

**SOCIAL ACTOR REPRESENTATION STRATEGY ON OPINION
COLUMN IN #2019CHANGEPRESIDENT MOVEMENT**

THESIS

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SOCIAL ACTOR REPRESENTATION STRATEGY ON OPINION

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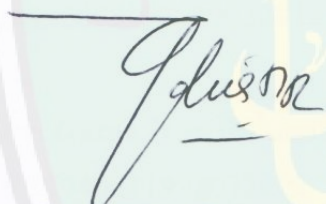
APPROVAL SHEET

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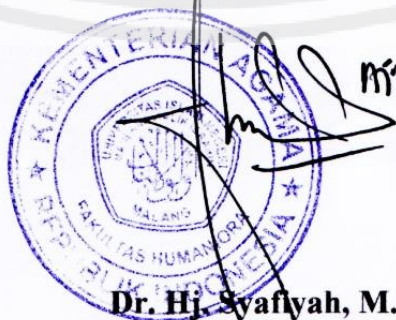


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MOTTO

*one day your foolishness will appear and someone
who will tell you that knowledge is not enough*

(Tafsir Surah Yasiin)



DEDICATION

This thesis is especially dedicated to:

My beloved mother, Afifatul Umroh, my lovely father, Ayatullah Masduqi who always gives me spirit, support, prayer, and love. For my lovely aunt Istibsyaroh and my uncle M. Asnan Fanani thanks a lot for endless love and prays. Also My cuteness cousin Marsha Thalita Sakhi Fanani who always makes me happy. From the bottom of my heart thanks for everything. I love you all 3000.



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This thesis will never be completed without some contributions and supports from many people. Thus, my deepest gratitude is expressed to my advisor Dr. Galuh Nur Rohmah, M.Pd, M.Ed for her valuable guidance and suggestions given to me.

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Hereby, this thesis would not be perfect work without the constructive suggestions from all readers. The writer expects this thesis would give a valuable contribution as an empirical base in the study of social actor representation and especially for the next researchers who are interested in discussing similar topics.

Alhamdulillahirobbil 'Alamiin...

Malang, 1 Oktober 2019

The writer

ABSTRACT

Rosydiana, Amalia. 2019. **Social Actor Representation on Opinion Column in #2019Changepresident Movement.** Thesis. Malang: English Literature Department, Faculty of Humanities, UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Advisor: Dr. Galuh Nur Rohmah, M.Pd, M.Ed

Keywords: Social Actor Representation, Opinion Column, #2019changeresident movement

The topic of SAR is considering important because it can make someone's critical interpretation when reading the text, especially news articles. This study aims to investigate the SAR strategy in the opinion column used by the Jakarta Post newspaper in reporting about the movement against #2019changeresident. To find out the SAR strategy in the Jakarta Post opinion column, the researcher uses Theo Van Leeuwen's theory of SAR strategy (2008).

The research questions of this study are: first, what are the types of exclusion SAR strategy used in the Jakarta Post Opinion Column ?. Second, what are the types of inclusion SAR strategy used in the Jakarta Post Opinion Column ?. The researcher uses a descriptive qualitative method, where the expected outcome of this study is a brief analysis of the description of the SAR strategy used in an opinion column focusing on #2019changeresident movement.

The researcher conducts this research by: first, the researcher searches for data in the Jakarta Post newspaper, then classified the data using tables based on strategy, exclusion, and inclusion. After that, the researcher makes a table of findings, finally, the data can be analyzed.

The result of this study first, the Jakarta Post Newspaper tends to Prabowo sides who agrees with all the activities of the #2019changeresident movement. This is marked by the emphasis of the actors who influence this movement. The actors that are often emphasized in the Jakarta Post article, namely, Neno Warisman, and Mardani Ali. Second, the Jakarta Post presents Jokowi and current government sides as actors who must be overthrown in the next election period. The Jakarta Post newspaper tends to use inclusion strategy rather than an exclusion strategy in their news texts. The Jakarta Post wants to present some important figures in politics who are involved in the #2019changeresident movement against.

It is suggested for the next researcher who interests in this study to fill the gap in other media and object as well. It is much better if the next researcher can combine Van Leeuwen's theory of SAR with other theory of critical discourse analysis.

ABSTRAK

Rosydiana, Amalia. 2019. Social Actor Representation on Opinion Column in #2019Changepresident Movement. Skripsi. Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Humaniora, UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

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Kata Kunci: Representasi Aktor Sosial, Kolom Opini, gerakan #2019gantipresiden

Topik SAR dianggap penting karena topik ini dapat membuat interpretasi kritis seseorang ketika membaca teks, terutama artikel berita. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menyelidiki strategi SAR di kolom opini yang digunakan oleh surat kabar Jakarta Post dalam melaporkan tentang pergerakan terhadap #2019gantipresiden. Untuk mengetahui strategi SAR di kolom opini Jakarta Post, peneliti menggunakan teori strategi SAR Theo Van Leeuwen (2008).

Rumusan penelitian dari penelitian ini adalah: pertama, strategi SAR apa yang terdapat di dalam kolom opini Jakarta Post? Kedua, strategi SAR apa yang terdapat di dalam kolom opini Jakarta Post? Peneliti menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif, di mana hasil yang diharapkan dari penelitian ini adalah analisis singkat dari deskripsi strategi SAR yang digunakan dalam kolom opini yang berfokus pada #2019gantipresiden.

Peneliti melakukan penelitian ini dengan cara: pertama, peneliti mencari data di koran Jakarta Post, kemudian mengklasifikasikan data menggunakan tabel berdasarkan strategi, pengecualian, dan inklusi. Setelah itu, peneliti membuat tabel temuan, akhirnya data dapat dianalisis.

Hasil dari penelitian ini pertama-, surat kabar Jakarta Post cenderung ke pihak Prabowo yang setuju dengan semua kegiatan gerakan #2019gantipresiden. Ini ditandai dengan penekanan para aktor yang mempengaruhi gerakan ini. Para aktor yang sering ditekankan dalam artikel Jakarta Post, yaitu, Neno Warisman, dan Mardani Ali. Kedua, Jakarta Post menghadirkan Jokowi dan pihak pemerintah saat ini sebagai aktor yang harus digulingkan dalam periode pemilu berikutnya. surat kabar Jakarta Post cenderung memasukkan dan bukannya mengecualikan aktor sosial dalam teks berita mereka. The Jakarta Post ingin menghadirkan beberapa tokoh penting dalam politik yang terlibat dalam gerakan presiden # 2019 untuk melawan.

Disarankan bagi peneliti berikutnya yang tertarik dengan penelitian ini untuk mengisi kesenjangan di media dan objek lain juga. Akan lebih baik jika peneliti berikutnya dapat menggabungkan teori SAR milik Van Leeuwen dengan teori analisis wacana kritis lainnya.

ملخص البحث

رشدينا، عملية (2019). صورة الشخصية للشخص الرئيسي في رواية "ونسيت أني امرأة" لإحسان عبد القدوس (دراسة علم النفس التحليلي عند كارل غوستاف يونغ). البحث الجامعي، قسم الأدب الإنجليزي. كلية العلوم الإنسانية. جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية مالانج
المشرفة: الدكتور جالوه نور رحمة
الكلمات الرئيسية: صورة ممثل الاجتماعي، عمود الرأي، حركة
#2019gantipresiden

اعتبر موضوع (SAR) مهماً لأنه يمكن أن يجعل تفسير في قارئ ما عند قراءة ذلك النص، وخاصة في المقالات الإخبارية. وهدف هذا البحث هو تحديد استراتيجية SAR في عمود الرأي الذي استخدمه صحيفة جاكارتا بوست في الإبلاغ عن الحركة #2019gantipresiden. لاكتشاف استراتيجية SAR في عمود رأي جاكارتا بوست، استخدمت الباحثة نظرية الإستراتيجية SAR عند ثيو فان ليوين (2008). في هذا البحث، استخدمت الباحثة طريقة كيفية النوعية، حيث كانت النتائج المتوقعة من هذه الدراسة عبارة عن تحليل موجز لوصف استراتيجية SAR المستخدمة في عمود الرأي في الحركة #2019gantipresiden. أجرت الباحثة في هذا البحث ب: الأولى، بحثت الباحثة عن البيانات في صحيفة جاكارتا بوست، ثم صنفت البيانات باستخدام الجداول اعتماداً على الإستراتيجية، والاستبعاد، والشمول. بعد ذلك، قامت الباحثة الجدول النتائج، وأخيراً يمكن أن تحلل البيانات.

ظهر نتائج هذا البحث أن صحيفة جاكارتا بوست تميل إلى تضمين الجهات الاجتماعية الفاعلة بدلاً من استبعادها في نصوصها الإخبارية. تريد جاكارتا بوست تقديم بعض الشخصيات المهمة في السياسة ممن يشاركون في الحركة

2019gantipresiden # لعمل المقاومة. تميل صحيفة جاكارتا بوست إلى الذهاب إلى جانب برابوو بينما كانت تأخذ جوكوي والحكومة الحالية. اقترحت الباحثة إلى الباحثين الباقي لملء الفجوة في وسائل الإعلام وغيرها. وسوف عند لي فانين بنظرية تحليل SAR أحسن إذا الباحثون الباقي تستطيعو أن يجمع نظرية الخطاب النقدي.



