be--all those things which form the usually tacit know-how of experienced participants of the recontextualizing social practice.

The process of making book is the example of recontextualization, it is the recontextualization of social practice of the writer, editor, and also the publisher. Citing the expert statement, reading the source, and time for reading source. When writing the experts statement, we should address them. And it should be related to specific time such as in references.

2.2 Exclusion and Inclusion Strategy of Discourse

According to van Leeuwen (2008: 23-54), participant or social actors in English discourse can be represented in two major variation, exclusion and inclusion, the strategy used is to suit the interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended. Van Leeuwen operate his theory of CDA by starting *sociosemantic* inventory of the ways in which social actors can be represented and establish the sociological and critical relevance of his categories then how they are realized linguistically (*ibid.*, 23). **Exclusion**, it is the strategy of discourse where participants or social actors are excluded from the field of discourse. Some of the exclusions may be “innocent,” details which readers are assumed to know already, or which are deemed irrelevant to them; others tie in closely to the propaganda strategies of creating fear and enemies of “our” interests.

There are two kinds of exclusion; first, is *suppression*, there is no reference to the social actor(s) in question anywhere in the text. *Suppression* is known through some ways, first, through passive agent deletion, for example; certain newspaper prefers choosing “two students have been killed during the demonstration against regime in May 13, 1998”, to “the police have killed two students during the demonstration against regime in May 13, 1998”. Seems that there is no problem in these two sentences, except that first sentence uses passive voice and second uses active voice, but if we relate to theory of van Leeuwen’s CDA. We may ask that “why that newspaper prefer first sentence to second sentence?” according to van Leeuwen it is kind of passivation strategy in presenting the social actors, by using passive voice, the writer hides the subject

who kill ‘two students’, by hiding the subject, the readers is attracted to concentrate to the object whom is killed, they will forget the social actor ‘that is the police’ who have killed them. Of course the journalist will not write the police since the regime assumed that ‘still has military power’. The journalist prefer choosing ‘safe way’ for him/her to taking ‘dangerous way’ by writing word ‘police’ in his/her news. He/she may worries that he will be arrested by the regime and his media corporation will be closed since the regime has strong support from military power. Passivation is one of strategies of exclusion in van Leeuwen’s CDA. Second, through infinitival clauses which function as a grammatical participant, as in “To make good policy is hard”. Third, Nominalizations and process to make noun, for example; “support” in “The level of support for banning drug abuse become lesser”. Fourth, adjectives, such as “correct” in “we do not know about correct answer”. Fifth, by deleting “beneficiaries”, it is people who get benefit from the action, as in “Mr. President apologizes, after years of May human rights tragedy”, this discourse does not mention “to whom Mr. President apologizes” since the object of the sentence will accept sympathy from the readers if it includes here (*ibid.*,33).

Second, is *backgrounding*, the exclusion is less radical: the excluded social actors may not be mentioned in relation to a given action, but they are mentioned elsewhere in the text.

Inclusion, it is the strategy of discourse where the social actors are involved in the field of discourse. Many types of inclusion we have.

(a) Activaton

It occurs when social actors are represented as the active, dynamic forces in an activity. Activation is realized, first, by “participation” (grammatical participant roles), the active role of the social actor, as in “the student keep protesting the policy although it’s been decided by the congress”. Second, through “circumstantialization,” that is, by prepositional circumstantials with *by* or *from*, example “Papuan always have narrow views from their white skin neighbor”.

(b) Passivation

When the social actors are represented as “undergoing” the activity, or as being “at the receiving end of it.” Passivation has two types; Firstly, *subjected*, Subjected social actors are treated as objects in the representation. Subjection can be realized in many ways; first, It is realized by “participation” when the passivated social actor is goal in a material process, phenomenon in a mental process, or carrier in an effective attributive process, example, “the Bentley rider strike smell beggar this morning”, here “smell beggar” is subjected. Second, It can also be realized by “circumstantialization” through a prepositional phrase with, for instance, *against* “the act against Asian immigrants is socialized”. Third, it can also be realized by “possessivation,” usually in the form of a prepositional phrase with *of* postmodifying a nominalization or process noun, as with “of well-educated people” in “A number of well-educated people is expected to come this year”.

Secondly, *beneficialized*, social actors form a third party which positively or negatively, benefits from the action. For example “Although they have of this city give some of their money to the black, they still attacked”, word “they still attacked” is beneficiary.

(c) Genericization

It is when the social actors mentioned in general. It can realized by the plural such as “non-Javanese immigrants” as in “non-javanese immigrants are expected to arises up to 8 percent by this year” and the singular with the definite or indefinite article like “the child”, “a child” as in “do not allow the child to climb is good choice” and “it is possible for a child to have same actions with their parents”

(d) Specification

In contrast with Genericization, it mention the specific thing, such as “concrete people”, “place”, “place”, “thing” and “action” as “The Minister of Trading, Mr. Gita Wirjawan” in example “The Minister of Trading, Mr. Gita Wirjawan, gives his opinion about the decreasing of gold price”. The clause “The Minister of Trading, Mr. Gita Wirjawan” indicates the specification of concrete people.

(e) Assimilation

Social actor (s) can be referred as group such as “this nation”, “this community”, “we”, “our”, “the surveys”. Example: “this nation should be proud of the world statesmen award achieved by their President, Mr.

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono”. The word “this nation” assimilates that all people in Indonesia are one nation, and they are not separated each other.

(f) Individualization

Social actor (s) may be referred to as individual, individualization can be referred as singularity such as “President, Mr. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono” in example above. The clause “President, Mr. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono” placed alone as individual in that example.

(g) Association

It refers to groups formed by social actors and/or groups of social actors (either generically or specifically referred to). Such as: “students, farmers, and labors” as in example “students, farmers, and labors make long-march for land reform before new President elected”. In this example “students, farmers, and labors” are associate each other and they have common power.

(h) Dissociation

It refers to group which is quitted from group of association such as “student and farmer” which unformed from above group, example “student and farmer can take soft loan from bank as new economic policy released”. In this example, “student and farmer” are no more part of that association above because they separated from “farmers”

(i) Indetermination

It occurs when social actors are represented as unspecified, “anonymous” individuals or groups. Such as “many believe..”, “some

say..”, “someone..” as in example “many believe that corruption eradication commission will put AnasUrbaningrum in jail soon”. The word “many believe “ in this example do not determine or indicate “how many people exactly believe” toward the case of AnasUrbaningrum.

(j) Determination

In contrast with indetermination, determination occurs when social actors identity is, one way or another, specified, as “taxi driver” in example “the taxi driver should compete for taking customer, we need a fair regulation”. In this example social actor “taxi driver” is specified as “taxi driver” not “someone”.

(k) Differentiation

It differentiates explicitly an individual social actor or group of social actors from a similiar actor or group, creating the difference between the “self”, and “the other”, “west part” and “east part”. For example “Indonesia is archipelago country, however, people from west part is more educated than from east part of this country”. This example creates contrast discourse between “Indonesian people from west part” and “Indonesian people from east part”.

(l) Nomination

Social actors can be represented either in terms of their unique identity, realized in proper name; formal and informal (surname, given name) and name obscuration such as “Mr. X..” or honofication like “Dr..”,

“Mr. President..” for instance; “Dr. Abdul Moqsith Ghazali is one of extraordinary new young muslim scholar in Indonesia”. The word “Dr.” in this example shows the formal name which indicates the degree of education. This is aimed to give honor to the owner of this degree, he is “Abdul Moqsith Ghazali”.

(m)

Categorization

Social actors in terms of identities and functions they share with others, it can be physical, social status, religion, or anything that usually the others will know in common. Here social actors by reference to what they, supposedly, ‘are’ (Machin and van Leeuwen, 2007: 84). It has function to marginalize or as the mean for domination and power showing from certain social actors. For example “the richest man in the world” to address “Carlos Sim Helu” without mentioning his name in certain article “the richest man in the world has donated his \$100.000 for orphan”.

