Who Says What? The Role of the Actor's Political Position in Ideograph Construction

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ABSTRACT

Previous studies have shown the relationship between ideology and narrative discourse between ideology and narrative discourse in political debates in parliament, protest movements, or discourse in the media that posit ideology and discourse as a single domination relationship but not in network relations. Consequently, the role of political actors in discourse becomes unattractive and is replaced by media studies. It was discovered that ideographs, and word artefacts, link socio-political cognition and political discourse in practice. They also narrate the ideology of political actors in their daily speeches and quotes in different media outlets, with the meanings presented in vast interpretations. However, these interpretative meanings rely on political function and are embedded in the political position. It is assumed that an ideograph serves as an ideological identity in public discourse while the political organisation of the actors determines the interpretative meaning. Therefore, two prominent ideographs in the Omnibus Law discourse on Job Creation, "welfare" and "democracy," were explored to show the "anchored meaning" and describe how ideological identity leads to the creation of ideographic meaning. We analyse the network of the two ideographs using Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) by Philip Leified and Ideographic Analysis (IA). The findings showed that the functional meaning of "welfare" and "democracy" depends on the use of actors in specific discourse. We concluded that the political position of actors in ideographic narratives plays a more dominant role in the relationship between ideology and narratives.

Keywords: *Actor's political position, discourse network analysis, ideograph, ideology, ideographic analysis.*

INTRODUCTION

Michael Calvin McGee (1980) introduced the ideograph as a concept to connect rhetoric and ideology and argued that there is a need for the use of artefacts as evidence in communication or language in order to determine the status of ideology as a collective consciousness. These artefacts are reflected in political words such as propaganda, slogans, campaigns, and daily speeches provided by political actors. This simply means ideographs reflect ideology in political narratives or rhetoric.

The concept of building bridges promotes different studies on the function, meaning, as well as relationship between ideographs and daily political narratives. For example, the "nationalism" ideographs in China are subtly narrated in popular cultural products in order to change the audience's perspective of the country's national identity (Jiang & González, 2021). The meaning of ideograph is also highly contextual depending on the coalition at the local and institutional level (Jensen, 2021) which is culturally bound and considered to be ambiguous (Guitar, 2020).

Studies on ideographs also focus on both the visual and statement texts in the media. It was reported that photographs, memes, advertising flyers, campaigns, and images have a similar function to words and phrases (Stassen & Bates, 2020). They all represent the public consciousness concerning political commitments and also build a narrative-persuasive power in society. Ideographs also simplify the construction of social and political ideology (Denton, 1980) and the focus of this study is similar to framing the media analysis in epistemology and methodology in action.

There are two reasons to examine ideographs and the first is due to the fact that they are part of the elements of rhetoric. This means it is a minor element in political communication studies when compared to myths, metaphors, topoi, and others (Ivie & Giner, 2010). It is important to note that communication scholars are more interested in *"media ideology"* than *"actor ideology"* in-text media studies. This means attention needs to be placed first on the media frame when politicians fail to keep their political promises because they present the promises missed more than the ones fulfilled (Müller, 2020). Media also has a more dominant role in regulating diametrical political positions in other studies by normalising the main ideology of political actors (Quinsaat, 2014).

The second reason is that there is an attempt to use a critics-rhetoric approach in framing analysis. This is based on the belief of Kuyper that studying the extension of media in public discourse is more vivid from a rhetoric-criticism perspective. The extension of the media includes the information selection process and the gatekeeping function which further leads to the media agenda in representing the pieces of information to the public. The use of this approach is believed to be more appropriate than framing studies in social science (Kuypers, 2010). Therefore, this study aims to investigate how the actor's political position acts as the determining factor in ideographs and to represent the actor's ideological view.

We use an example of Omnibus law discourse as an operational sample of the ideograph concept to be studied. Since being discoursed by Joko Widodo during his second presidential inauguration speech, it has become a central issue narrated by state officials, academics, activists, and students and workers in Indonesia. The discourse on job creation law is irresistible because the binary relationship between political actors (state vs. people, government vs. students, business owner vs. workers) appears explicitly. The binary relationship makes it easier for researchers to categorise the Actor's Political Position and how its determinant role is to represent ideological views in the ideograph. Unlike previous studies, this study emphasises ideological actors in media texts, which we still need to encounter in media framing studies. This study attempts to explore ideological factors and organisational background to determine the selection of ideographs by political actors.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The first field of study on political communication is information constructions made by professional communicators such as politicians, campaigners, media specialists, and several others, the second field is the communication process in media, and the last is focused on the reception of individual audience to these messages (Matthes, 2012; Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Information constructions are centred on the framing and arrangement of political messages or terms in a particular way by professional political communicators to have a distinct impression

and meaning. The message is required to be politically favourable to the communicator. Meanwhile, the communication process is related to the method used by the media in re-shaping these messages as well as the frames and procedures applied to determine representation in political discourse. The individual receptions are associated with the response provided to media messages personally by the audience.

The construction of messages and media framing has become a preferred focus of study for scholars in political communication since the 1990s due to the need to explain the information gatekeepers phenomenon at the individual, public, and organisational levels (Scheufele, 1999). This dominant perspective has marginalised the role of political actors as a component in the constellation because less concern is placed on their portrayal in contemporary political communication studies due to the simplification of political discourse to media discourse.