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is an introduction to the thesis containing information about research background, research problem, research objectives, research significance, scope and limitation, the definition of the key terms, research method, data and data source, research instrument, data collection, and data analysis.

1.1 Research Background

Nowadays, Social Actor Representation (afterwards SAR) is part of Discourse Analysis (hereafter DA) has become a topic of interest to be examined. Discourse analysis refers to the study of the relationship of social context with the use of language. In social psychology, discourse analysis refers to the study of the structure and form of conversations or interviews. While in political science, discourse analysis refers to the study of the practice of the use of language and its connection with power. It seems clear, used in any field of study, the term discourse analysis necessarily includes the study of language in use. SAR strategy is not trivial or arbitrary. It helps to create an interpretation framework.

DA is essential because it helps to identify the pattern to be the unquestioned meaning of news discourse and its ideological aspects it. The reason why the researcher choose this topic because SAR strategy is a study which has been known as a social practice that is produced to be achieved by some people who produce. These social actors are shown as actors and their representations or identities. Van Leeuwen's framework assumes the premise that all discourses re-contextualize social practices

(Van Leeuwen, 2008: vii), and re-contextualizing principles are related to the basic units of social practice such as actors and their representations and identities.

Study on SAR strategy has been intensively established by several researchers such as Kabgani (2014) investigates Muslim women's representation in non-Islamic media, Guardian newspaper. This means that Muslim women are represented in Muslim communities as active actors, extremely decide in their views and also as unique individuals seeking the revival of the identity of women. Meanwhile, Dashti et al (2017) explore how social actors in two excellently-known philosophers, J. Krishnamurti and Alan Watts, represent in their lectures. Dashti looks critically at the textual (transcription) channels that Krishnamurti and Alan Watts. The underlying pattern of inclusion or exclusion is interesting when closely analyzed. Allan Watts more often includes himself as a social actor in this excerpt from the chosen lecture compared to Krishnamurti.

At the same point, Ali (2017) investigates how the representation of ISIS in American newspapers. This study concludes that ISIS includes more in the text. Van Leeuwen's framework of SAR strategies is used to investigate the marginalization of a person or group in a text. A dominant group is more controlled when interpreting an event and its meaning. Instead, the group which has a lower position will be the object of meaning and not describe properly. The SAR strategy of Van Leeuwen framework is also used to express the meaning of the compound of fear (power relations, hidden values, and ideologies. From those investigations above, other researchers focus on the representation of social actors in newspapers and someone's speech.

Other researchers focus on more specific aspects of the SAR strategy. According to Van Leeuwen (2008), SAR strategies are exclusion and inclusion. In this study, exclusion has been intensively out by the researcher such as Bustam et al. (2013) investigates how the representation of social actors in case of the rejection of Lady Gaga in Indonesia in the Jakarta Post newspaper headlines. This study indicates the Jakarta Post newspaper wants to attract reading attention to the other actor, which indicates that the pro group is excluded. Exclusion is interpreted as how the authors of the main actors hide and protect the other actors in the text. The exclusion process can directly change the reader's understanding of something and legitimize certain positions of reasoning.

Whereas the other SAR strategy is inclusion, several researchers also focus on this SAR strategy. Study about inclusion has been intensively out by researchers such as Asiru (2018) investigates how social actors in the Nigeria Daily Newspaper are being included, excluded, generalized or determined. This research indicates that the representation is biased because the ruling party and President Jonathan are more favourably portrayed in the newspaper report to others than excluded. Inclusion is defined as how the actor is shown the existence of certain actors in the text by the author. The inclusion process relates to the question of how each part or group is showing through the way of reporting. Inclusion focuses on the actor or group interpretation, inclusion in words, sentences, information or shape arrangement of the sentences.

Furthermore, this study is done in Indonesia, Qanitat (2015) investigates how the representation of Muslim society on Islamic issues in the western newspaper. This study uses Van Leeuwen's SAR theory (2008) to find out the author's perspective behind the

text. The researcher wants to know what certain actors (Muslim society) are described by what are exclusion and inclusion strategy in western media. This study uses descriptive qualitative research method. This study found that The New York Times and The Guardian Newspapers used both strategies of SAR.

Another study is done in Indonesia, Anwar (2018) investigates how is Donald Trump representation in twitter over terrorists. This study uses Van Leeuwen (2008) to understand how the ideology of a person or group is represented in a particular discourse. This study focuses on the representation of President Donald Trump who is described as a social actor in responding to problems, including politics. The findings obtained by researchers know that President Donald Trump uses inclusion strategies more than exclusion strategies. Donald Trump is described as a social actor who is not phatic communion.

Related to the explanation above, this research investigates how the representation of social actor on opinion column in Jakarta Post. The researcher chooses online newspapers because the researcher expects online media as media who prefer one of the candidates. This research investigates the opinion of the Column which talks about #2019change president.

The reason why the researcher chooses this topic it is because first, before the presidential election, the #2019change president movement is happening phenomenon. Many people are muttering this hashtag in all of their social media accounts is a form of enthusiasm for the phenomenon. The #2019change president is a phenomenon of a movement against President Joko Widodo. As we know, the presidential and vice-presidential elections held in 2019. Both presidential candidates are the same, Prabowo

Subianto and Joko Widodo in 2014 presidential election. As we know, for the second time in this period Prabowo Subianto is nominated, but now he chooses for his Vice-Presidential candidate Sandiaga Uno, the ex-vice Governor in Jakarta. While President Joko Widodo's is nominated the president of Indonesia by recruiting one of the religious leaders, the former chairman of the MUI (Majelis Ulama' Indonesia), KH. Ma'ruf Amin. Last time, Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla were elected (as) president in the 2014 presidential election. Many of the candidates' strategies are then selected as candidates for 2019. As observers of the 2019 hashtag political situation, most netizens want to replace the president by voicing through social media. As a result of this problem, the phenomenon #2019change president is increasingly being discussed.

Second, not all of Van Leeuwen's framework, inclusion and exclusion are covered in the majority of previous studies. Several previous studies require only two or three points of analysis. However, the researcher includes all aspects of the types, inclusion, exclusion and SAR strategy's framework of Van Leeuwen in this current study.

This research investigates SAR on opinion column in Jakarta Post newspaper. This aims to find out how neutral and pure information discourses covering newspapers, government publications, and what the media is referring to one of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates or not. The researcher focus on how the media shows social actors and also how social actors are included or excluded generalized or specified in the news that discusses #2019change president. The social actor here shows the presidential and vice-presidential candidates or the people who are associated with both candidates. This research is very important because the researcher wants the readers to

be more open-minded in reading and receiving news, especially about #2019change president.

In addressing the gap, the researcher interests in analyzing Indonesian online media, the newspapers using Van Leeuwen (2008) SAR strategy for inclusion and exclusion. The researcher uses this theory because it is appropriate to answer the use of Van Leeuwen SAR strategy in Jakarta Post Newspaper focusing on #2019change president. There is potential to take sides in fans and also haters side. It is used to analyze all points of Van Leeuwen's framework, inclusion and exclusion can manipulate the reader through the text.

1.2 Research Problem

Based on the background of the research, the researcher formulates the research problem into:

1. What kinds of exclusion SAR strategies are in the Opinion Column of Jakarta Post ?
2. What kinds of inclusion SAR strategies are in the Opinion Column of Jakarta Post?

1.3 Research Objectives

Based on the research problem above, the objectives of the research are:

1. To identify the exclusion SAR strategy in Opinion Column of Jakarta Post
2. To describe the inclusion SAR strategy in Opinion Column of Jakarta Post

1.4 Research Significance

This research investigates the social actor representation on Jakarta Post Newspaper talk about #2019change president. Theoretically, the researcher proves that

the social actor positional in herd public opinion. In this particular regard the news focusing on the #2019changeresident movement. Using Van Leeuwen's framework, it strives to show how Jakarta Post Newspaper excluding and including social actors from the text. This study is also helpful for next researcher as linguistic reference to complete their study focusing on SAR strategy as a part of CDA. While practically, this study contributes to show how the media write news article about #2019changeresident movement use SAR strategy of Van Leeuwen framework.

1.5 Scope and Limitation

The data uses for analysis in this research are taken from Jakarta Post Newspaper. The texts are chosen from the opinion column talk about #2019changeresident published from April 2018 to September 2018. The reason why the researcher limits in five months because it is happening in that time. The researcher uses this newspaper because it is appropriate to answer the linguistic reason that The Jakarta Post have many rich language sources. There is potential to take sides in fans and also haters side. Many people are muttering this hashtag in all of their social media accounts as a form of enthusiasm for the phenomenon. However, the researcher limits the number of news about the #2019changeresident issue from 1237 to 9 news.