(n)

Functionalization

Functionalization occurs when social actors are referred to in terms of an activity in terms of something they do, for instance, an occupation or role. It is typically realized in one of the following ways: first, by a noun, formed from a verb, through suffixes such as *-er*, *-ant*, *-ent*, *-ian*, *-ee*, e.g., “interviewer,” “celebrant,” “correspondent,” “guardian,” “employee”. Second, by a noun which denotes a place or tool closely associated with activity, such through suffixes such as *-ist*, *-eer*, like;

pianist and mountaineer. Third, by compounding nouns denoting place or tool associated with an activity, -man, -woman, -person, and – people, like: cameraman and chairperson, Etc.

(o) Identification

It occurs when social actors are defined, not in terms of what they do or when social actors is placed as the main clause of certain sentence followed by more than one sub-clause, the function of subclause is to give additional information or explanation for main clause. It has three types; *classification*, social actors are referred to in terms of the majorcategories by means of which a given society or institution differentiates between classes of people. It includes age, gender, provenance, class,wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, and so on. For example “a young moslem scientist, has been awarded for his invention” *Relational identification*, represents social actors in terms of their personal, kinship,or work relations to each other, and it is realized by a closed set of nounsdenoting such relations: “friend,” “aunt,” “colleague,” etc. For example “a mother of seven children give her eighth son today”*Physical identification*, represents social actors in terms of physical characteristicswhich uniquely identify them in a given context. It can be realized by nounsdenoting physical characteristics (“blonde,” “redhead,” “cripple,” and so on) or byadjectives (“bearded,” “tall”) or by prepositional phrases with *withor without* postmodifyinghighly generalized classifications such as “man”

or “woman.” For example “a blonde tall girl has been murdered by her own boyfriend”.

(p) **Personalization**

It occurs when social actors, represented as human beings, as realized by personal or possessive pronouns, proper names. For example “Mohammad bin Abdul Wahab was the founder of Wahabism”.

(q) **Impersonalization**

It occurs when social actors represented by abstract nouns or by concrete nouns whose meanings do not include the semantic feature “human”. There are two types of impersonalization; first, *abstraction*, it occurs when social actors are represented by means of a quality assigned to them by and in the representation. One example is the way in which “poor, black, unskilled, Muslim, or illegal” immigrants are referred to by means of the term “problems”. second, *objectivation*, it occurs when social actors are represented by means of reference to a place or thing closely associated either with their person or with the action in which they are represented as being engaged. Such as “Hungarian man..”, “that fat boy..”, etc.

(r) **Overdetermination**

It occurs when social actors are represented as participating, at the same time, in more than one social practice. As “businessman and teacher” in “Mr. Anggoro can take two roles well, as a businessman and a

teacher”. There are four major categories: *inversion*, *symbolization*, *connotation*, and *distillation*.

Inversion is a form of overdetermination in which social actors are connected to two practices which are, in a sense, each other’s opposites. *Symbolization*, occurs when a “fictional” social actor or group of social actors stands for actors or groups in non fictional social practices. *Connotation*, occurs when a unique determination (a nomination or physical identification) stands for a classification or functionalization. *Distillation*, realizes overdetermination through a combination of generalization and abstraction.

At last, there are two types of inversion; *anachronism*, to say things that can not say straightforwardly, for instance, present social or political criticism in circumstances where it is not allowed by official censorship or to naturalize ideological discourses. *Deviation*, social actors involved in certain activities in which they would not normally be eligible to engage in.

2.3 Discursive Construction of Legitimation

Theo van Leeuwen stated that Recontextualization involves not just the transformation of social practices into discourses about social practices, but also the addition of contextually specific legitimations of these social practices, answers to the spoken or unspoken questions “Why should we do this?” or “Why should we do this in this way?” (*ibid.*, 105). van Leeuwen (2008: 33) noted us before:

Recontextualizations may also add the “why” to their representations of social practices, that is, they may add legitimations, reasons that either the whole of a social practice or some part of it must take place, or must take place in the way that it does. Texts not only represent social practices, they also explain and legitimate (or delegitimize, critique) them.

There are four major categories of legitimation, these major categories will be of use for critically analyzing the construction of legitimation in discourse, they are:

First, *Authorization*, that is, legitimation by reference to the authority of tradition, custom, law, and/or persons in whom institutional authority of some kind is vested. This legitimation is the answer to spoken or unspoken questions such as questions—“Why should we do this?” or “Why should we do this in this way?” then the answer is “because I say so”. Then, the problem is “who can exercise the authority? And how?”.

There are six kinds of “authorization”:

(a). Personal Authority

In this case of authority, legitimate authority is vested in people because of their status or role in a particular institution, e.g. President in case of minister. Authorities then do not need any justification for what they require other than “because I say so”. For example, “we should do this job because our teacher said that student should sit”.

(b) Expert Authority

In this case of authority, legitimacy is provided by expertise rather than status, this expertise stated explicitly. For example; “the professor said”, as in example certain newspaper write, the professor said, “it is not

problem that police have killed two students during the demonstration against corruption which is done by the member of regime party". Seems that there is no problem in this sentence, except that there are news which tell about student killing during demonstration, but if we relate to theory of van Leeuwen's CDA. We may ask that "why that newspaper put 'expert said' on the beginning sentence?" according to van Leeuwen it is kind of "Authorization" "expert authorization", this is the discursive strategy to abolish our sympathy toward the killing of student, in which it is not big problem in our democracy. The newspaper wants to ask us that we should support the killing since there is professor that say "it is not problem". However, the newspaper does not mention who is the professor, this is of course, they want to protect the professor who supports this killing. This language preference, shows that "the police" is legitimate and "student" is illegitimate.

(c) Role Model Authority

In the case of role model authority, people follow the example of role models or opinion leaders. For instance, for the follower of Joko Widodo, Jakarta governor, everything he said will be legitimate and true.

(d) Impersonal Authority

In this case of authority the imagined answer to "why" question is "because the rules state..." other nouns which usually use is "policy", "regulation", "law", "compulsory", "mandatory", and "obligatory". For instance, in the case of home work which should be done by student of

certain school, the teacher will say “it is mandatory for every student to do his/her home work and submit on time”. However, it is not clear who make the regulation that “doing home work is mandatory for student”.

(e) The Authority of Tradition

In this case of legitimation, the key words are “tradition”, “practice”, “custom” and “habit”. for example a leader of certain tribe said about his/her ritual for celebrating birthday, he said “this is what we always done” or “we do this because this is our tradition”.

(f) The authority of conformity

In the case of conformity, the clause is “because that’s what everybody else does” or “because that’s what most people do”. For instance, when someone asks his friend “why we have to go to school?” but his friends do not have a rational answer, he would say “because that’s what most people do”

Second, *Moral evaluation*, that is, legitimation by (often very oblique) reference to value systems. Moral value is simply asserted by troublesome word such as “good” and “bad” which freely travel among moral, aesthetic and hedonistic domains and often combine with authority legitimation. In most cases, moral evaluation is linked to specific moral of value. However, these discourses are not made explicit and debatable. They are only hinted in by means of adjective such as “healthy”, “normal”, “natural”, “useful” and so on. Habermas said “widely used to ensure mass loyalty” (*ibid.*, 110). There are three kinds of moral evaluation, they are:

(a) Evaluation

Evaluative adjective play a key role in moral evaluation legitimation, for instance the favoured advertising adjective such as “green”, “cool”, and “golden”. For instance, when we see a white, tall, handsome boy, then we say “he is cool”.

(b) Abstraction

It is by referring to practices in abstract ways to “moralize” them by distilling from them a quality that links them to discourses of moral values. Instead of “attending parent’s night” we may say “build up a relationship with school” in the case of when certain parents attending the farewell party on their son’s school.