The studies on political actors emerge more in public policy studies as indicated by those related to actors and solidarity in the European crisis (Wallaschek, 2020), environmental activist actors and attributes (Howe et al., 2020), the micro-scale of political inter-actor interactions (Dumdum & Bankston, 2021), as well as actors and the public in social media (Casero-Ripollés et al., 2022).

a. Actor's Political Position
The political positions of actors are divided into two categories which include; 1) organisational backgrounds such as members of government bodies, political parties, NGOs, academics, and public figures (Boyd, 2018; Robinson, 2019), and; 2) binary orientation to particular issues which is also recognized as the agreement (Miller, 2019). The term used for political position in this study differs from the generator proposed by Stockman et al. (2020) as a new concept which serves as a tool to assess personal ties to a network of government officials or political actors. These scholars did not precisely define the political position's concept and its overlap with political ties. This is the reason political positions of actors are classified into two categories which include the organisational background or social capital of political actors and binary political orientation or their political views on specific issues. It is significant to note that many studies have been conducted from conceptual to practical studies in Philip Leified's Discourse Network Analysis (Leifeld, 2016).

b. Ideograph
The focus of this study is on ideographs in actors' utterances with some observed from political actor statements selected due to the interest in the role of their viewpoint rather than the media framing by journalists. *Ideograph* is a single or compound term with a broad meaning usually deployed by political actors in association with their political viewpoints to defend their stances in debates. It also represents the ideological identities of political actors.

There are two types of ideograph analysis which include; a) the horizontal structure also known as synchronic analysis which is a method of deciphering the meaning of an ideograph by comparing it with others. For example, the ideographs "free of speech" and "security" complement each other when addressing whistleblower activities in a democratic society (Guitar, 2020). They both have different meanings in other contexts but assist in defining one another when they are in the same contexts. The second type is; b) vertical or diachronic analysis which

examines the changes in ideographs over time. For example, the ideograph "freedom" took on a new meaning in the United States in 1964-1968 when dealing with Indian policy (Kelly, 2014).

Previous studies showed that the shift in meaning happens when actors interpret the meaning of ideographs based on environmental and cultural context. For example, Polly Williams, a representative member in a voucher school program debate in the United States, utilised the ideograph "choice" to allude to the justice-driven rather than the neoliberal ideology. This means the meaning of "choice" shifts from free-market logic to social justice narratives in this context (Jensen, 2021). It has also been discovered in other studies that the gender of political actors influences feminists' self-identification and feminism with women politicians observed to be disassociating themselves from feminist labels while their male counterparts do it voluntarily for political benefit (Colley & White, 2019). Since rhetoric and ideology are an integral part of the study of political communication, the ideograph is a bridge between ideology and political narrative. Meanwhile, the Actor's Political Position determines the use of ideographs in news quotations.

METHODOLOGY

This study examines the relationship between the political positions of actors and ideographs using Discourse Network Analysis. The method indicates the positions, background, and agreement on the Omnibus Law issue as well as how each political actor constructs the narrative. This was followed by the application of a synchronic analysis on the ideographs used in unison by those that agreed or disagreed with the discourse. Essentially, this study seeks alternative or contradictory interpretations of a single ideograph employed by the constellating parties. The interpreting process is usually initiated from the statement containing the ideograph. This means the statements made by political actors represented using the text of news quotes can be used to determine the meaning of an ideograph.

The criteria highlighted to select the ideographs include: a) direct or indirect quotes from actors, b) frequently appearing in discourse not as isolated ideographs, and c) are attached terms. The last criterion was excluded for the "welfare" ideograph during the process of collecting data because of the justification and interpretation of the meaning used by the political actors.

Furthermore, the researcher uses Ideographic Analysis (IA) to understand the ideograph meaning in the news. Qualitatively, understanding the implicit meaning will explain why the ideograph was chosen and how the implied meaning is contained therein. Ideographic Analysis (IA) can also reveal the strategy of communication actors in representing their ideological views in their statements.

News articles were collected from three online sources which include *kompas.com*, *cnnindonesia.com*, and *republika.co.id*, thereby leading to the analysis of 1169 articles and 111 ideographs depicting "welfare" and "democracy" in the publications. We chose these three news outlets because each has different media ideologies conservatively. kompas.com and republika.co.id has various traditions in writing news strategies on specific issues, especially ideologically sensitive topics (Rusadi, 2019; Zaini et al., 2013). Meanwhile, cnnindonesia.com was chosen because it is an international media network with a more dominant thematic writing style (CNN Indonesia, 2020). We collected data from October 2019 to January 2021, when the discourse on Omnibus Law was first uttered during Joko Widodo's inauguration speech as the 7th

President. The final range in January 2021 was chosen as the closest range to the Judicial Review event at the Constitutional Court. We manually retrieved all article data containing the keywords "Omnibus Law," and "Job Creation Bill" and then checked the context of the news. If the news context is relevant to the research topic, then the data will be used as the unit of analysis in the research. We use Philip Leified's Discourse Networks Analyzer (DNA) software to analyse actors and ideographs in a discourse network. We also use Ideograph Analysis (IA) to interpret the findings of discourse networks and actors.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