1.6 Definition of Key Terms

Social Actor Representation	: In this research, the researcher defines SAR as how the writers show the social actor's representation who talks about the #2019changresident movement in the newspaper. This study uses Van
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Leeuwen's framework as a base to know what representation of the social actor in the text.

Exclusion:

In this research, the researcher defines SAR as a kind of Strategy on how the writer hides the main actor (exclude from the text) and protects other actors in the text who talk about the #2019changpresident movement in the newspaper. The strategy divides into backgrounding and suppression.

Inclusion:

In this research, the researcher defines SAR ask kind of strategy about how is the writer shows the existence of certain actor in the texts (shows through the text) who talk about the #2019changpresident movement in the newspaper. The strategy consists of activation, passivation, generalization, specification, assimilation, association, indetermination, functionalization, identification, and personalisation, impersonalisation

1.7 Previous Studies

The previous study has been successfully found completing the study of social actor representation in newspaper. First, Kabgani (2014) the researchers examines Theo Van Leeuwen's (1996) theory in *The Guardian* journal. The CDA framework is used to analyze the English-language journal *The Guardian*. In this study the researchers use eleven elements selected from Van Leeuwen's comprehensive framework to produce more detail analysis. Van Leeuwen here is used to show how neutral and pure informative discourses covering newspapers, government publications, social science reports, etc. In this journal researchers only focus on representation of Muslim women in non-Islamic media. The examiner also present a representation of three other social actors besides Muslim women who are analyzed so that aim more comprehensive assessment is obtained. The findings of this study show that active actors in the Muslim community are identical to Muslim women that Muslim women, this is very determined in their beliefs; Muslim women here are also described as independent individuals seeking a revival of women's identity. Although *The Guardian's* total depiction of Muslim women is positive, the researchers conclude that the clearest weakness of all Muslim women is due to a lack of critical thinking among them.

Meanwhile, Dashti et al (2017) explore the representations of social actors in the lectures of two famous philosophers, namely J. Krishnamurti and Alan Watts. The analysis in this journal uses van Leeuwen's theory to understand this concept of considering lectures as a genre, defined as "activities that are linguistically realized. This study looks critically at the textual (transcription) channels that Krishnamurti and Alan Watts pass through communicating; is to see comparatively how the social actor of

a philosophical lecture is represented in the discourse of the two philosophers. The conclusion of this journal is that the patterns from a chosen model category of Van Leeuwen seem to mechanize that Allan Watts, Krishnamurti, do not want himself in his speech to be included in the direct audience. He tends to speak to more listeners than the one before him. He appears to be more global than Alan Watt would appear. The finding of this research is that the researchers are not clear in analyzing the data obtained.

At the same point, Ali (2017) investigates on the representation of Isis in the American Newspapers. This study arrives at the conclusion that ISIS is more included. Van Leeuwen's framework of SAR strategies are used to investigate the marginalization of a person or group in a text. The study has more than one objective that helps in achieving the main purpose. This focus has inspired and attracted the attention of the researchers to explore and evaluate the ISIS picture in the New York Times (NYT) in order to demonstrate how the organisation depicts this institution linguistically through the revealing of feasible fundamental ideologies. The analysis shows that ISIS is a social actor active in the NYT. Furthermore, ISIS is represented as a powerful social actor and thus a negative-other representation.

Next, Bustam et al. (2013) Investigates how in the case of the rejection of Lady Gaga in Indonesia, the Jakarta post newspaper headlines, the exclusion strategy in the representation of social actors. This study indicates the Jakarta Post newspaper wants to attract reading attention to the other actor, which indicates that the pro group is excluded. The strategy uses in this journal is part of the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) tool in analyzing the representation of social actors using Theo Van Leeuwen's

theory. The finding in this study is the radical way of representing actors in Indonesia used by the Jakarta Post. The research shows that emphasis on the most widely used exclusion strategy (95%). The benefit of this newspaper is that the investigator obviously clarifies that the statistics begin from the information which collected until the outcomes are discovered.

Other previous study, Asiru (2018) investigates how social actors in the Nigeria Daily Newspaper are being included, excluded, generalized or determined. This study shows that the representation is partial because other people are better represented by the governing group and President Jonathan than excluded in their newspaper reports. Inclusion is defined as how the actor is shown the existence of certain actors in the text by the author. This investigation is different from earlier studies because it focuses on various language instruments that used to represent the President's aspirations which proves that the ideology is eventually based on newspaper reports. The conclusion in this study is found if there are several newspapers that exclude, eliminate, and replace actors to accentuate other actors, other presidential candidates.

Furthermore, this study has done in Indonesia, (Qanit, 2015) investigates how the representation of muslim society on islamic issues in the western newspaper. This study uses Van Leeuwen's SAR theory (2008) to find out the author's perspective behind the text. this study chose two western newspapers, The New York times and The Guardian. The researcher wants to know what certain actors (Muslim society) are described by what are those both western media. this study uses descriptive qualitative research methods. The data used were eight articles from the two newspapers starting

from January to March 2015. From this study it was found that both Western newspapers used both strategies of SAR.

The Other studies are done in Indonesia, (2018) investigates on how Donald Trump representation in twitter over terrorist. This study uses van Leeuwen (2008) to understand how a person or group even an ideology is represented in a particular discourse. This study focuses on the representation of President Donald Trump who is described as a social actor in responding to problems, including politics. This study uses descriptive qualitative methods. The data used is taken from the twelfth of President Donald's tweets that are uploaded from January-April 2018. The findings obtained by researchers know that President Donald Trump uses inclusion strategies more than exclusion strategies. Donald Trump is described as a social actor who is not part of the communion.

1.8 Research Method

This point discusses the methodology of this research. It presents the research design, research instrument, data source, data collection, and data analysis.

1.8.1 Research Design

The study uses a descriptive qualitative design because the information is deeply understood and analyzed. According to Miles and Huberman (1984) data that appears in the form of words and not numbers. The data may have been collected in different ways (observation, interview, documentary essence, tape) and which are typically "prepared" around before they are prepared for use (through recording, typing, editing, or transcription), qualitative analysis still uses words, which are generally organized into extended content. Besides, this research is also categorized into descriptive because this

study describes the textual features in the news. It helps to uncover how social actors are shown in the Jakarta Post online newspaper using Theo Van Leeuwen's framework.

1.8.2 Research Instrument

The primary instrument of this research is the researcher herself who was analyzing the SAR in opinion column of Jakarta Post focusing on #2019changepräsident movement. It is on the grounds that the researcher can not specifically talk with individuals who are turned into the member of this examination. A short time later, the researcher utilizes some documented notes and some non-member perception to complete the examination.

1.8.3 Data and Data Source

The data are obtained to analyze in this study is taken from the Jakarta Post online newspaper. The text is selected from the opinion column about #2019changepräsident from (April-September 2018) all dealing, with the power of the media to lead public opinion. These nine articles are selected because they have rich data of SAR strategy to be analyzed. The reason why the researcher chooses Jakarta Post because the Jakarta Post is a big media in Indonesia that uses English. It is because The Jakarta Post is a legal entity, it also has an extensive network of news searches. This media also becomes more vocal about politics, taking pro-democratic attitudes than other media. Jakarta Post itself also has its own market interests. On the other than, the Jakarta Post has a number of readers. This is known by the author through their media description which mention more than 40,000 newspaper copies every day that is spread every day.

After getting 9 news articles, the researcher makes the table to present the sentences which belong to inclusion and exclusion strategy. Therefore, researcher is

able to know how many inclusion and exclusion strategies are used in the Jakarta Post Newspaper.

1.8.4 Data Collection

To be able to carry out systematic CDA studies, the framework of Theo Van Leeuwen (2008) that has been applied. Using the Theo Van Leeuwen's framework, researcher utilizes a broad view of social actor representation. This, the researcher does this by: first, the researcher looks for the data in the Jakarta Post newspaper that published from April to September 2018. After that, the researcher finds 9 articles that related to #2019changeresident. Then the researcher classifies data using tables based on these strategies; exclusion, and inclusion. The last, the data can be analyzed.

1.8.5 Data Analysis

First, the researcher collects the data from the Jakarta Post Newspaper. After getting all the data, the researcher determines the news related to be examined. Next, the researcher classifies the data into exclusion and inclusion strategy. To complete the analysis, the researcher analyzes the data, report the finding of the study, and also give the interpretation of social actor. Therefore, the researcher gets the result of the study.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

These chapters consist of two subchapters; they are the theoretical framework which becomes the base of analyzing and investigating the data and the previous studies related to this research.

2.1 Discourse Analysis

The term discourse derived from Latin, discourse, has been used both in a limited and broad sense. In limited terms, this term refers to the rules and habits that underlie the use of language in both oral and written communication. More broadly, the term discourse refers to language in action and patterns that characterize the types of language in action.