(c) Analogies

It is comparison in discourse which almost has legitimating and delegitimizing function. An imagined answer to “why” is “because it is like activity which is associated with positive values”. Or “because it is good not like other activity done”. For instance, to answer the question of certain student “why we should play football than wasting our money in Mall?”

Third, *Rationalization*, that is, legitimation by reference to the goals and uses of institutionalized social action and to the knowledge that society has constructed to endow them with cognitive validity. In case of evaluation, rationality has gone underground. Van leeuwen distinguish two main types of rationality, they are “instrumental rationality” which legitimizes practice by

reference to their goals, uses, and effects. “theoretical rationality” legitimizes practices by reference to a natural order of things.

(a) Instrumental Rationalization

This legitimation is based on the purpose of the owner of discourse do, or in philosophy we recognize “teleological ethic”. a thought of ethics which judged “good” or “bad” based on the goal of the action. Expression like “it is useful” “it is effective” in philosophical tradition we call it as utilitarianism and pragmatism, a doctrine which concern on function and happiness. This requires (a) that agency of purposeful actor is explicitly expressed, (b) that purposeful action and the purpose have the same agent or, if the purpose state that the person to whom that state is attributed is also agent of the purposeful action, the formula is “I do x in order to do y ”(ibid., 116).

(b) Theoretical Rationalization

In the case of theoretical rationalization, legitimation is grounded not in whether the action is morally justified or not, nor in whether it is purposeful or effective, but whether it is founded on some kind of truth, on “the way things are.” Theoretical rationalization is therefore closely related to the category of naturalization, which I discussed earlier. But where naturalizations simply state that some practice or action is “natural,” theoretical legitimations provide explicit representations of “the way things are.” This takes one of three forms, i.e.: definition, explanation, and prediction.

Fourth, *Mythopoesis*, that is, legitimation conveyed through narratives whose outcomes reward legitimate actions and punish non legitimate actions.

There are two kinds of “mythopoesis”, they are:

(a) *Moral Tales*,

Protagonists are rewarded for engaging in legitimate social practices or restoring the legitimate order.

(b) *Cautionary Tales*,

On the other hand, convey what will happen if you do not conform to the norms of social practices. Their protagonists engage in deviant activities that lead to unhappy endings.

These forms of legitimation can occur separately or in combination. They can be used to legitimize, but also to delegitimize, to critique.

2.4 Previous Studies

Some researches which used theory of representation of social actor by van Leeuwen have been done, first of all, Suganda et. al (2006) researched about representation of woman migrant workers (TKW) in Malaysia on the news issued by daily newspaper *Utusan Malaysia* and *Kompas*. The result shows that both *Utusan Malaysia* and *Kompas* represented Indonesian woman migrant workers as marginal society, powerless, uneducated, poor, and stupid. This result come from the discourse on both newspapers that they used inclusion strategy of discourse for TKW in the way of bad imaging and used strategy of exclusion for the government, mass media and TKW's boss from the discourse to keep them save.

Second, Ginting (2010) used van Leeuwen's theory to investigate the news about the disputation between Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) and Indonesian National Police (POLRI) which was issued by Indonesian national daily *Kompas*. In the end of her research she found that *Kompas* mostly used exclusion strategies of discourse to POLRI and mostly used inclusion strategies to KPK in order to drive reader's attention to KPK much more than to POLRI. KPK was described as the victim of the dispute on the other hand POLRI was the bad institution. KPK has got the bigger expose than POLRI. *Kompas*'s journalists prefer interviewing the people in KPK and their supporter to POLRI. This make imbalance portion of news issued by *Kompas*.

Third, Jayanti (2011) investigated Ahmadinejad speech at the United Nations. The finding reveal that Ahmadinejad uses inclusion and exclusion strategies of discourse to strengthen moslem's society as the colonized people and their ideologies as well and to downgrade the power and authority of Israel and some western states showing the intention of the colonized people to dominate and marginalize US and its allies.

Here, my research is similar with previous studies because I also use theory of representation of social actors which is proposed by van Leeuwen. However, my research also has differences from previous ones because, first, I do not only apply van Leeuwen's theory of social actors but also use discursive strategies of legitimation. Second, the subjects those researches are non-English newspaper and political speech, and there is no English media online yet as the subject of study. Third, all previous researchers refer the theory of van Leeuwen's

CDA to Eriyanto's text book of media analysis (2009) not to the original text of van Leeuwen, so, I am not sure that the categorisation they applied is as complete as van Leeuwen's original text.



CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter consists of the literatures which related to the research; Theo van Leeuwen's Critical Discourse Analysis, especially, exclusion and inclusion strategy of discourse and discursive construction of legitimation.

2.1 Theo van Leeuwen's Critical Discourse Analysis

The effort for forming CDA theory has been started by Theo van Leeuwen since his Ph.D thesis. In this thesis, he only had concern on social actor(s) and action as the important part for analysing discourse critically, but later, his project for creating method on CDA has been sophisticated. There are six specific method he provides, they are: representing social actors, representing social action, time in discourse, space in discourse, discursive construction of legitimation, and purpose discursive construction. He has explained each method in detail (van Leeuwen, 2008).

He built his theory of CDA derived from Michael Foucault's concept of discourse as semantics construction of specific aspects of reality that serve the interests of particular historical and/or social context and from Michael Halliday. He then take Bernstein's concept of recontextualization. His assumption that all discourse recontextualize social practices and all knowledge is grounded in practice. In the process of recontextualization there are key elements of social

practice which can not be separated from the purposes and legitimations for the action.

Inspired by the concept of Weber's rationalization, especially, formal rationalization, van Leeuwen (*ibid.*, 03) believes that rationalized social action is proceduralized. In rationalized social interaction, "meaning becomes fragmented and heterogeneous but social action becomes homogenized and proceduralized", van Leeuwen follows Zijderveld to name it as Supersedure Of Meaning By Function in modernity. Everywhere, there are fewer and powerful procedure and format but more discourse and less powerful.

Discourse as part of rationalization then stated as recontextualized social practice. So, to study discourse, it is important to see the text as representation where based on practice, "what people do", because interpreting text without recourse to experience will be hard to be understood. By focusing on representation, CDA find which socially dominant subjects make and distribute about the "others" dominate in order to provide ideological scaffolding for the unequal social practices themselves (van Leeuwen, 1993: 09). Now, it is important to stress the difference between social practices and representation of social practices. To make it simple, Just like the obvious difference between "doing something" and "talking something". Discourse, which is social cognition, socially specific ways of knowing social practices, will be used as resources for representing social practice in text (van Leeuwen, 2008: 06).

For van Leeuwen, his understanding about social practice is taken from Max Weber. Van Leeuwen (*ibid.*, 07) said:

Social practices are socially regulated ways of doing things-but the word “regulate” may give the wrong impression here, since “regulation,” in the sense in which we normally understand it, is only one of the ways in which social coordination can be achieved. Different social practices are “regulated” to different degrees and in different ways-for instance, through strict prescription, or through traditions, or through the influence of experts and charismatic role models, or through the constraints of technological resources used, and so on.

Weber (1968: 8) differs between practice and reactive. For reactive, it is an action which does not involve the process of thinking. When stimulus comes action is done. There is only short gap between stimulus and response. What Weber wanted to define as social practice is a human action which involving the process of thinking. He gave us the example about social practice. It is *economical practice*, he defined it as “primary consciousness orientation to economical consideration..not a subjective value but a belief that this action is really needed”.

In his social practice theory, Weber wanted to give attention to the individual, pattern, and regularity of practice. For him there are four kinds of practice. First, rationalization of means and goals or the practice which is determined by hope toward the object’s behaviour in our environment and others behaviors; this hopes are used as the “requirements” or “means” for achieving actor’s goals through rational effort and consideration”. Second, rationalization of value or practice which is based on a certain belief of consciousness about ethics, aesthetics, religious, etc. It is free from the goal’s parameters. Third, affectual practice, which is influenced by the emotional side of the actors. Fourth, traditional practice, determined by how the actors act as usual and often done (Goodman and Ritzer, 2008: 137). However, there is a high possibility on the mixing of these division of practices (*ibid.*, 138).