a. Political Position of Actors

The actor organisations involved in the omnibus law discourse are in diverse groups ranging from the government, council members, community leaders, academics, student movements, labour organisations, NGOs, and the World Bank. The number of parties involved shows that the omnibus law regarding job creation has become an international issue and has a strong impact on contemporary political communication in Indonesia. This is indicated by protests and rallies by workers and students in different cities of the country in addition to the consideration of the bill in parliament which demonstrates the importance of the topic to the Indonesian people.
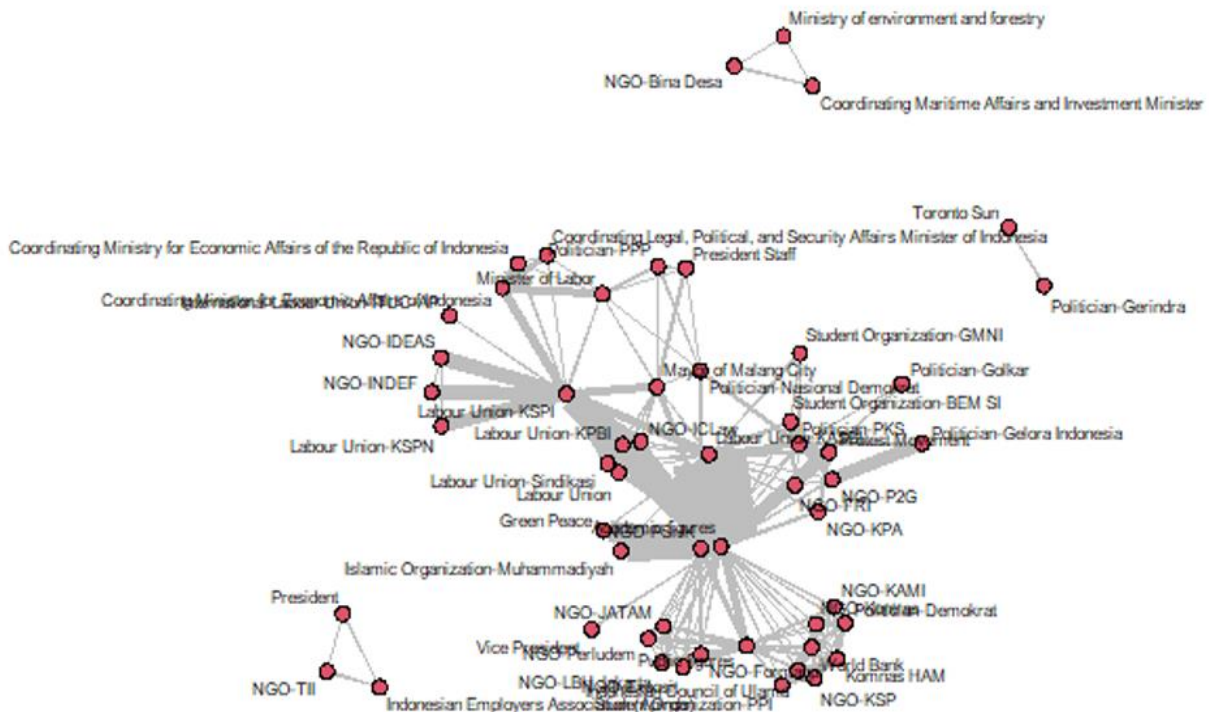

Figure 1: Network of actors and organisational affiliations in discourse.

Figure 1 illustrates how political actors from different organisational backgrounds use the ideographs "welfare" and "democracy" in relation to omnibus job creation. The discussion is evident in non-governmental organisations (NGOs) from legal and public policy think-tanks to

environmental, women's, and children's rights advocacy organisations. Moreover, the labour movement is also represented by sectors that share labour federations such as textiles, steel, and creative industries. Student movements were also formed by student parliamentary groups, off-campus student organisations, and international student organisations with protests initiated by alliances. Meanwhile, the President, Vice President, Ministers, staff, and experts from ministries and regional officials represent the government. It is important to recognise that the views of politicians are the reflections of their political parties or other representative institutions of the people. The academics speak for intellectuals in different disciplines including those related to experts in constitutional law and government and public policy as well as those in different study centres. Lastly, foreign media, World Bank, and public figures are also involved in this discourse and, even though they represent non-dominant actors, their presence cannot be discounted because they also have a political position on the issue. The public figures used in this study are non-partisan figures that do not currently represent a political party but have a non-dominant view.

According to the previous actor organisation network analysis, the ideographs "welfare" and "democracy" constitute a network of discourse groups normally used in debates by different parties including those that support or oppose the ratification. This premise is demonstrated by the variation in the background of the actors across the three dominant groups. It is also important to note that several ideograph meanings are distinct from the dominant discourse network such as differences in the opinion of an actor and its organisation. The NGO-Bina Desa, the Minister of Environment and Forestry, the Minister of Coordinating Maritime Affairs, and the Minister of Investment use the same ideograph to form sub-discourse discussions. A similar observation is also made in the President-NGO-TII and Apindo in other sub-discussions.

b) Binary Agreement/Disagreement
The next political position of actors concerning the issue of the Job Creation Act is either a binary orientation or agreement. This led to the observation of certain terms attached to the welfare> and democracy> ideographs which can be used to comprehensively explain their meaning.