Etymologically, the word ‘discourse’ dates back to the 14th century. It is taken from the Latin Word ‘discursus’ which means a ‘conversation’ (McArthur, 1996). In its current usage, this term conveys a number of significations for a variety of purposes, but in all cases it relates to language, and it describes it in some way.

To start with, *discourse* is literally defined as ‘a serious speech or piece of writing on particular subject’ (*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, 2001, p.388). In this general sense, it incorporates both the spoken and written modes although, at times, it is confined to speech being designated as ‘a serious conversation between people’ (ibid). This restriction is also implied in the word when it is used as a verb.

To define discourse analysis (henceforth DA), one would inevitably tackle two divergent approaches to language in general and discourse in particular: the formal approach and

the functional approach. It seems quite legitimate to question the need for such an approach since it has become typical to describe language in linguistic formal or functional terms and since there has been a long tradition of exploring systematicity within language and determining regularities at all its levels. The answer lies in what constitutes 'knowledge of language'.

In pursuit of uncovering the global structure of naturally occurring stretches of language, spoken or written, discourse analysis as stated above resorts to the study of language bits in the contexts within which they are used. As a developing analytic approach (in ascendant status), discourse analysis not only surfaces in language studies, but also in various other fields of study. If in linguistics, discourse analysis refers to the study of language units over sentences that focus on the higher level of grammatical relationships, in sociology,

Discourse analysis refers to the study of the relationship of social context with the use of language. If in social psychology, discourse analysis refers to the study of the structure and form of conversation or interviews, in political science, discourse analysis refers to the study of the practice of the use of language and its connection with power. It seems clear, used in any field of study, the term discourse analysis necessarily includes the study of language in use.

As experienced by all branches of studies in the human sciences (human sciences), the discourse analysis approach is also disaggregated based on the underlying paradigm of inquiry. In general there are three research paradigms that develop and compete with one another in the human sciences. Each of them is a positivist discourse analysis, interpretivist discourse analysis, and critical discourse analysis. In this study,

researchers not only focus on discourse analysis but also the power relationship between newspaper media and social actors.

2.2 Social Actor Representation

Van Leeuwen's (2008) theory on the representation of social actors through language is the other theory that influences this research. In his study, Van Leeuwen instructed the researcher to develop a "sociosemantic inventory" of representations of social actors. In order to establish "sociological and critical relevance" in the way they are achieved in language, various representative categories will be examined (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 23). It was explained that representing social actors was associated with how the actor (someone or group) was represented in the news. A certain individual is represented as an actor or a person in a discourse (Van Leeuwen, 2008:6).

Van Leeuwen refers to the social actor using the word "exclusion" and "inclusion." The social actor may thus, based on the writer's intent and ideology, be excluded or included. In addition, this strategy is related to how one side is positioned in an incorrect or lower position while the other side is in a higher position. SAR has two strategies that arise within the framework of the theory point; they are exclusion and inclusion. Van Leeuwen (2008: 28) states that representation includes excluding or including social actors that are in accordance with their interests and goals in relation to the reader to find out who they really mean. An exclusion means removing actors from social action with several linguistic mechanisms; Inclusion means placing actors in the center of attention and clearly presented in the text.

2.2.1 Exclusion

In some linguistic systems, exclusion is the method by which participants are omitted. Exclusion is the process of expenditure which focuses on the group issued in a news text. This process can indirectly change the reader's understanding of an issue and legitimize certain positions of understanding. There are several discourse strategies on how an actor (someone or group) were excluded in the news. It has two major subdivisions: suppression and backgrounding. The primary distinction between suppression and backgrounding is whether they leave a trace or not (Van Leeuwen, 2008:29). Below is the definition of both subdivisions:

A. Suppression

Suppression is an exclusion that leaves no follows in the portrayal, barring both the social actor and their activities. Van Leeuwen (2008:29) calls this sort of prohibition as radical rejection. The linguistic realization of suppression can be acknowledged somehow or another as pursues:

- a. Passive agent deletion: This part of the idea is used to exclude social actors.

The sentence tries to guide the reader into the other one by omitting the real actor (victim). For example *EarlyaTuesday morning, militants stormed theaoffices of the provincialagovernor and later in theaday, dozensaofaarmy and policeavehicles were burningain theastreets, witnessesasaid*. The example above, the social actor (ISIS) here is null and not referred to. In this case, the author continues to focus on the victims without any regard to the social performer' Isis' using passivization rather than an active structure.

- b. Non-finite clauses: The suppression by Van Leeuwen can be seen by the non-finite clause which acts as a grammar participant.
- c. Nominalizations: Nominalization and process nouns are used to hide a certain actor from a text with the same function with passive removal of actors. For example, *The rising insurgency in Iraq seemed likely to add to the foreign policy woes of the Obama administration, which has faced sharp criticism for its swap of five Taliban officers for Sgt, and The assault was one of the most aggressive undertaken against Kirkuk in months by the Islamic State.* For the previously mentioned excerpts, the verbs "assault" and "rising" are nominated. In relation to its activities, the social actor is removed and excluded from the topic place. ISIS can be removed whenever a negative phenomenon happens in all examples above. In other words, every verb used in previous cases and in the texts is used negatively.

B. Backgrounding

The exclusion that leaves traces of the representation is the backgrounding. In a certain exercise, the excluded social performers subsequently appear in another portion of the provision, phrase or text. The language assessment of the background may, according to Van Leeuwen (2008:30-31), consist of single ellipses of the non-finite sections *-ing* and *-ed* participles, of the infinite sentences with *to* and in the paratactic sections. The excluded social actor is, in all such cases, included elsewhere in the same complex clause or clause. It can also be done in the same manner as repression but in regard to social performers included

in the document elsewhere. In the previous examples, the use ‘ing’ and the use ‘-ed’ are redrafted metaphorically as substances. These compounds are referred to in a text to excluded social actors. The verbs are created as clauses that are integrated clauses that operate as Head of the Process of Nomination. The provisions like Career or Attribute feature as Subject. For example:

- a. **Exploiting** a foggy night as cover, **Islamic State militants** launched a surprise attack on Iraqi Kurdish positions on the outskirts of Kirkuk early Friday, (using infinite clause *-ing*)
- b. To maintain the policy, the government has invited some experts. (Infinitival clause with *to-*)
- c. John invited **them** to the party, but the **Wilsons** didn’t show up. (Paratactic clauses)

2.2.2 Inclusion

Inclusion strategy is the method of representing the social actor in the discourse straight. Inclusion relates to the question of how each group or person is shown in the news. This strategy can be known use of the word, a sentence, information, or a particular arrangement of the sentence form, or interpretation of the group in a text. There are several inclusion strategies about how an actor (someone or group) is shown in the news. They are:

- a. Activation – passivation

The social actor may be representative or receiver in an activation activity of dynamic and significant roles. Activation is a strategy that addresses the verb change as a (noun). A suffix before a word is normally given. The active or

nominal sentence not only eliminates the subject, but can also change the meaning of the sentence when the reader accepts it. Activation involves modifying the verb into a noun. Activation requires an object because activation is essentially the method of altering the object that represents an actor intervention. For example, *Soeryo demanded that the police prohibit Neno from entering Batam*. Here the word ‘*demanded*’ is a verb which located after subject. The subject is Soeryo as a doer from the verb. So this sentence can be called activation cause there is a verb located after subject.

Whereas passivation is a process of not being involved in a discourse or text by a group or social actor. Passivation is one of the classical methods to make passive phrases, and the actors are not presented in the text. The social actors are often eliminated in terms of protecting certain social actors or groups. Through passive sentences, actors cannot be raised or eliminated in reporting a text. It is because the object is an important and interesting thing in the news. For example, *The bans on meetings of the hashtag proponents in several cities in Indonesia in the past week are already being portrayed, at home and abroad, as suppressing free speech. As far as freedom of expression, and hence our democracy, is concerned, this is nothing but a huge setback*. Here the word “*The bans on meetings of the hashtag proponents in several cities in Indonesia in the past week*” is indicated as passivation. It is because the word the bans is a verb that is located as a subject.