Although not all elements of social practice is represented, Different social practices involve different degrees of freedom, different margins for resistance and different modes of enforcing conformity. Here, too, different social contexts offer writers and speakers different amounts of freedom. And the rules, or strategies, or best practice models they follow are not autonomous linguistic structure potentials, but modalities of institutionalized social control that should themselves be studied as different kinds of practices. There are ten elements of social practices (van Leeuwen, 2008: 07-12): 1). Participant or social actors, A social practice first of all needs a set of participants in certain roles. The other elements of the practice are usually syeen as “context” but as the concept of “social practice” combine both “text” and “context”. 2). Actions, The core of any social practice is a set of actions performed in a sequence, which may be fixed to a greater or lesser degree and which may or may not allow for choice, that is, for alternatives with regard to a greater or lesser number of the actions of some or all of the participants, and for concurrence, that is, for the simultaneity of different actions during part or all of the sequence. 3). Performance modes, that social practice also performed at a certain pace. 4, 5, 6). Eligibility Conditions for participants, Locations, and Resources, that there should be “specific qualification” for participant, location or resources in doing certain social practice. Different social practice should be different eligibility conditions. 7). Presentation styles, Social practices also involve dress and body grooming requirements, or presentation styles, for the participants. Like performance modes, presentation styles may apply to the whole of a social practice or to specific parts of it. 8).

Times, Social practices and specific parts of them take place at more or less definite times. However, although the time constraints on social practices vary in strictness, they are never fully absent: the writing and publishing of book, for instance, are subject to time schedules, and counseling on how to “prepare” children for the first day must take place toward the time that such preparation is due to begin. 9). Locations, Social practices are also related to specific locations. But on the whole, the text is not very explicit about location.

Next, in recontextualization, there are three forms of recontextualized social practice (*ibid.*, 12-13), (1) sequence of non-linguistic actions, (2) sequence in which linguistic and non-linguistic actions alternate, (3) sequence of linguistic action or ‘genre’ (linguistically realised activity or goal-oriented social process).

Then van Leeuwen said:

Recontextualization not only makes the recontextualized social practices explicit to a greater or lesser degree, it also makes them pass through the filter of the practices in which they are inserted...it is usually embedded in their common sense; in their of relating to each other, and in what they take the purposes of the recontextualizing practice to be--all those things which form the usually tacit know-how of experienced participants of the recontextualizing social practice.

The process of making book is the example of recontextualization, it is the recontextualization of social practice of the writer, editor, and also the publisher. Citing the expert statement, reading the source, and time for reading source. When writing the experts statement, we should address them. And it should be related to specific time such as in references.

2.2 Exclusion and Inclusion Strategy of Discourse

According to van Leeuwen (2008: 23-54), participant or social actors in English discourse can be represented in two major variation, exclusion and inclusion, the strategy used is to suit the interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended. Van Leeuwen operate his theory of CDA by starting *sociosemantic* inventory of the ways in which social actors can be represented and establish the sociological and critical relevance of his categories then how they are realized linguistically (*ibid.*, 23). **Exclusion**, it is the strategy of discourse where participants or social actors are excluded from the field of discourse. Some of the exclusions may be “innocent,” details which readers are assumed to know already, or which are deemed irrelevant to them; others tie in closely to the propaganda strategies of creating fear and enemies of “our” interests.

There are two kinds of exclusion; first, is *suppression*, there is no reference to the social actor(s) in question anywhere in the text. *Suppression* is known through some ways, first, through passive agent deletion, for example; certain newspaper prefers choosing “two students have been killed during the demonstration against regime in May 13, 1998”, to “the police have killed two students during the demonstration against regime in May 13, 1998”. Seems that there is no problem in these two sentences, except that first sentence uses passive voice and second uses active voice, but if we relate to theory of van Leeuwen’s CDA. We may ask that “why that newspaper prefer first sentence to second sentence?” according to van Leeuwen it is kind of passivation strategy in presenting the social actors, by using passive voice, the writer hides the subject

who kill 'two students', by hiding the subject, the readers is attracted to concentrate to the object whom is killed, they will forget the social actor 'that is the police' who have killed them. Of course the journalist will not write the police since the regime assumed that 'still has military power'. The journalist prefer choosing 'safe way' for him/her to taking 'dangerous way' by writing word 'police' in his/her news. He/she may worries that he will be arrested by the regime and his media corporation will be closed since the regime has strong support from military power. Passivation is one of strategies of exclusion in van Leeuwen's CDA. Second, through infinitival clauses which function as a grammatical participant, as in "To make good policy is hard". Third, Nominalizations and process to make noun, for example; "support" in "The level of support for banning drug abuse become lesser". Fourth, adjectives, such as "correct" in "we do not know about correct answer". Fifth, by deleting "beneficiaries", it is people who get benefit from the action, as in "Mr. President apologizes, after years of May human rights tragedy", this discourse does not mention "to whom Mr. President apologizes" since the object of the sentence will accept sympathy from the readers if it includes here (*ibid.*,33).

Second, is *backgrounding*, the exclusion is less radical: the excluded social actors may not be mentioned in relation to a given action, but they are mentioned elsewhere in the text.

Inclusion, it is the strategy of discourse where the social actors are involved in the field of discourse. Many types of inclusion we have.

(a) Activaton

It occurs when social actors are represented as the active, dynamic forces in an activity. Activation is realized, first, by “participation” (grammatical participant roles), the active role of the social actor, as in “the student keep protesting the policy although it’s been decided by the congress”. Second, through “circumstantialization,” that is, by prepositional circumstantials with *by* or *from*, example “Papuan always have narrow views from their white skin neighbor”.

(b) Passivation

When the social actors are represented as “undergoing” the activity, or as being “at the receiving end of it.” Passivation has two types; Firstly, *subjected*, Subjected social actors are treated as objects in the representation. Subjection can be realized in many ways; first, It is realized by “participation” when the passivated social actor is goal in a material process, phenomenon in a mental process, or carrier in an effective attributive process, example, “the Bentley rider strike smell beggar this morning”, here “smell beggar” is subjected. Second, It can also be realized by “circumstantialization” through a prepositional phrase with, for instance, *against* “the act against Asian immigrants is socialized”. Third, it can also be realized by “possessivation,” usually in the form of a prepositional phrase with *of* postmodifying a nominalization or process noun, as with “of well-educated people” in “A number of well-educated people is expected to come this year”.

Secondly, *beneficialized*, social actors form a third party which positively or negatively, benefits from the action. For example “Although they have of this city give some of their money to the black, they still attacked”, word “they still attacked” is beneficiary.

(c) Genericization

It is when the social actors mentioned in general. It can realized by the plural such as “non-Javanese immigrants” as in “non-javanese immigrants are expected to arises up to 8 percent by this year” and the singular with the definite or indefinite article like “the child”, “a child” as in “do not allow the child to climb is good choice” and “it is possible for a child to have same actions with their parents”

(d) Specification

In contrast with Genericization, it mention the specific thing, such as “concrete people”, “place”, “place”, “thing” and “action” as “The Minister of Trading, Mr. Gita Wirjawan” in example “The Minister of Trading, Mr. Gita Wirjawan, gives his opinion about the decreasing of gold price”. The clause “The Minister of Trading, Mr. Gita Wirjawan” indicates the specification of concrete people.

(e) Assimilation

Social actor (s) can be referred as group such as “this nation”, “this community”, “we”, “our”, “the surveys”. Example: “this nation should be proud of the world statesmen award achieved by their President, Mr.

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono”. The word “this nation” assimilates that all people in Indonesia are one nation, and they are not separated each other.