These two ideographs "welfare" and "democracy" are linked together by an attached term which serves as an anchor for their respective meanings. The phrase "welfare" is transformed into an entirely different phrase such as "labour welfare" with a completely different meaning from "worker welfare". The agreement is described in the ideograph bar plot as follows:
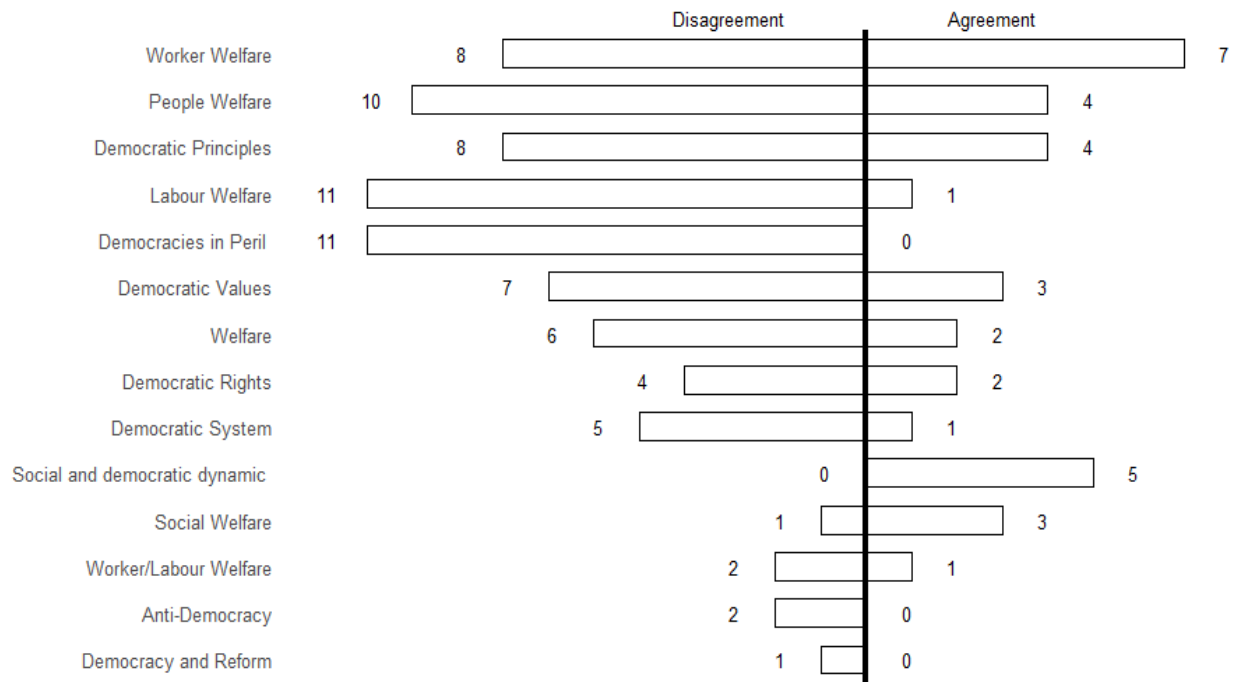
Figure 2: A bar plot diagram of the ideologies "welfare" and "democracy" which demonstrates the binary position/opposition to the Omnibus Law issue.

The bar plot diagram in Figure 2 shows that "worker welfare", "people welfare" and "democratic principles" are the most widely used ideographs from both groups supporting and opposing the passing of the draft of the Job Creation Act. Meanwhile, the ideographs observed to have only appeared in certain binary positions include "social and democratic dynamic" those in agreement as well as "democratic in peril", "anti-democracy" and "democracy and reform" in the opposing group.

The organisational history of political actors that used the democracy> and welfare> ideographs was traced using a two-mode network. This step addresses the study questions formulated on how the political position of the actors influences the choice and use of specific ideographs during the process of discussing the omnibus job creation law.
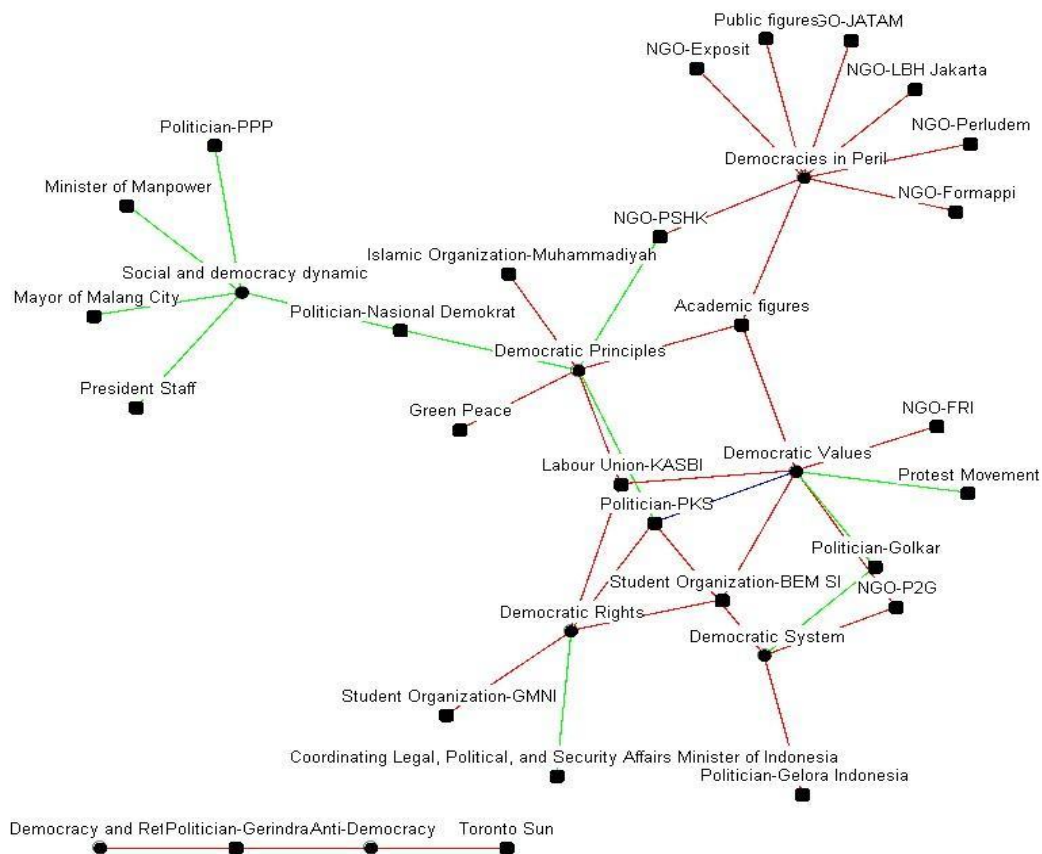
Figure 3: Two-mode network ideograph "democracy" illustrates the relationship between the ideograph and the organisational background in the agreement/disagreement to the issue. The green link colour indicates agreement and red disagreement.