There are several reasons why the media often use this form of passive voice. First, the media would like more interesting actors and could attract

people to read journals. Second, the media's weaknesses and limitations, which are generally time-limited. The media emphasized more often than the perpetrators, the victims who are before their eyes.

b. Generalization – Specification

This SAR strategy concerns whether there are any concrete or abstract clues to what kind of information about the phenomenon or the social actor. It can be explained as an event or social actor that is displayed by giving instructions that are generalization or specification. A sentence is made by showing a general or specific identity. Generalization is realized linguistically through different processes. First, when actor is referred by using plural nouns, and the second situation occurs when the social actor is represented as a singular actor. For example, *The clashes began on Saturday afternoon, as opposition activist Neno Warisman arrived at the Sultan Syarif Kasim Airport in Pekanbaru to attend a #2019ChangePresident event in the city on Sunday.* Here the word “as opposition activist Neno Warisman” is clearly written by the author to make the reader know who Neno Warisman is, and to describe Neno Warisman as the position of the current government.

c. Assimilation

This strategy concerns the issue of how clearly the writers illustrate the actor of the social category or not. Assimilation takes place when the media does not have a specific class of social actor, but what is the group or social class. This strategy relates to the question, whether the social actors reported are clearly categorized or not. When in a text there is no specific category of

social actors mentioned, but it is mentioned as another social group, this is called an assimilation strategy. For example, in (Ali, 2018) *Hundreds of Islamic State fighters took part in the attack on Kirkuk early Friday. Peshmerga commanders said they had recovered the bodies of at least 107 Islamic State fighters: Some were tied to the back of vehicles by residents.* Here, the author mentioned ‘Hundreds of Islamic State fighters’ and ‘the bodies of at least 107 Islamic State fighters’ are indicates that the measures are quantified, but mostly not in exact numbers.

d. Association

This discourse strategy, the association is interpreted as wanting to see whether an event or social actor is associated with another event or other broader group. social groups here refer to where the actor is located and is called explicit or not in a text. Associations are also interpreted when social actors are associated with larger groups. Association can be linguistically realized through coordinated nominal groups. For example, in (Ali, 2008) *But tensions peaked in November, when a faction of Qaeda fighters there swore loyalty to Mr. Baghdadi.* Here the author tends to draw an image for the readers that ISIS has become more power and authority than before after the occupation of Mosul. After this period, it began controlling wide areas, huge money and numerous fighters from different countries. Therefore, different groups decided to join to ISIS. These groups find their benefits through following ISIS to achieve their aims. Association can also be linguistically realized by “circumstances of accompaniment” when two social actors link

together by using the preposition with". In this case, the association is, perhaps, even more fleeting and unstable. Here the author continues to create a picture for readers that after the occupation of Mosul, ISIS became more force and authority than before. It started to control large regions, enormous cash and countless combatants from various nations after that time. Consequently, various organizations chose to enter the ISIS. These groups benefit from ISIS in order to meet their objectives. "Circumstances of collaboration" may also be realized linguistically when two Social Actor members link together through the use of the preposition. So the association is even fleeting and unstable in this instance.

e. Indetermination

Indetermination is when the media often makes clear, but often unclear (anonymous) referers to actors and phenomena. This indetermination is because reporters have got insufficient information to write, so anonymous writing is safer. It may also be caused by structural concerns that the writing refers to a clear definition of a social actor. When the reader accepts, the formation of this uncertainty creates a distinct impression. For example, *About 150 people claiming to be supporters of President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo tried to prevent Neno Warisman, an opposition activist with the #2019ChangePresident campaign, from entering Batam, Riau Islands, on Saturday.* Here the author writes "about 150 people" is indicate that the author herself does not confidence how many people there as a supporter of Joko Widodo. This number of people can be more than 150 or less than it. The use

of a common exophoric reference, such as "they," which refers to unidentified ones which are never defined, can also be achieved by definition. The social actor, in this situation, acquires a kind of impersonal power.

f. Functionalization – Identification

Functionalization is strategy occurs when social actors are described in terms of their activities, their behavior. A noun made out of verbs, suffixes, and nouns tightly interlinked with an operation linguistically results in functionalization. Linguistically, functionalization is carried out in three ways. First, a word made of verbal suffixes like -er, -ant, -ent, -ian, -ee and -ian. The example below is illustrative: *The ISIS fighters who captured Mosul in June pushed north during the weekend.* The word 'fighters' is added -er which showing the word as a subject. Secondly, it can also be done through words that are closely linked to the operation and that can be described by the -ist and -eer Suffixes. The "scope of this exercise," according to Halliday, forms these nouns. The following examples are as follows: *In areas that fall under their control, the jihadists work carefully to entrench their rule.* The word "The Jihadist" is added -ist which showing word from noun to be subject.

During identification, social actors are described rather than represented as what they do. This strategy is comparable to categorization, but it is a provision that explains the meaning process. Two proposition exist; the first proposition is explained in the second. Usually related to the word: which, where. It can be useful to provide this provision because the generally assessment of someone, groups or event. However, providing such an

explanation often provides a certain meaning, since it is usually an evaluation of an person, a group or certain intervention. For example, *Police spokesperson Sr. Comr. Sunarto said on Sunday, as quoted by Antara, when asked why they sent Neno home*. Here the author writes down “Police spokesperson Sr. Comr. Sunarto” in their news. The author use identification strategy to explain who the subject, Sr. Comr. Sunarto is mentioned in the news as a police spokesperson. The “Police spokesperson” as first proposition which explain who he is. While the Sr. Comr. Sunarto as the second proposition.

g. Personalization and Impersonalization

Personalization and impersonalization address whether or not social actors are represented as individuals. All the categories of representation of social actors mentioned above are personalization because it represents social actors with the quality of human beings. On the other hand, impersonalization is not a quality of human beings representing social actors. This method occurs if the social actor in terms of its activity, in other words something it does, is explained. Impersonalization can be called abstraction. It occurs when social actors are represented by means of quality assign to them. Leeuwen further notes that the function of an impersonalisation can background the identity and/or social players, give impersonal power or impulse to a social actor's behavior or value, and attach adverse or beneficial connotations to a social actor's behavior or utterance. Impersonalization of social actors takes the public away from the social actors themselves, emphasizing their abstract concept, quality or object (Van Leeuwen, 2008). For example, *Some people wearing T-*

shirts bearing the “#2019GantiPresiden” (Change the President 2019) slogan were told to change into plain white T-shirts provided by the Satpol PP officers. Here the writer of article uses impersonalisation strategy in their news. The Some people indicates impersonalization to show the doer of wearing T-shirts. Some people as the actor that can not clearly described by the writer.

2.2.3 Researching SAR in Newspaper

The previous study has been successfully found completing the study of social actor representation in newspaper. First, Kabgani (2014) the researchers examined Theo Van Leeuwen's (1996) theory in The Guardian journal. The CDA framework is used to analyze the English-language journal The Guardian. In this study the researchers used eleven elements selected from Van Leeuwen's comprehensive framework to produce more detailed analysis. Van Leeuwen here is used to show how neutral and purely informative discourses covering newspapers, government publications, social science reports, etc. In this journal researchers only focus on representation of Muslim women in non-Islamic media. The examiner also presented a representation of three other social actors besides Muslim women who were analyzed so that aim more comprehensive assessment was obtained. The findings of this study show that active actors in the Muslim community are identical to Muslim women that Muslim women, this is very determined in their beliefs; Muslim women here are also described as independent individuals seeking a revival of women's identity. Although The Guardian's total depiction of Muslim women is positive, the researchers concluded that the clearest weakness of all Muslim women was due to a lack of critical thinking among them.

Meanwhile, Dashti et al (2017) explore the representations of social actors in the lectures of two famous philosophers, namely J. Krishnamurti and Alan Watts. The analysis in this journal uses van Leeuwen's theory to understand this concept of considering lectures as a genre, defined as "activities that are linguistically realized. This study looks critically at the textual (transcription) channels that Krishnamurti and Alan Watts pass through communicating; is to see comparatively how the social actor of a philosophical lecture is represented in the discourse of the two philosophers. The conclusion of this journal is that the patterns from a chosen model category of Van Leeuwen seemed to mechanize that Allan Watts, Krishnamurti, did not want himself in his speech to be included in the direct audience. He tends to speak to more listeners than the one before him. He appears to be more global than Alan Watt would appear. The finding of this research is that the researchers are not clear in analyzing the data obtained.

At the same point, Ali (2017) investigates on the representation of Isis in the American Newspapers. This study arrives at the conclusion that ISIS is more included. Van Leeuwen's framework of SAR strategies are used to investigate the marginalization of a person or group in a text. The study has more than one objective that helps in achieving the main purpose. This focus has inspired and attracted the attention of the researchers to explore and evaluate the ISIS picture in the New York Times (NYT) in order to demonstrate how the organisation depicts this institution linguistically through the revealing of feasible fundamental ideologies. The analysis shows that ISIS was a social actor active in the NYT. Furthermore, ISIS is represented as a powerful social actor and thus a negative-other representation.

Next, Bustam et al. (2013) Investigates how in the case of the rejection of Lady Gaga in Indonesia, the Jakarta post newspaper headlines, the exclusion strategy in the representation of social actors. This study indicates the Jakarta Post newspaper wants to attract reading attention to the other actor, which indicates that the pro group is excluded. The strategy used in this journal is part of the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) tool in analyzing the representation of social actors using Theo Van Leeuwen's theory. The finding in this study is the radical way of representing actors in Indonesia used by the Jakarta Post. The research shows that emphasis on the most widely used exclusion strategy (95%). The benefit of this newspaper is that the investigator obviously clarified that the statistics begin from the information collected until the outcomes are discovered.