(f) Individualization

Social actor (s) may be referred to as individual, individualization can be referred as singularity such as “President, Mr. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono” in example above. The clause “President, Mr. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono” placed alone as individual in that example.

(g) Association

It refers to groups formed by social actors and/or groups of social actors (either generically or specifically referred to). Such as: “students, farmers, and labors” as in example “students, farmers, and labors make long-march for land reform before new President elected”. In this example “students, farmers, and labors” are associate each other and they have common power.

(h) Dissociation

It refers to group which is quitted from group of association such as “student and farmer” which unformed from above group, example “student and farmer can take soft loan from bank as new economic policy released”. In this example, “student and farmer” are no more part of that association above because they separated from “farmers”

(i) Indetermination

It occurs when social actors are represented as unspecified, “anonymous” individuals or groups. Such as “many believe..”, “some

say..”, “someone..” as in example “many believe that corruption eradication commission will put AnasUrbaningrum in jail soon”. The word “many believe “ in this example do not determine or indicate “how many people exactly believe” toward the case of AnasUrbaningrum.

(j) Determination

In contrast with indetermination, determination occurs when social actors identity is, one way or another, specified, as “taxi driver” in example “the taxi driver should compete for taking customer, we need a fair regulation”. In this example social actor “taxi driver” is specified as “taxi driver” not “someone”.

(k) Differentiation

It differentiates explicitly an individual social actor or group of social actors from a similiar actor or group, creating the difference between the “self”, and “the other”, “west part” and “east part”. For example “Indonesia is archipelago country, however, people from west part is more educated than from east part of this country”. This example creates contrast discourse between “Indonesian people from west part” and “Indonesian people from east part”.

(l) Nomination

Social actors can be represented either in terms of their unique identity, realized in proper name; formal and informal (surname, given name) and name obscuration such as “Mr. X..” or honofication like “Dr..”,

“Mr. President..” for instance; “Dr. Abdul Moqsith Ghazali is one of extraordinary new young muslim scholar in Indonesia”. The word “Dr.” in this example shows the formal name which indicates the degree of education. This is aimed to give honor to the owner of this degree, he is “Abdul Moqsith Ghazali”.

(m)

Categorization

Social actors in terms of identities and functions they share with others, it can be physical, social status, religion, or anything that usually the others will know in common. Here social actors by reference to what they, supposedly, ‘are’ (Machin and van Leeuwen, 2007: 84). It has function to marginalize or as the mean for domination and power showing from certain social actors. For example “the richest man in the world” to address “Carlos Sim Helu” without mentioning his name in certain article “the richest man in the world has donated his \$100.000 for orphan”.

(n)

Functionalization

Functionalization occurs when social actors are referred to in terms of an activity in terms of something they do, for instance, an occupation or role. It is typically realized in one of the following ways: first, by a noun, formed from a verb, through suffixes such as *-er*, *-ant*, *-ent*, *-ian*, *-ee*, e.g., “interviewer,” “celebrant,” “correspondent,” “guardian,” “employee”. Second, by a noun which denotes a place or tool closely associated with activity, such through suffixes such as *-ist*, *-eer*, like;

pianist and mountaineer. Third, by compounding nouns denoting place or tool associated with an activity, -man, -woman, -person, and – people, like: cameraman and chairperson, Etc.

(o) Identification

It occurs when social actors are defined, not in terms of what they do or when social actors is placed as the main clause of certain sentence followed by more than one sub-clause, the function of subclause is to give additional information or explanation for main clause. It has three types; *classification*, social actors are referred to in terms of the majorcategories by means of which a given society or institution differentiates between classes of people. It includes age, gender, provenance, class,wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, and so on. For example “a young moslem scientist, has been awarded for his invention” *Relational identification*, represents social actors in terms of their personal, kinship,or work relations to each other, and it is realized by a closed set of nounsdenoting such relations: “friend,” “aunt,” “colleague,” etc. For example “a mother of seven children give her eighth son today”*Physical identification*, represents social actors in terms of physical characteristicswhich uniquely identify them in a given context. It can be realized by nounsdenoting physical characteristics (“blonde,” “redhead,” “cripple,” and so on) or byadjectives (“bearded,” “tall”) or by prepositional phrases with *withor without* postmodifyinghighly generalized classifications such as “man”

or “woman.” For example “a blonde tall girl has been murdered by her own boyfriend”.

(p) **Personalization**

It occurs when social actors, represented as human beings, as realized by personal or possessive pronouns, proper names. For example “Mohammad bin Abdul Wahab was the founder of Wahabism”.

(q) **Impersonalization**

It occurs when social actors represented by abstract nouns or by concrete nouns whose meanings do not include the semantic feature “human”. There are two types of impersonalization; first, *abstraction*, it occurs when social actors are represented by means of a quality assigned to them by and in the representation. One example is the way in which “poor, black, unskilled, Muslim, or illegal” immigrants are referred to by means of the term “problems”. second, *objectivation*, it occurs when social actors are represented by means of reference to a place or thing closely associated either with their person or with the action in which they are represented as being engaged. Such as “Hungarian man..”, “that fat boy..”, etc.

(r) **Overdetermination**

It occurs when social actors are represented as participating, at the same time, in more than one social practice. As “businessman and teacher” in “Mr. Anggoro can take two roles well, as a businessman and a

teacher”. There are four major categories: *inversion*, *symbolization*, *connotation*, and *distillation*.

Inversion is a form of overdetermination in which social actors are connected to two practices which are, in a sense, each other’s opposites. *Symbolization*, occurs when a “fictional” social actor or group of social actors stands for actors or groups in non fictional social practices. *Connotation*, occurs when a unique determination (a nomination or physical identification) stands for a classification or functionalization. *Distillation*, realizes overdetermination through a combination of generalization and abstraction.

At last, there are two types of inversion; *anachronism*, to say things that can not say straightforwardly, for instance, present social or political criticism in circumstances where it is not allowed by official censorship or to naturalize ideological discourses. *Deviation*, social actors involved in certain activities in which they would not normally be eligible to engage in.

2.3 Discursive Construction of Legitimation

Theo van Leeuwen stated that Recontextualization involves not just the transformation of social practices into discourses about social practices, but also the addition of contextually specific legitimations of these social practices, answers to the spoken or unspoken questions “Why should we do this?” or “Why should we do this in this way?” (*ibid.*, 105). van Leeuwen (2008: 33) noted us before:

Recontextualizations may also add the “why” to their representations of social practices, that is, they may add legitimations, reasons that either the whole of a social practice or some part of it must take place, or must take place in the way that it does. Texts not only represent social practices, they also explain and legitimate (or delegitimize, critique) them.

There are four major categories of legitimation, these major categories will be of use for critically analyzing the construction of legitimation in discourse, they are:

First, *Authorization*, that is, legitimation by reference to the authority of tradition, custom, law, and/or persons in whom institutional authority of some kind is vested. This legitimation is the answer to spoken or unspoken questions such as questions—“Why should we do this?” or “Why should we do this in this way?” then the answer is “because I say so”. Then, the problem is “who can exercise the authority? And how?”.

There are six kinds of “authorization”:

(a). Personal Authority

In this case of authority, legitimate authority is vested in people because of their status or role in a particular institution, e.g. President in case of minister. Authorities then do not need any justification for what they require other than “because I say so”. For example, “we should do this job because our teacher said that student should sit”.

(b) Expert Authority

In this case of authority, legitimacy is provided by expertise rather than status, this expertise stated explicitly. For example; “the professor said”, as in example certain newspaper write, the professor said, “it is not

problem that police have killed two students during the demonstration against corruption which is done by the member of regime party". Seems that there is no problem in this sentence, except that there are news which tell about student killing during demonstration, but if we relate to theory of van Leeuwen's CDA. We may ask that "why that newspaper put 'expert said' on the beginning sentence?" according to van Leeuwen it is kind of "Authorization" "expert authorization", this is the discursive strategy to abolish our sympathy toward the killing of student, in which it is not big problem in our democracy. The newspaper wants to ask us that we should support the killing since there is professor that say "it is not problem". However, the newspaper does not mention who is the professor, this is of course, they want to protect the professor who supports this killing. This language preference, shows that "the police" is legitimate and "student" is illegitimate.