Figure 3 shows that the actors use "democracy" and its associated terms as a persuasion strategy. This means the deliberate selection of some particular ideographs by political actors reflects, indirectly, the ideological background of their respective organisations. It was observed that ideological backgrounds are reflected in the "democracy in peril" ideograph primarily narrated by NGOs and academics.

The phrase "democracy in peril" carries a negative connotation and this implies the formulation of the bill's basic idea, drafting, and enactment harmed Indonesia's democratisation process. The "social and democratic dynamic" ideograph was observed to have a variety of strategies. It negotiated "bargains" for different protests against the Job Creation Law based on the argument that the current process is consistent with the usual social and democratic dynamics.

Political actors use the terms "democratic principles", "democratic values", "democratic rights", and "democratic systems" alternately to refer to different forms of agreement/disagreement. Meanwhile, two ideographs, "democracy and reform" and "anti-democracy", formed different sub-groups due to the absence of more complex ties between other political actors in their use. They were both used to oppose the Omnibus Job Creation Act.
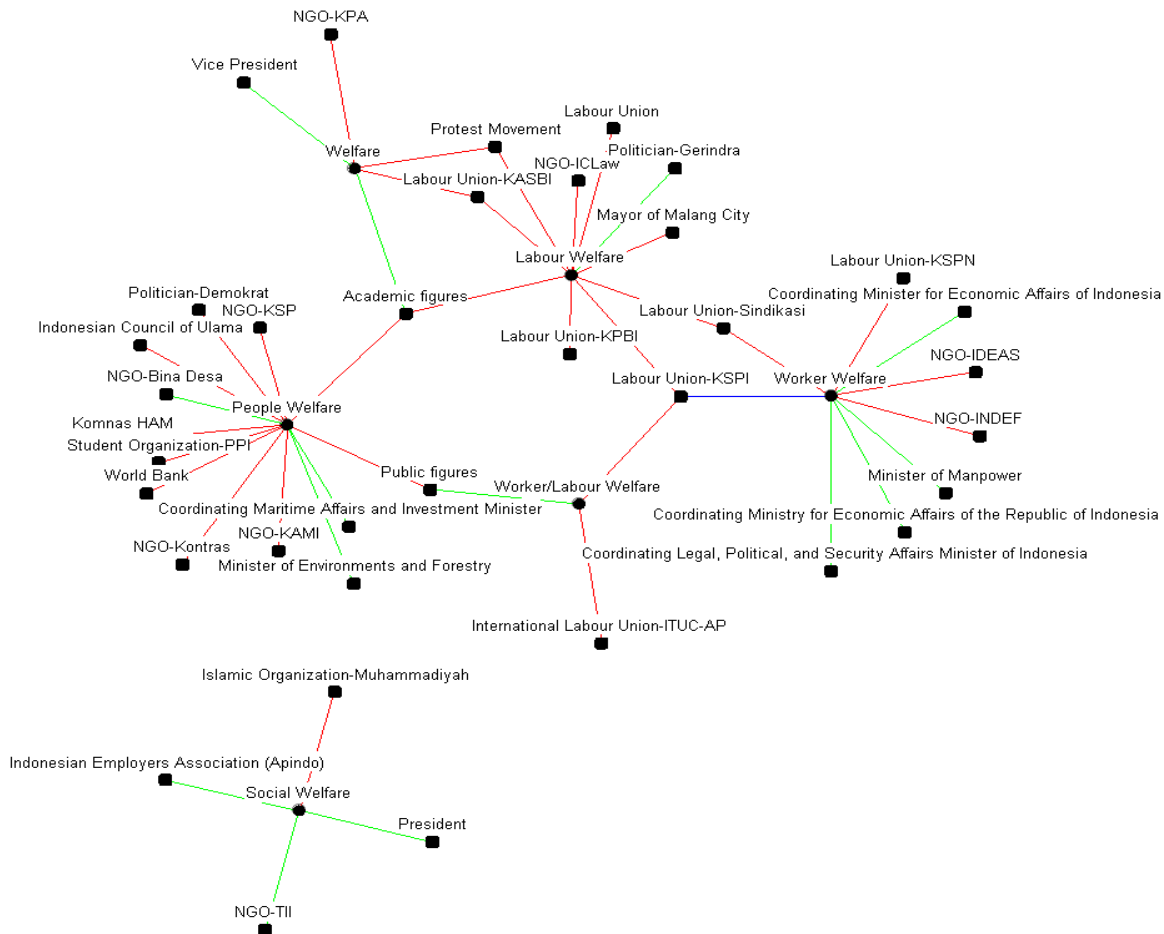
Figure 4: Two-mode network illustrates the relationship between the "welfare" ideograph and the organisational background in the agreement/disagreement to the issue. The green link colour indicates agreement and red disagreement.