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CHAPTER III

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter provides the research findings which are discussed in the following subchapter. The whole data of this research are presented in this chapter. In addition, parts which are analyzed here is the articles of Jakarta Post Newspaper which can be created different perspectives among readers, while the data are going to be shown in table of findings.

3.1 FINDINGS

2.1.1 Exclusion

For different reasons, the deletion process of actors is addressed through certain linguistic mechanisms. Exclusion can be differentiated between two subcategories: suppression and backgrounding. These categories are concerned with the excluded of the social actors as well as their actions and leaves no mention in this text. On the other side, the backgrounding implies that a text contains a clue of social actors.

A. Backgrounding

Linguistically, this backgrounding can be created in various ways. It can be achieved by simple ellipses in nonfinite clauses with participles-ing or-ed. #2019changeresident is referenced elsewhere in a text by its intervention in all these instances. The following cases represent social actors as a backgrounding:

A group of people claiming to be from the Islam Defenders Front (FPI) also came to the airport, saying they wanted to safeguard Neno, Her plans were thwarted as hundreds of counterprotesters blocked the entrance to the airport, carrying banners denouncing the

#2019ChangePresident campaign and urging Neno to “go home,” as reported by kompas.com.(NP 1)

After the researcher read all the articles, the researcher knows that the writer uses (infinite clause -ing) which is found in NP 1. Here The Jakarta Post Newspaper show that they used **Backgrounding** strategy in delivering his idea. This strategy's existence could be identified as the following sentence in NP 1: *A group of people claiming to be from the Islam Defenders Front (FPI) also came to the airport, saying they wanted to safeguard Neno.* The writer mentioned the ‘saying’ reworded metaphorically to function as nouns and refers to exclude social actor that is mentioned elsewhere in the text.

Next the backgrounding pattern that I found was 3 out of 9 articles in the Jakarta Post newspaper. The differences among the three are the authors using the paratactic clause in their writing. Backgrounding can be realized through paratactic clauses. This linguistic strategy occurs once through the texts in NP 1, as seen in the following sentence: *Her plans were thwarted as hundreds of counterprotesters blocked the entrance to the airport, carrying banners denouncing the #2019ChangePresident campaign and urging Neno to “go home,” as reported by kompas.com.* The previous instance uses the paratactic clauses of **Backgrounding**. The first clause has a reference to a social actor by utilizing ‘-ing’ and ‘her’. The word ‘carrying’ is refers to the haters of Neno Warisman who ban him entering Batam in the airport. Here, the reader will know exactly the specific actor ‘Neno’ in the second clause. Therefore, it is not completely excluded.

However, removing social actor in forms of backgrounding and suppression does not invite the reader to think of who social actor that would do such act of resistance to the current government policies. Therefore, the readers can speculate on the suppressed social actor and its action because they share the genre who is authorized to perform such an action, but they cannot fix the actual social actor in the reports. Consequently, readers assume that the cause of such action in this context is Neno Warisman. Although Neno Warisman is excluded, it does not ignore. It is a negative action which is included whether the doer of this action is present or absent. Therefore, the excluding of Neno Warisman cannot be ideologically motivated. Excluding social actor is to avoid redundancy on the one hand, and readers know that Neno Warisman is who popularized # 2019change president more often and never agreed with current government policies.

3.1.2 Inclusion

Inclusion approach is the way to represent the personal player in the discourse. The issue of how each group or individual looks in media is addressed. The use of the sentence, word, information, or particular arrangement of the sentence form or group interpretation of the text may be recognized. Many inclusion strategies are accessible for how the media shows an actor (someone or group); activation - passivation, Generalization – Specification, Assimilation, Association, Indetermination, Functionalization – Identification, and Personalization and Impersonalization.

A. Activation

Activation is a strategy which focuses on changing the verb (verb) into a noun. A suffix is usually provided before a word. The active or nominal term is not only used to remove the subject (social actor or group), but can also change the meaning of the sentence if the reader accepts it. Activation means that the verb is changed into noun.

The #2019ChangePresident campaign once again made waves as planned events in Pekanbaru, Riau, and Surabaya, East Java, on Sunday were marked by clashes between protesters, counterprotesters, and police...,

A group of people claiming to be from the Islam Defenders Front (FPI) also came to the airport.....,

Police eventually forcefully dispersed the crowd and sent Neno on a plane back to Jakarta. (NP 1)

He said groups wanting to change the president should air their grievances during the presidential election campaign. "Don't push it now," he said,....

Soeryo demanded that the police prohibit Neno from entering Batam because that was "what the crowd wanted"....,

Neno's friends, on the other hand, demanded that police escort Neno out of the airport safely,The #2019ChangePresident campaign also deployed its own crowd.....,

When Jokowi supporters found out that she had got out,.. (NP 2)

President Joko "Jokowi," Widodo said he backed the police's decision ...,He said that, while Indonesia was a democratic country,...

Jokowi lauded the police's decision to dissolve the #2019GantiPresiden declaration to maintain public order...,

Police officers dissolved events in several cities, including Pekanbaru...(NP 3)

Ahmadi said the flower board's political hashtag prompted him to take a selfie...,

President Jokowi delivered a fiery response over the weekend...,

He pointed out..., In February 2018, pollster Populi Center reported the results of their electability survey...

The General Elections Commission (KPU) has set Aug. 4-10 as the registration period for presidential candidates. (NP 4)

Jokowi initially downplayed the campaign, suggesting in an April 7...,

On the back of the hashtag's popularity #2019GantiPresiden t-shirts also sold quickly on online marketplaces and offline...,

Ismail said the hashtag created an effective anti-Jokowi narrative ...,

Yose added that it was only natural for the Jokowi camp...

Those hoping to see a change in the presidency would eventually...,

Jokowi is currently considered the strongest contender in the 2019 presidential election...

Anies began with an unconvincing electability record ...,

Observers have warned about the influence of social media-driven campaigns. (NP 5)

Immanuel said #2019GantiPresiden was viral in social media,

Jo-Man plans to mobilize volunteers to carry out offline campaigns...,

Political expert and Lingkar Madani director Ray Rangkuti urged the campaigners ... (NP 6)

West Java gubernatorial candidate Sudrajat made a controversial remark related to next year's presidential election during the third round ... (NP 7)

The last thing he needs is this sort of helping hand ...,

The hashtag emerged as far back as early 2017, ...,

The opposition had used this occasion to start its campaign early, ...

Police should move on from the comfort...,

The police claim they stopped these meetings ...,

In recent years, we have seen time and again when police, citing law and order, curtailed freedom of speech and also freedom of religion. NP 8)

Regional authorities have taken unusual measures to clear Car Free Day (CFD) from political activities...

Jakarta Public Order Agency (Satpol PP) personnel were deployed along the CFD area ...

Some people wearing T-shirts bearing the “#2019GantiPresiden” (Change the President 2019) slogan ...

The officer then informed the woman about Jakarta Gubernatorial Decree No. 12/2016 on the CFD...

The regulation forbids any political campaigning or activities..., The woman nodded and took the T-shirt from the officer...

Satpol PP officers were well prepared with five sacks of white T-shirts to supply to people wearing political...

Around 300 people had joined the event led ...(NP 9)

After the researcher read all the data, every article uses **activation strategy** to write their news in Jakarta Post. In the data above, the researcher found three sentences indicates as activation in NP 1. In the first data, *A group of people claiming to be from the Islam Defenders Front (FPI) also came to the airport.* The social actor was clearly mentioned, people who interest with the #2019changepräsident campaign. While in the second data, *Police eventually forcefully dispersed the crowd and sent Neno on a plane back to Jakarta.* The social actor in the second data clearly represented as the person who doing the action. Therefore, in this case on NP 1 the media, Jakarta Post want to make a person who read their article that the campaign of #2019changepräsident movement as the movement which be the rare phenomenon.

While, the researcher also found five sentences indicates as **activation strategy** in NP 2. In the NP 2 the social actor was clearly mentioned. It show in the first data, *He said groups wanting to change the presiden*, He here refers to the Soeryo Respationo as the executive of PDI-P in Riau Island. Soeryo itself is clearly represented a person who have an important position in one of the party. While in the second data show, *Soeryo demanded that the police prohibit Neno from entering Batam*. The social actor, Soeryo represented as a person whose agree with the #2019changeresident campaign. Next, in the third data also show, *Neno's friends, on the other hand, demanded that police escort Neno*. The social actor, Neno Warisman's friend doing an action, support the Neno and asking the police to escort him while doing a campaign. On the other hand, in the fourth data show, *When Jokowi supporters found out that she had got out*. The social actor is represented as the social actor who doing an action, doing a #2019changeresident campaign event. After read all the data in NP 2, in conclusion the social actor in the NP 2 clearly represented as the active person who doing the social practice.