(c) Role Model Authority

In the case of role model authority, people follow the example of role models or opinion leaders. For instance, for the follower of Joko Widodo, Jakarta governor, everything he said will be legitimate and true.

(d) Impersonal Authority

In this case of authority the imagined answer to "why" question is "because the rules state..." other nouns which usually use is "policy", "regulation", "law", "compulsory", "mandatory", and "obligatory". For instance, in the case of home work which should be done by student of

certain school, the teacher will say “it is mandatory for every student to do his/her home work and submit on time”. However, it is not clear who make the regulation that “doing home work is mandatory for student”.

(e) The Authority of Tradition

In this case of legitimation, the key words are “tradition”, “practice”, “custom” and “habit”. for example a leader of certain tribe said about his/her ritual for celebrating birthday, he said “this is what we always done” or “we do this because this is our tradition”.

(f) The authority of conformity

In the case of conformity, the clause is “because that’s what everybody else does” or “because that’s what most people do”. For instance, when someone asks his friend “why we have to go to school?” but his friends do not have a rational answer, he would say “because that’s what most people do”

Second, *Moral evaluation*, that is, legitimation by (often very oblique) reference to value systems. Moral value is simply asserted by troublesome word such as “good” and “bad” which freely travel among moral, aesthetic and hedonistic domains and often combine with authority legitimation. In most cases, moral evaluation is linked to specific moral of value. However, these discourses are not made explicit and debatable. They are only hinted in by means of adjective such as “healthy”, “normal”, “natural”, “useful” and so on. Habermas said “widely used to ensure mass loyalty” (*ibid.*, 110). There are three kinds of moral evaluation, they are:

(a) Evaluation

Evaluative adjective play a key role in moral evaluation legitimation, for instance the favoured advertising adjective such as “green”, “cool”, and “golden”. For instance, when we see a white, tall, handsome boy, then we say “he is cool”.

(b) Abstraction

It is by referring to practices in abstract ways to “moralize” them by distilling from them a quality that links them to discourses of moral values. Instead of “attending parent’s night” we may say “build up a relationship with school” in the case of when certain parents attending the farewell party on their son’s school.

(c) Analogies

It is comparison in discourse which almost has legitimating and delegitimizing function. An imagined answer to “why” is “because it is like activity which is associated with positive values”. Or “because it is good not like other activity done”. For instance, to answer the question of certain student “why we should play football than wasting our money in Mall?”

Third, *Rationalization*, that is, legitimation by reference to the goals and uses of institutionalized social action and to the knowledge that society has constructed to endow them with cognitive validity. In case of evaluation, rationality has gone underground. Van leeuwen distinguish two main types of rationality, they are “instrumental rationality” which legitimizes practice by

reference to their goals, uses, and effects. “theoretical rationality” legitimizes practices by reference to a natural order of things.

(a) Instrumental Rationalization

This legitimation is based on the purpose of the owner of discourse do, or in philosophy we recognize “teleological ethic”. a thought of ethics which judged “good” or “bad” based on the goal of the action. Expression like “it is useful” “it is effective” in philosophical tradition we call it as utilitarianism and pragmatism, a doctrine which concern on function and happiness. This requires (a) that agency of purposeful actor is explicitly expressed, (b) that purposeful action and the purpose have the same agent or, if the purpose state that the person to whom that state is attributed is also agent of the purposeful action, the formula is “I do x in order to do y ”(ibid., 116).

(b) Theoretical Rationalization

In the case of theoretical rationalization, legitimation is grounded not in whether the action is morally justified or not, nor in whether it is purposeful or effective, but whether it is founded on some kind of truth, on “the way things are.” Theoretical rationalization is therefore closely related to the category of naturalization, which I discussed earlier. But where naturalizations simply state that some practice or action is “natural,” theoretical legitimations provide explicit representations of “the way things are.” This takes one of three forms, i.e.: definition, explanation, and prediction.

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These forms of legitimation can occur separately or in combination. They can be used to legitimize, but also to delegitimize, to critique.

2.4 Previous Studies

Some researches which used theory of representation of social actor by van Leeuwen have been done, first of all, Suganda et. al (2006) researched about representation of woman migrant workers (TKW) in Malaysia on the news issued by daily newspaper *Utusan Malaysia* and *Kompas*. The result shows that both *Utusan Malaysia* and *Kompas* represented Indonesian woman migrant workers as marginal society, powerless, uneducated, poor, and stupid. This result come from the discourse on both newspapers that they used inclusion strategy of discourse for TKW in the way of bad imaging and used strategy of exclusion for the government, mass media and TKW's boss from the discourse to keep them save.

Second, Ginting (2010) used van Leeuwen's theory to investigate the news about the disputation between Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) and Indonesian National Police (POLRI) which was issued by Indonesian national daily *Kompas*. In the end of her research she found that *Kompas* mostly used exclusion strategies of discourse to POLRI and mostly used inclusion strategies to KPK in order to drive reader's attention to KPK much more than to POLRI. KPK was described as the victim of the dispute on the other hand POLRI was the bad institution. KPK has got the bigger expose than POLRI. *Kompas*'s journalists prefer interviewing the people in KPK and their supporter to POLRI. This make imbalance portion of news issued by *Kompas*.

Third, Jayanti (2011) investigated Ahmadinejad speech at the United Nations. The finding reveal that Ahmadinejad uses inclusion and exclusion strategies of discourse to strengthen moslem's society as the colonized people and their ideologies as well and to downgrade the power and authority of Israel and some western states showing the intention of the colonized people to dominate and marginalize US and its allies.

Here, my research is similar with previous studies because I also use theory of representation of social actors which is proposed by van Leeuwen. However, my research also has differences from previous ones because, first, I do not only apply van Leeuwen's theory of social actors but also use discursive strategies of legitimation. Second, the subjects those researches are non-English newspaper and political speech, and there is no English media online yet as the subject of study. Third, all previous researchers refer the theory of van Leeuwen's

CDA to Eriyanto's text book of media analysis (2009) not to the original text of van Leeuwen, so, I am not sure that the categorisation they applied is as complete as van Leeuwen's original text.



CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter contains conclusion and suggestion related to findings and discussions in the previous chapter. It presents the conclusion that answer the research questions also the suggestions for the readers.

4.1 Conclusion

In the reports which are released by www.nytimes.com, we can see that there is imbalance representations of social actors who involve in the crisis in Syria. The reporters of www.nytimes.com has used either inclusion or exclusion strategy and discursive construction of legitimation to represents first side, Syria government and its supporters and second side, the opponents and their allies. However, the reporters of this newspaper take a side for second side and put them in positive impression. Yet, they place first side on the negative impression. It shows power dispute among them, legitimation, domination, and also ideology struggle.

In short, this study has resulted the descriptive knowledge of the application of representation of social actors theory and discursive construction of legitimation in the news of Syrian Crisis released by www.nytimes.com. The forms of representation of social actors are in word, clause, sentence even paragraph. So, the research findings support Theo van Leeuwen's theory of Critical Discourse Analysis, especially part of representation of social actors and discursive construction of the discourse.

4.2 Suggestions

As I have explained in the previous discussions, that representation of social actors for Critical Discourse Analysis is important to be discussed since the focus on the doer of the discourse will give us the brief description who plays the discourse for power and ideological struggle.