Figure 4 shows the use of the "welfare" ideograph by political actors in the omnibus law discourse on job creation. The network of political actors in the ideograph consists of three main groups which include the "people welfare", "worker welfare", and "labour welfare" observed to have been dominantly used by both parties that agree or disagree including the government, politicians, community leaders, NGOs, students, and the Labor Union. Meanwhile, "worker/labour welfare" and "welfare" were used by the International Labor Union, Public Figures, Academies, and NGOs to strengthen their position as advocacy institutions. It is also important to note that "social welfare" is an ideograph in a sub-group that was narrated positively by the President, Apindo, and NGO TII and also used at the same time by the Islamic Organization-Muhammadiyah to criticise the law ratification. The "people welfare" and "worker welfare" groups were observed to have several variations of actors' political positions while "labour welfare" tends to be more dominantly used by the Labor Union and the Protest Movement.

c) Anchored Meaning of "democracy"
The investigation of "democracy" and "welfare" ideographs in a discourse context which focuses on the actor organisation as a determining factor was followed by an Ideographic Analysis to comprehend the meaning bound by each term. Ideographic Analysis (IA) is a method of analysing ideographs with major emphasis on their meaning in socio-cultural backgrounds. This is necessary because the keywords that become ideographs repeatedly emphasise an idea that applies in a social system (Luis & Moncayo, 2017).

The anchored meanings of "democracy" and "welfare" can be traced to their attached terms which are defined as a descriptive term that explicitly indicates the choice of meaning to support the political communication strategy of the actor. An example of the "democracy in peril" ideograph narrated by an interfaith figure, Busro Muqodas, who submitted a petition to the government. He stated that *"Omnibus Law adalah ancaman untuk kita semua. **Ancaman untuk demokrasi Indonesia**. Kami bersuara dengan petisi ini, untuk mengajak teman-teman menyuarakan keadilan,"* [Omnibus Law is a threat to all of us. A **peril to Indonesian democracy**. We are speaking out with this petition to invite friends to voice justice] (Free translation and the bolded phrases are modified from data coding. Sources: cnnindonesia/06/10/2020 Petisi Pemuka Agama Tolak Omnibus Law Diteken 500 Ribu Orang). The opposing viewpoint on the omnibus law is packaged with the "democracy in peril" ideograph in order to create awareness of voice justice. This led to the frequent use of the ideograph by political groups outside the circle of power through different terms such as "hijacked democracy", "democracy decline", and "democracy decay" (Cohen, 2018; Mounk, 2018).

Each variant of the "democracy in peril" ideograph has its unique meaning and impression but the primary interpretation is the inability of the people and the government to conduct a proper democratic process. It also means the failure of public participation which led to authoritarianism (Shaw, 2022). In a particular social context, this term is also commonly used to describe a form of democracy in primitive and corrupt cultures (Bubandt, 2006), relationships between religious figures and institutions (Schäfer, 2019), and the exercise of power (Tomsa, 2010).

The "democracy in peril" ideograph shows the actor's organisational and ideological identity. For example, NGOs serving as advocacy groups believe in a "humanitarian mission" while an actor can also self-identify as a community advocacy group with a similar vision and mission. This ideological identity is built through self-concept with an actor voluntarily adopting an ideological position due to its possible usage for self-labelling (Cobb & Elder, 1976).

In addition to self-labelling, the ideology describes the overall organisation's vision and is normally called the practical utility of an ideograph (Boyd, 2018). This was indicated by the common use of "social and democratic dynamic" by political actors that support omnibus legislation on job creation, particularly government officials in contrast to the "democracy in peril". This is indicated by the statement of the Minister of Manpower, Ida Fauziah, as follows:

> *Ida menyadari terdapat pro dan kontra terkait Omnibus Law UU Cipta Kerja.Ia menyebut hal itu merupakan hal wajar dalam **dinamika sosial dan demokrasi**. Namun, pada akhirnya pemerintah harus memutuskan dan menyiapkan draf yang akan dibahas bersama DPR.*

[Ida is aware that the *Omnibus Law UU Cipta Kerja* has advantages and disadvantages. According to him, this is a natural process in **social and democratic dynamics**. However, the government must ultimately decide and prepare a draft that will be discussed with the DPR]

(Free translation and the bolded phrases are modified from data coding.Sources: republika.co.id 06/10/2020. Menaker: Pemerintah Libatkan Publik Bahas UU Ciptaker)

The "social and democratic dynamic" ideograph conveys that the Omnibus Law has advantages and disadvantages. This is due to the fact that the contested discourse in social and democratic life is "normal," "ordinary," and "natural", and the omnibus law discourse is a natural event, both in terms of its preparation and socio-political implications. The term "neutralising" is used in political communication narratives to soften opposing discourse through the concept of neutralise-the-negative strategy normally applied by communicators to strengthen their position and perspective on specific issues. This strategy pertains to the image of actors that exhibit virtues and strategic political positions (Fuoli & Paradis, 2014).

The message conveyed by the "democratic principles" ideograph is an enforcement of democratic principles such as peaceful conflict resolution, respect for differences, public participation, openness, and justice associated with the three pillars underpinning a democratic society which are equality, freedom, and justice (Georgantzas & Contogeorgis, 2012).

The "democratic principles" ideograph was observed in this study to be used as a claim between two pro and contra parties due to the fact that the assessment of democratic principles is relatively subjective. This subjectivity is associated with the different interpretations of the ideograph, specifically by actors in a democratic system while interacting directly individually in the public sphere.

The "democratic values" ideograph normatively means liberty, equality, and justice which are from the western conception used in conjunction with other concepts in a democracy such as the pursuit of happiness, dignity, inclusion, and freedom of speech (Zafirovski, 2011). Initially, this term referred to the humanistic values of Platonism where fundamental human values became the reference to develop social values but it is often used in a political context as a term to base criticism on some issues. Regarding the issue, it is dominantly narrated by political actors that are against the issue to justify their criticism of the discussion and ratification of the law. This means "democratic values" is an evaluative term to assess the political decision-making process and public participation.