In the data above, the researcher found four sentences indicates as **activation strategy** in NP 3. In the first and third data, *President Joko "Jokowi," Widodo said he backed the police's decision*, and *Jokowi lauded the police's decision to dissolve the #2019GantiPresiden declaration to maintain public order*. President Jokowi is represented as the person who have a high position in deciding something. Next in the second data, *He*

said that, while Indonesia was a democratic country. He in the second data refers to the President Joko Widodo. While in the fourth data, *Police officers dissolved events in several cities, including Pekanbaru.* The social actor, Police is represented as the actor who have an important actor to make safe the area which potential to spark riots cause the event of #2019change-president campaign. In short, in NP 3 the social actor who be involved in the #2019change-president campaign represented as the active person who doing the social practice.

In the data above, the researcher found fifth sentences indicates as **activation strategy** in NP 4. In the first data show, *Ahmadi said the flower board's political hashtag prompted him to take a selfie.* The social actor is represented as the person who enthusiastic with the political hashtag. While in the second data, *President Jokowi delivered a fiery response over the weekend.* President Jokowi is represented as the person who have a high position in giving a response caused by the campaign movement of him. The third data, *He pointed out.* He in this data is refers to Akbar Tandjung as the senior politician of Golkar Party. Akbar Tandjung want to give his opinion about the #2019change-president movement campaign is part of democracy. The fourth data, *In February 2018, pollster Populi Center reported the results of their electability survey.* The pollster Populi Center is represented as the important social actor who can reports the survey report of the candidates electability. The last data, *The General Elections Commission (KPU) has set Aug. 4-10 as the registration period for*

presidential candidates. KPU is represented as the agency government which have the power to organize the presidential election. Therefore, in this case on NP 4 the media, Jakarta Post want to make a person who read their article that the campaign of #2019change-president movement as the movement which be the rare phenomenon. The president Joko Widodo as one of the social actor who showing in this article as the person who have a high position.

In the data above, the researcher found eight sentences indicates as **activation strategy** in NP 5. In the first data show, *Jokowi initially downplayed the campaign, suggesting in an April 7*. The social actor is represented as the actor, president Joko Widodo is doing the action. Next, in the second data show, *Ismail said the hashtag created an effective anti-Jokowi narrative*. Ismail is represented as the social actor who giving opinion about the #2019change-president movement. While in the third data show, *Yose added that it was only natural for the Jokowi camp*. Yose is represented as the social actor who doing the action. Yose also is represented as the actor who be an incumbent. Next in the fourth data show, *Jokowi is currently considered the strongest contender in the 2019 presidential election*. President Joko Widodo as the actor is represented who one of the strongest candidate in the presidential election. While in the fifth data show, *Anies began with an unconvincing electability record*. Anies Baswedan is represented as the social actor who be one of the figure presidential candidate. On the other hand the sixth data show, *Observers*

have warned about the influence of social media-driven campaigns. The Observers is represented as the social actor who doing the action warned about the campaigns. In short, in NP 5 the social actor who be involved in the #2019change-president campaign represented as the active person who doing the social practice.

In the data above, the researcher found three sentences indicates as **activation strategy** in NP 6. In the first data show, *Immanuel said #2019GantiPresiden was viral in social media.* Immanuel as the social actor is represented who doing the action. Next the second data show, *Jo-Man plans to mobilize volunteers to carry out offline campaigns.* Jo-Man as the social actor who be the mobilize the volunteers for doing the #2019change-president offline campaign. While the last data show, *Political expert and Lingkar Madani director Ray Rangkuti urged the campaigners.* Ray Rangkuti is represented in the text as the social actor who urge about the #2019change-president campaign. After read all the data in NP 6, in conclusion the social actor in the NP 6 clearly represented as the active person who doing the social practice.

In the data above, the researcher found one sentence indicates as **activation strategy** in NP 7. In the first data, *West Java gubernatorial candidate Sudrajat made a controversial remark related to next year's presidential election during the third round.* Sudrajat is represented who be

the social actor make a controversial about the #2019change president movement.

In the data above, the researcher found six sentences indicates as **activation strategy** in NP 8. In the first data, *The last thing he needs is this sort of helping hand*. He is refers to President Joko Widodo. He is the social actor who giving instruction to the police to help him from the anarchic demonstration in several cities. The second data show, *The opposition had used this occasion to start its campaign early*. The opposition is represented as the social actor who always make bad action. The writer used word *The opposition* for showing bad side of social actor. Next the third data and fourth show, *Police should move on from the comfort* and *The police claim they stopped these meetings*. The police is represented as the social actor who have an important position for doing other action. Meanwhile the last data that indicates use **activation strategy** is, *in recent years, we have seen time and again when police, citing law and order, curtailed freedom of speech and also freedom of religion*. The social actor, the important actor, police is represented who enact the law. After read all the data in NP 8, in conclusion the social actor in the NP 8 clearly represented as the active person who doing the social practice. The writer want to show the reader that this hashtag is used by the opposition to be a winner in the presidential election.

In the data above, the researcher found nine sentences indicates as **activation strategy** in NP 9. First data show, *Regional authorities have taken unusual measures to clear Car Free Day (CFD) from political activities*. The social actor here is refers to regional authorities. The actor is represented as the actor who have a power to take unusual measure in their area. Next the second data show, *Jakarta Public Order Agency (Satpol PP) personnel were deployed along the CFD area*. The Public Order Agency personel is represented as the social actor who have an important position for making safe the CFD area from political activities. While the third data present, *Some people wearing T-shirts bearing the “#2019GantiPresiden” (Change the President 2019) slogan*. Some people indicates as the social actor who doing the political activity in CFD area. They wearing the T-shirts bearing #2019changeresident. Meanshile the fourth data present, *The officer then informed the woman about Jakarta Gubernatorial Decree*. The officer refers to the Public Order Agency is represented as the social actor who explain to the women about the use of CFD activity. Next the fifth data show, *The woman nodded and took the T-shirt from the officer*. The women is represented as the social actor showing that she understand after the Public Order Agency explain the rules. The last data show, *Around 300 people had joined the event led*. The 300 people is represented as the social actor who doing the action, join the event of #2019changeresident movement. After read all the data in NP 9, in

conclusion the social actor in the NP 9 clearly represented as the active person who doing the social practice.

B. Passivation

Passivation is a process of not being involved in a discourse or text by a group or social actor. Passivation is one of the classical methods to make passive phrases, and the actors are not presented in the text. The social actors are often eliminated in terms of protecting certain social actors or groups. Through passive sentences, actors cannot be raised or eliminated in reporting a text. The following cases represent social actors as passivation and passivation strategy:

#2019GantiPresiden has appeared in memes circulating on various social media...., (NP 4)

The hashtag, which began in early April, is believed to have made its first public appearance...,

T-shirts printed with the hashtag have also begun to be sold everywhere...,

The offline campaign made headlines over the weekend....,

In the first two weeks of April, at least 110,000 mentions of the hashtag were recorded on Twitter....,

The statement, however, backfired as big data analysis showed it only triggered more use of the hashtag. (NP 5)

The closing statement sparked strong reactions from supporters....

Sudrajat's controversial remarks were based on the political hashtag recently made famous by PKS politician Mardani Ali Sera, (NP 7)

The bans on meetings of the hashtag proponents in several cities in Indonesia... (NP 8)

In the data above, the researcher found one sentence indicates as **passivation strategy** in NP 4. First data show, *#2019GantiPresiden has*

appeared in memes circulating on various social media. #2019changeresident is represent as the passivation strategy. With this strategy, the Jakarta Post want to show about what #2019changeresident is to the reader.

In the data above, the researcher found five sentences as **passivation strategy** in NP 5. First data present, *The hashtag, which began in early April, is believed to have made its first public appearance.* The Jakarta Post omit the social actor from the text. The Jakarta post tends to show how the hashtag is representing. Second data present, *T-shirts printed with the hashtag have also begun to be sold everywhere.* T-shirts printed is represented by the Jakarta Post not mentioned who make, and distribute the T-shirt printed with the hasgtag. Third data present, *The offline campaign made headlines over the weekend.* The offline campaign is represented as the event which trigger the anarchic of demonstrator. The fourth data present, *at least 110,000 mentions of the hashtag were recorded on Twitter.* The jakarta post not clearly mentioned who mentions about the hashtag. The last data present, *The statement, however, backfired as big data analysis showed it only triggered more use of the hashtag.* The statement represented by the jakarta post refers to the Jokowi statement which explain about can the T-shirt unseat a president.

In the data above, the researcher found two sentences indicates as **passivation strategy** in NP 7. First data present, *The closing statement*

sparked strong reactions from supporters. The Jakarta Post want to show that cause this closing statement from Ahmad Syaikh, make sparked strong reaction from the supporters. The last data present, *Sudrajat's controversial remarks were based on the political hashtag recently made famous by PKS politician Mardani Ali Sera.* The Sudrajat's controversial is represented as the social actor who social actor behind the controversial.