Then, to fill the gap of this research, I suggest to the next researcher who are interested in the same theory of Critical Discourse Analysis to apply other theories of Theo van Leeuwen, they are; representation of social actions, the discursive construction of purpose, analyzing time and space in discourse. The object of the research can be discourse in magazine, game, and comics. This is important since the language game for hegemony, power, and ideology struggle is often inserted to children minds, as the majority audience or reader of those media.

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APPENDIXES

1. February 03, 2012

Government Is Said to Kill 200 in Attack in Syrian City

Syrian government forces used a barrage of mortar shells and heavy machine-gun fire in an assault that began Friday night in the central city of Homs, killing at least 200 people and wounding hundreds more, opposition activists reported on Saturday.

2. February 04, 2012

Russia and China Block U.N. Action on Crisis in Syria

UNITED NATIONS — A [United Nations Security Council](#) effort to end the violence in Syria collapsed in acrimony with a double veto by [Russia](#) and [China](#) on Saturday, hours after the Syrian military attacked the city of Homs in what opposition leaders described as the deadliest government assault in the nearly 11-month uprising.

3. February 05, 2012

Syrian Unrest After a Failure of Diplomacy

BEIRUT, Lebanon — The collapse of diplomatic efforts to mediate [Syria](#)'s uprising reverberated across the country Sunday, emboldening a government that pressed on with a crackdown in the capital's suburbs and the north and prompting rebel leaders to vow that only force would drive President [Bashar al-Assad](#) from power.

4. February 06, 2012

U.S. Embassy in Syria Closes as Violence Flares

BEIRUT, Lebanon — The United States closed its embassy in [Syria](#) on Monday and withdrew its staff in the face of escalating mayhem for which American officials blamed the Syrian government's unbridled repression of an 11-month-old uprising.

5. February 07, 2012

Stung by Criticism, Russia Sends Envoys to Syria to Defuse Crisis

[Russia](#) moved forcefully on Tuesday to show that it was seeking a peaceful resolution to the [Syria](#) crisis, sending its foreign minister to Damascus for talks that he called "very productive" and countering critics who said the Kremlin had endangered its standing in the Arab world because of its unbridled support for Syria's embattled president, [Bashar al-Assad](#).

6. February 08, 2012

Syrian Refugees Paint Fearful Scene of Home

RAMTHA, [JORDAN](#) — This impoverished Jordanian city across the border from Dara'a, [Syria](#), has become a temporary haven for Syrians who continue to flee the violence that has swept their country.

7. February 09, 2012

Dozens More Die in Syrian Violence, Activists Say

BEIRUT, Lebanon — The embattled Syrian city of Homs remained under siege for a sixth day Thursday, with sporadic tank shells ripping into contested neighborhoods, residents cowering at home and medical supplies dwindling, according to telephone interviews with residents.

8. February 10, 2012

2 Security Complex Car Bombings Kill Dozens, Syria Says

BEIRUT, Lebanon — Powerful car bombs exploded outside two security headquarters in the northern Syrian city of Aleppo on Friday, killing 28 people by official count and signaling that emboldened forces seeking the government's overthrow can strike at the very seat of its power.

9. February 11, 2012

Syrian General Is Killed by Gunmen in Damascus Ambush

BEIRUT, Lebanon — Three gunmen ambushed a military general on a residential street in Damascus on Saturday, the Syrian government reported, in an assassination of a government stalwart that was the first of its kind in the Syrian capital and another step away from the nonviolent roots of the antigovernment protests.

10. February 12, 2012

Arab League Steps Up Pressure on Syria and Calls for U.N. Help

CAIRO — The [Arab League](#) asked the [United Nations Security Council](#) on Sunday to send a [peacekeeping](#) mission to [Syria](#), and it called on Arab nations to sever diplomatic relations with Damascus in an effort to pressure the government to end the violence there.

11. February 13, 2012

U.N. Official Rebukes Syria Over Violence

The top [United Nations](#) human rights official offered [a grim appraisal of the Syrian conflict](#) on Monday, accusing the government there of interpreting the repeated diplomatic failure to end the violence as a green light to escalate deadly attacks on its political opponents with indiscriminate brutality and “overwhelming force” over the past 10 days.

12.. February 14, 2012

Syria Resumes Heavy Shelling of Homs

BEIRUT, Lebanon — Life has become increasingly unbearable in Homs, a city under fierce bombardment by the Syrian government, with residents recounting days of deprivation, rockets and tank shells exploding around them and efforts to bribe government soldiers to escape during lulls in the fighting.

13. February 15, 2012

With Cities Under Fire, Syria Hastens Referendum

BEIRUT, Lebanon — President [Bashar al-Assad](#) moved up an expected referendum on a new constitution establishing a multiparty system by more than a month, to Feb. 26, state-run Syrian news media said Wednesday, as security forces widened operations against government opponents.

14. February 16, 2012

At Work in Syria, Times Correspondent Dies

Anthony Shadid, a gifted foreign correspondent whose graceful dispatches for The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Boston Globe and The Associated Press covered nearly two decades of Middle East conflict and turmoil, died, apparently of an asthma attack, on Thursday while on a reporting assignment in Syria. Tyler Hicks, a Times photographer who was with Mr. Shadid, carried his body across the border to Turkey.

15. February 17, 2012

Reporter's Death Puts Focus on Difficulties of Covering a Secretive Syria

The conflict in [Syria](#) has become, for journalists, one of the most difficult and dangerous assignments in many years, with at least five having died while covering the uprising that began there last March.



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Educational background

Name of institutions	Address	Academic Years
Philosophy and Religions Department. Paramadina University	Gatot Subroto street Kav. 97 Jakarta Selatan	2011 - ...
English Department, Faculty of Humanities and Culture, The Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University of Malang	Gajayana street 50 Dinoyo Malang	2006 - ...
SMA Islam Sunan Gunung Jati	Street I Gg. PDAM Ngunut, Tulungagung	2003 - 2006
SMP Islam Sunan Gunung Jati	Street I Gg. PDAM Ngunut, Tulungagung	2000 - 2003
MI Al-Maarif Sugihan	Avenue Sugihan Kampak Trenggalek	1994 - 2000

Additional educations

Name of Institutions	Address	Academic years
Program Khusus Pendidikan Bahasa Arab (PKPBA)/Intensive Arabic Course UIN Malang	Gajayana street 50 Dinoyo Malang	2006-2007
Intensive English Course PKPBI UIN Malang	Gajayana Street 50 Dinoyo Malang	2006-2007
Pondok Pesantren Hidayatul Muhtadien (Hidayatul Muhtadien Islamic Boarding School)	Street I Ngunut, Tulungagung	2000-2006



Organizational Experiences

No	Name of organization	Positions	Years
01	OSIS SMPI Sunan Gunung jati	Coordinator of Department of Leadership and Political Education	2000-2001
02	Majalah Dinding (Wall Magazine) Alhidayah Sunan Gunung Jati PPHM Ngunut Tulungagung	Editorial Staff	2000-2004
03	OSIS SMPI Sunan Gunung Jati	Secretary	2001-2002
04	MPK (Majelis Perwakilan Kelas) (Student's House of Representative) SMPI Sunan Gunung Jati	Member	2002-2003
05	Jamiyyah Santri (Islamic Student Union) PPHM Sunan Gunung Jati	Logistic Division	2002-2004
06	OSIS SMAI Sunan Gunung Jati	Coordinator Of Religious Department	2003-2004
07	PKS (Penegak Kedisiplinan Siswa) (Student Disciplinary Enforcement)	Member	2003-2004
08	OSIS SMAI Sunan Gunung Jati	2nd Vice President	2004-2005
09	Majalah Dinding (Wall Magazine) Alhidayah Sunan Gunung Jati PPHM Ngunut Tulungagung	General Chief	2004-2006
10	Jamiyyah Santri (Islamic Student Union) PPHM Sunan Gunung Jati	Vice President	2004-2006
11	MPK (Majelis Perwakilan Kelas)/ Student's House of Representative SMAI Sunan Gunung Jati	General Chief	2005-2006
12	FKM (Forum Komunikasi Mahasiswa)/ Student Communication Forum PKPBA UIN MALANG	Presidium Member	2006-2007
13	Halaqoh Ilmiah Santri/ Student Scientist Community of Ma'had Sunan Ampel Al-Aly UIN Malang	Coordinator	2006-2007
14	ADC (Advanced Debate Community) UIN Malang	Member	2006-2007
15	Jamiyyatud Da'wah wal Fan Islamiyy (JDFI) MSAA UIN Malang	Speech Division	2006-2007
16	Ma'had Sunan Ampel Al-Aly UIN Malang	Tutor	2007-2008
17	HMJ (Himpunan Mahasiswa Jurusan) Bahasa dan Sastra Inggris UIN Malang/ English Letters Student Association of UIN MALANG	Member of English Learning Community Department	2007-2008
18	Devisi Kesantrian/ Student Affair of Ma'had Sunan Ampel Al-Aly UIN Malang	Coordinator of Student Affair Ibnu Kholdun Dormitory MSAA UIN Malang	2007-2008
19	Halaqoh Ilmiah Musyrif MSAA UIN	Member	2007-2008