The "democratic systems" ideograph indicates an identical concept and also refers to the procedure of implementing democracy in society. It was first introduced by Abend Lijphart (1968) as implementation of democracy and good governance system. (Claassen & Magalhães, 2022; Munck, 2016). It has a normative meaning in the context of the omnibus law which is related to the restoration of a democratic system. Moreover, "democratic rights" is an ideograph that expresses elements of democratic life in which every citizen has the right to express political views and form associations. These are fundamental rights considered to be crucial to democracy

(Munck, 2016). The actors that oppose the law used this term to demand free speech, reject police repression, and mobilise people outside their group.

It was discovered that the actors supporting the law used the "democratic right" ideograph to express national security messages which do not allow riots and anarchic actions being demonstrated by opposing parties. The difference in the meaning of this term strengthens the thesis of this study that the organisational background of political actors determines the meaning of the ideograph they use. It also indicates the ability of ideographs to effectively show the political attitudes and views of actors on specific issues as a political narrative.

The last attached meaning of "democracy" was retrieved from the "democracy and reform" and "anti-democracy" ideographs which are both outliers in this study because they are only expected to be used by parties that are against the law. Their strategic meaning is to negate the opposing discourse by referring to the historical aspects of the current socio-political condition (post-reformation 1998) and an antithesis of utopias democracy (anti-democracy).

d) Anchored Meaning of "welfare"
The "worker welfare" and "people welfare" are the most consensual ideographs related to the Omnibus Law discourse because they are primarily narrated by both the proponents and opponents. Meanwhile, the "workers' welfare" and "labour welfare" refer to a non-monetary service for employees but their meanings are narrowed in the context of the Omnibus Law. This is due to the fact that "workers' welfare" refers to workers from different industries while "labour welfare" indicates blue-collar workers in the fabrication and manufacturing industries. The phrase labour's welfare is an idiom for working-class society and is normally used as a mission and political strategy by the labour organisations as indicated by the statement made by Said Iqbal, general chairman of the KSPI.

> *"Kami menyampaikan beberapa hal, pertama kami minta RUU Cipta Kerja ini didiskusikan ulang. Karena kami merasa proses pembuatan RUU Cipta Kerja ini tertutup, tidak melibatkan partisipasi publik dan tergesa-gesa," kata Said. Tak hanya itu, dia merasa Omnibus Law Cipta Kerja ini tidak sesuai dengan harapan Presiden RI Joko Widodo. Omnibus Law Cipta Kerja, kata dia, hanya menguntungkan investor tanpa memandang kesejahteraan buruh. "Kami berpendapat tidak sesuai apa yang diharapkan oleh presiden yaitu mengundang investasi datang ke Indonesia, tetapi secara bersamaan tetap menjaga **kesejahteraan para buruh**," kata dia.*

> ["We convey several messages, the first of which is that the Job Creation Bill be re-discussed. We believe that the process of creating the bill is closed, lacks public participation, and is rushed".
> Furthermore, he believed that draft of Job Creation Bill did not meet the expectations of the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, because it benefits only investors and not workers. "We believe that it is not in line with what the president expects, namely inviting investment to come to Indonesia while maintaining **labor welfare**" he said.]

(Free translation and the bolded phrases are modified from data coding.
Sources: cnnindonesia.com 26/02/2020 Tolak Omnibus Law, Buruh Gelar
Demo Akbar 23 Maret)

The labour movement believes there is a conflict of interest between investors and labour groups. This means the labour welfare is at stake because the job creation bill process does not involve public participation and is perceived to have been rushed. This ideograph is widely employed by parties that oppose the Job Creation Bill, particularly labour organisations. Meanwhile, the "workers' welfare" narrative conveys a different meaning.

> *Kemudian, pemerintah juga membebaskan biaya terkait pendirian PT. Dimana sebelumnya pelaku usaha kecil diwajibkan membayar Rp 50 juta untuk membentuk suatu PT. "Jadi driver transportasi online bisa jadi entrepreneur dengan PT sendiri. Itu tidak perlu ke notaris. Cukup ke Kumham dan itu bisa dibantu dinas, notaris, bisa platform," tuturnya. Dengan rencana ini, Airlangga berharap dapat meningkatkan **kesejahteraan pekerja** yang bergerak di sektor formal. "Jadi tidak perlu izin panjang-panjang untuk mengedarkan barang," ucap dia.*

> [Therefore, the government also waives fees related to the establishment of PT. Previously, small business actors had to pay 50 million Rupiah to establish a PT. "Hence, online transportation drivers can become entrepreneurs with their own PT. They do not need to go to a notary but just to the Kumham with the assistance of the service, notary, or platform," he said. With this plan, Airlangga hopes to improve the **welfare of workers** engaged in the formal sector. "Hence, there is no need for a long permit to circulate goods," he said].

> (Free translation and the bolded phrases are modified from data coding.
> Sources: kompas.com 05/03/2020 Lewat Omnibus Law, Driver Ojol Bisa
> Jadi Pengusaha dengan PT Sendiri)

The impression associated with the meaning of "workers' welfare" is plainer and more neutral compared to "labour's welfare". This means it is more likely to positively impact the latter ideograph on the Job Creation Bill. This simply shows that the "labour welfare" is localised to a subset of the working class and symbolises resistance, demands, demonstrations, and anti-investment while "workers' welfare" signifies prosperity, independence, de-bureaucratization, and business-friendliness.