	Malang/ Scientist Community Of Musyrif		
20	Bulletin El-minhaj	General Chief	2007-2008
21	PMII Rayon “Perjuangan” Ibnu Aqil Fakultas Humaniora dan Budaya UIN MALANG/ PMII District Board of Ibnu Aqil, Faculty of Humanities and Culture	Jurnalism Department	2007-2008
22	ADC (Advanced Debate Community) UIN Malang	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	2007-2009
23	TRISCOM (Trenggalek Islamic Student Community) of UIN Malang	Coordinator of Culture Development Department	2007-2009
24	LKP2M (Lembaga Kajian, Pengembangan, Penelitian Mahasiswa)/ Institute of Study, Research and Student Development of UIN Malang	Member	2007-2010
25	PMII Rayon “Perjuangan” Ibnu Aqil Fakultas Humaniora dan Budaya UIN MALANG/ PMII District Board of Ibnu Aqil, Faculty of Humanities and Culture	General Chief	2008-2009
26	PKDM (Partai Kebangkitan Demokrasi Mahasiswa)/ Student Democratic Awakening Party of UIN MALANG	Syuro Council	2008-2009
27	MPM (Majelis Permusyawaratan Mahasiswa)/ Student’s Consultative Assembly of UIN MALIKI MALANG	Faction of Student Democratic Awakening Party	2008-2010
28	HIKMAH (Himpunan Keluarga Mahasiswa Alumni Hidayatul Mubtadiien)/ The Community of Student Alumni Of Hidayatul Mubtadiien	Founder	2008 -...
29	GEMAS (Generasi Muda Aswaja)/ Youth Aswaja Generation of Malang City	General Chief	2008-2010

30	PMII Komisariat Sunan Ampel/ PMII Sunan Ampel Comissariat Board of UIN MALIKI Malang	Secretary I	2009-2010
31	TRISCOM (Trenggalek Islamic Student Community) of UIN Malang	Coordinator of Department of Religion	2009-2010
32	MPM (Majelis Permusyawaratan Mahasiswa)/ Student's Consultative Assembly of UIN MALIKI MALANG	Comission of Student's Training and Education	2010
33	PMII Branch Board of Malang City	Coordinator of Department of Religious Culture Development	2010 – 2011
34	TRISCOM (Trenggalek Islamic Student Community) of UIN Malang	Advisor	2010-2011
35	MPM (Majelis Permusyawaratan Mahasiswa)/ Student's Consultative Assembly of UIN MALIKI MALANG	Comission V (Comission of Law)	2011
36	BPKM (Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan Mahasiswa)/ Student Auditing Firm of UIN MALIKI MALANG	Coordinator	2011
37	PMII Branch Board of Malang City	Coordinator of Religious Studies and Islamic Basis Strengthening Department	2011 – 2012

38	Forum Mahasiswa Lintas Agama (FORMALIN)/ Student Interfaith Forum of Malang City	Member of The Presidium	2010-2012
39	Remas (Remaja Masjid)/Youth of Mosque Al-Muhajirin Joyogrand Malang	General Chief	2010-2011
40	TRISCOM (Trenggalek Islamic Student Community) Malang	Advisor	2011 - 2012
41	Pers Mahasiswa/ Student Press Parmagz (Paramadina Magazine)	Journalist	2011 -
42	PDH (Paramadina Debating House) Paramadina University	Member	2011 -
43	Teater KAFHA/ KAFHA Theater Paramadina University	Member	2011-...
44	HIMAFA (Himpunan Mahasiswa Falsafah dan Agama)/ Student Union of Philosophy and Religion Department Paramadina University	Regeneration Department	2012-..
45	DKM (Dewan Keluarga Masjid)/ Mosque Council of Paramadina University	Regeneration Department	2012-...

Professional and Work Experiences

Name of Institutions	Position	Year
Madrasah Alqur'an PPHM SGJ/ School for Al-Qur'an	Teacher of Al-qur'an	2002-2003
LP3ES	Freelance surveyor	2007
Information Center of MSAA UIN MALANG	Broadcasting Staff	2007-2008
MSAA UIN MALANG	Tutor for Arabic, English and Al-qur'an	2007-2008
Faculty of Humanities and Culture UIN MALIKI Malang	Volunteer In-Country Program Deakin University Australia dan UIN MALIKI Malang	2008
Online news www.beritajatim.com Surabaya	Journalist	2010
Alfalah Islamic Course Sidoarjo	English teacher	2010
PT. SI (Surveyor Indonesia)	Local Vendor Kota Malang survey Kemendiknas RI	2010
PSG (Pusat Studi Gender) UIN MALIKI MALANG/ Center of Gender Studies	Volunteer	2010
Lembaga Penelitian (Lemlit) UIN Maliki Malang/ Research Center	Reviewer Staff for Researches Editor for Jurnal Integrasi Islam dan Sains "El-qudwah"	2010-2011
TPQ Al-Hidayah	Al-qur'an teacher	2010-2011
INASOC Sea Games XXVI	Volunteer Sea Games XXVI	2011
Pride Indonesia	Freelance Surveyor	2011
LBQ Tartila Depok	Alqur'an teacher and Private English Tutor	2011-2012
PT. BUANA DAYA UTAMA	Import Manager	2012 till present

Scholarships and Achievements

Name of Achievements and Scholarships	Year
1 st winner of cerdas cermat competition PPHM Ngunut Tulungagung	2003
3 rd winner of Scientific writing competition IPNU-IPPNU Kabupaten Tulungagung	2004
Tafsir Alqur'an Competition Kabupaten Tulungagung	2005
2 nd winner Reading Islamic Old textbook Kabupaten Tulungagung	2006
Tulungagung Ambassador in MQK I East Java	2006
1 st winner of English Debate MSAA UIN Malang	2007
Participant of English Debate Fiesta Java Overseas Faculty of Farming Universitas Brawijaya	2008
Scholarship of DIPA UIN MALIKI MALANG	2008,2009,2010
Scholarship of BRI UIN MALIKI MALANG	2010-2011
Best Performance pada GMP (Grha Mahardika Paramadina) 2011	2011
Paramadina Fellowship 2011 Universitas Paramadina	2011-2014
Short Course in Al-Mostafa Islamic University Qom Iran	2012

Publications

Title	Media	Years
Some poetries and jornalistic works	Wall Magazine Alhidayah PPSGJ Ngunut Tulungagung	2000-2006
Poetry “Angin kehidupan”	Elma’rifah Magazine MSAA UIN Malang	2007
Many poetries and articles	el-minhaj magazine	2007-2010
Short story “Keributan Dini Hari”	Malang Post newspaper	2010
Article “KH. Saifudin Zuhri dan Pembubaran HMI”	www.pmii-malang.or.id	2010