Several participants in this discourse combined the "workers' welfare" and "labour welfare" and this reflects the political strategy selected to avoid entangled or multiple impressive meanings. This is indicated in the following statement:

*Dengan adanya UU Cipta Kerja,masih kata Sukma, pemerintah bukan hanya mendukung pelaku usaha dalam rangka penciptaan lapangan kerja, tetapi juga untuk meningkatkan perlindungan pekerja. "UU Cipta Kerja bukan hanya untuk menciptakan kesempatan kerja, tetapi juga untuk mengakomodasi kelangsungan bekerja, dengan peningkatan perlindungan dan **kesejahteraan pekerja atau buruh** serta kelangsungan usaha yang berkesinambungan," bebernya.*

[According to Sukma, the government does not only support business actors in job creation but also improves worker protection with the law. "The Job Creation Law is not only to create job opportunities but also to accommodate continuity of work by increasing the protection and **welfare of workers or laborers** as well as ensuring sustainable business continuity," he explained.]

(Free translation and the bolded phrases are modified from data coding. Sources: republika.co.id 22 Dec 2020 Ketahanan Ekonomi Kunci Indonesia Keluar dari Resesi).

The use of "welfare of workers/labourers" by the political actor is to demonstrate that the terms "workers" and "labourers" are synonymous and, as a result, job opportunities, business continuity, and welfare can coexist. The terms were also combined to avoid the dichotomy between workers and labourers, and this is a demonstration of an ideological perspective that insists on referring to workers more generally. The "people welfare" ideograph employs the same strategies. This is in line with T. H. Marshall's conception of citizenship that the ideogram refers to is a prerequisite condition for citizens' rights in addition to freedom and justice (Sigafoos & Organ, 2021). The significance of the welfare of the people is a consequence of the state's responsibility.

The positive connotation of the discourse on the Omnibus Law also appears to be dominant in the "social welfare" ideograph. This is mainly because social welfare is the assistance usually provided by the government for people to make sure they can meet basic needs such as food, shelter, health care, and finance. It was discovered that the actors supporting the law use this term more positively. This study also found that "welfare" can stand alone without any attached terms as indicated in Ma'ruf Amin's statement as the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia: "*Ma'ruf mengatakan Omnibus Law bertujuan untuk mendorong perkembangan ekonomi di Indonesia. Muara dari penciptaan beleid tersebut dilakukan untuk menciptakan **kesejahteraan** dan kemajuan Indonesia*" [Ma'ruf said the Omnibus Law aims to encourage economic development in Indonesia. The estuary of the creation of the regulation is carried out to create **welfare** and progress for Indonesia] (Free translation and the bolded phrases are modified from data coding. Sources: cnnindonesia.com 15/02/2020 Ma'ruf Amin Cerita Soal Plesetan Omnibus Law RUU Cilaka).

The ideograph refers to an ideal of society because welfare is an abstract, non-parametric, and socio-culturally-bound umbrella term used by both the proponents and opponents to support their position because it is a popular and easily-remembered public concept. This simply shows that a policy narrative supported by permanent ideographs can ensure proper policy planning (Miller, 2019).

The findings showed that the political position of actors determines the use of ideographs as part of a political communication strategy and that certain ideographs they use also represent their ideological views. This means ideograph, as a unit of utterance, reflects the context of the socio-political background of a discourse contestation. It was also observed to be a political strategy that reinforces the findings of Kukkonen et al. (2021) during the investigation of the justification of political actors in political debates that each party has a broad range of moral justifications representing its media-based political power.

Cooley and White (2019) reported a different strategy during the process of studying the prominent political actors in Australia. The study showed that political actors decline to utilise certain ideographs to avoid self-labelling to particular ideologies and also suggested that the primary discourse by political actors also determined their choice of ideographs. Even though the findings demonstrate different political communication tactics, this avoidance approach demonstrates a strong connection between ideographs and ideology.

The results of this current study support the notion that frame actors are determining variables in journalistic media frames (Hänggli, 2012; Schmid-Petri et al., 2016) because media framing can consider the political position of actors in the study of media texts. This position has a substantial effect on how journalists quote their statements and compose news stories when selecting the ideograph. This is in line with the findings of Rodelo and Muiz (2019) that there is a need to consider the inputs and processes involved in news production while examining media framing. The implication for media framing study in communication disciplines is that the incorporation of ideographs when framing political actors as the unit of analysis has the ability to make the study of media texts more significant than traditional media frames.

Political communication scholars can broaden their perspectives on media texts by using relevant and multidisciplinary study themes in rhetorical and narrative studies. It is important to note that this study has some methodological limitations as indicated by the fact that the event-driven discourse is more complex and open to multiple interpretations than diachronic discourse. It was acknowledged that the comparison of ideograph meanings with other terms is a fundamental and typically superficial method of interpretation. Therefore, it is necessary to conduct more intensive studies related to Ideograph Analysis.

CONCLUSION
This study concludes that an actor's political position in the ideograph serves as a reference for the actor's frame in selecting the ideograph and its associated meaning. The political stance of the actor, both in terms of organisation and the form of agreement/disagreement on a particular issue, determines the ideograph normally used in the argumentation of political views. This means the selection of ideographs and their accompanying terms as a political communication strategy is structured in an ideological space and bound by the socio-cultural context of the actors using the terms. This indicates the organisational context and choice of binary opposition on

particular issues substantially impact the preparation of the ideograph narrative, including the intended meaning of the accompanying terms. Therefore, it is recommended that media studies begin to promote alternatives using ideograph analysis to obtain a more comprehensive picture of the extent to which political communication strategies exist in media texts.

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