In the data above, the researcher found one sentence indicates as **passivation strategy** in NP 8. The data present, *The bans on meetings of the hashtag proponents* in several cities in Indonesia. The Jakarta Post want to show for the reader that every events related with the #2019changeresident movement againsts be forbidden by the government.

In conclusion, the Jakarta Post use **passivation strategy** in their way for writing the news and including the social actor from the text. Most of the finding, the Jakarta Post tend to support the current government and disagree with the against movement campaign.

C. Generalization

The SAR strategy is concerned with whether there are concrete or abstract indications of information about a phenomenon or social actor. It can be explained as an event or social actor that is displayed by giving instructions that are generalization or specification. A sentence is made by

showing a general or specific identity. The following cases represent social actors as a generalization:

***About 150 people claiming** to be supporters of President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo tried to prevent ... (NP 2)*

In NP 2 the writer shows the supporters of Joko Widodo try to prevent Neno Warisman entering Batam. In the data above, the researcher found the writer uses use one **generalization strategy** in their news. In NP 2 the writer almost uses specification strategy while use **generalization strategy** in their news. The data as the **generalization strategy** represent in *About 150 people claiming to be supporters of President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo*. The writer mentioned about a number of 150 people who claim as the supporters of Jokowi. The writer was not sure how many people claiming as the supporters.

D. Specification

When a social actor is represented as a group, the specific and identifiable actor happens. It implies that the newspaper prevents social actors from being identified by age, gender, job and so on. The following cases represent social actors as a specification:

*The clashes began on Saturday afternoon, **as opposition activist Neno Warisman** ..., **East Java Police spokesperson Frans Barung Mangera** said the police had received complaints about the event. (NP 1)*

Neno Warisman, an opposition activist with the #2019ChangePresident campaign, from entering Batam..., Neno, who was a famous singer in the 1990s,... ,
The crowd, which carried banners expressing their rejection of Neno, ...,
Riau Islands Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) executive Soeryo Respationo ...,
Barelang Police chief Sr. Comr. Hengki ...,Neno, a prominent figure in the anti-Jokowi movement... (NP 2)

On a similar note, NasDem Party chairman Surya Paloh deemed the declaration ...,
 Regarding a verbal attack on Jokowi by presidential hopeful Prabowo Subianto concerning the depreciating rupiah, (NP 3)

On Apr. 3, Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) politician, Mardani Ali Sera was spotted on...,...

his archrival Prabowo Subianto, the Gerindra Party's general chairman and patron ...,

Crescent Star Party (PBB) politician Yusril Ihza Mahendra responded in kind...,

Senior politician Akbar Tandjung of the Golkar Party, a member of the government coalition, ...(NP 4)

...Mardani Ali Sera, a politician from the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), ...,

Social media consultant PoliticaWave founder Yose Rizal shared this sentiment..., ...

Prabowo Subianto and former military commander Gatot Nurmantyo..., ...

the defeat of former Jakarta governor Basuki "Ahok" Tjahaja Purnama, who lost to rival Anies in the second round of the election,(NP 5)

Political expert and Lingkar Madani director Ray Rangkuti urged the campaigners to ensure the hashtags were more than just brands. (NP 6)

West Java gubernatorial candidate Sudrajat made a controversial..., ...

his deputy candidate Ahmad Syaikh immediately showed...,
...PKS politician Mardani Ali Sera...,
 ... his archrival Prabowo Subianto, the Gerindra patron, during
 the 2019 presidential election. (NP 7)
 ... to a woman sporting the anti-Jokowi T-shirt as she was
entering the CFD area...,
 by Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) politician Mardani Ali Sera...,
Jakarta Public Order Agency head Yani Wahyu said...,
Adi, 40, a resident of Palmerah in West Jakarta, who sold T-
shirts and hats, ...,
Hendra Febrizal, one of the residents banned from joining CFD
because of his anti-Jokowi T-shirt, (NP 9)

In NP 1 the writer shows how the clashes #2019changpresident in Surabaya and Pekanbaru. In the data above, The researcher found two sentences indicates as a specification in NP 1. In NP 1 the writer almost uses specification strategy while use generalization strategy in their news. The first data as the specification represent in *as opposition activist Neno Warisman*. The writer explains who Neno Warisman is, and what Neno Warisman is in the news. Neno Warisman is described as an activist who is in opposition to current government policy. Neno Warisman is described by the writer, as one of the key actors in the clashes that occurred in Surabaya and Pekanbaru. The second data as the **specification strategy** also represents in *East Java Police spokesperson Frans Barung Mangera*. The writer use specification strategy to explain who spokesperson of east java police.

In NP 2 the writer shows the supporters of Joko Widodo try to prevent Neno Warisman entering Batam. In the data above, the researcher found the writer uses six **specification strategy** in their news. The first

data as the specification strategy represent in *Neno Warisman, an opposition activist with the #2019ChangePresident campaign*. And *Neno, a prominent figure in the anti-Jokowi movement, said next year was the right time to change the president*. The writer use specification strategy in drawing who Neno Warisman is. Neno Warisman is mentioned in their news many times. At the same case, second data also use the specification strategy represent in *The crowd, which carried banners expressing their rejection of Neno*, The second data use specification strategy in a drawing which crowd prevents Neno Warisman entering Batam in the Airport. While third data also use specification strategy in their news. It represents in *Riau Islands Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) executive Soeryo Respationo*. The fourth data use specification strategy in explaining who Soeryo Respationo is. While the fifth data as the specification strategy represent in *Barelang Police chief Sr. Comr. Hengki*. The fifth data use specification strategy in explaining who Hengki is. This strategy is used to be easy for the reader to directly know someone who speaking or doing in their news.

In NP 3 the writer shows the Jokowi's decision to restrict events of an anti-jokowi movement or #2019changepresident in several cities. The researcher found two sentences indicates as a specification in NP 3. In NP 3 the writer almost uses specification strategy in their news. The data as the **specification strategy** represent in the sentence *NasDem*

Party chairman Surya Paloh. The writer use specification strategy in drawing who a chairman of *NasDem* Party is. While in second data the writer also uses specification strategy in their news. The data as the specification strategy represent in the sentence *presidential hopeful Prabowo Subianto*. The writer use specification strategy in drawing who is presidential hopeful which is the opposition of Joko Widodo in presidential election 2019.

In NP 4 the writer shows the #2019changeresident make the presidential candidate, Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto more heats up. The researcher found four sentences indicates as a specification in NP 4. In NP 4 the writer almost uses specification strategy in their news. The first data as the specification represent in *Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) politician Mardani Ali Sera*. The writer use specification strategy in drawing who a PKS politician is. While second data also as the specification represent in *his archrival Prabowo Subianto, the Gerindra Party's general chairman and patron*. The writer use specification strategy in drawing who is presidential candidate besides Joko Widodo as the defense president. The third data as the **specification strategy** represent in *Crescent Star Party (PBB) politician Yusril Ihza Mahendra*. The writer use specification strategy in their news to draw who is Yusril Ihza Mahendra as one of politician which be one of a party who supporting Joko Widodo as the president. The fourth data as the specification represent in *Senior politician Akbar Tandjung of the Golkar*

Party, a member of the government coalition. The writer use specification strategy in their news to draw who Akbar Tandjung is as the senior politician on one of the party.

In NP 5 the writer shows how about this movement, # 2019change president becomes an interesting talk in online or offline. The researcher found five sentences indicates as a specification in NP 5. In NP 5 the writer almost uses **specification strategy** while use generalization strategy in their news. The first data as the specification represent in *Mardani Ali Sera, a politician from the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)*. The writer use specification strategy in drawing who Mardani Ali Sera is in their news. While in second data, the researcher found specification also represent in *Social media consultant PoliticaWave founder Yose Rizal*. The writer use specification strategy in drawing who Yose Rizal is in their news. While in third data, the researcher found specification also represents in *former military commander Gatot Nurmantyo*. The writer use specification strategy in drawing who Gatot Nurmantyo is as the former military commander in their news. The fourth data as the specification strategy also represent in *the defeat of former Jakarta governor Basuki “Ahok” Tjahaja Purnama, who lost to rival Anies in the second round of the election*. The writer use specification strategy in their news to draw who Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or Ahok is.

In NP 6 the writer shows the war between the defending president, Joko Widodo and his rival Prabowo Subianto in a hashtag between # 2019stilljokowi and #2019change president. The researcher found one sentence indicates as a specification in NP 6. In NP 6 the writer used **specification strategy** in their news. The data as the specification represent in *Political expert and Lingkar Madani director Ray Rangkuti*. The writer use specification strategy to draw who Ray Rangkuti is and what his position is in their news.

In NP 7 the writer shows the statement of West Java governor candidate Sudrajat when delivering a speech sparked strong reactions from various groups. The researcher found four sentences indicates as **specification strategy** in NP 7. In NP 7 the writer almost uses specification strategy while use generalization strategy in their news. The first data as the specification represent in *West Java gubernatorial candidate Sudrajat*. The writer use specification strategy in drawing who Sudrajat is as West Java gubernatorial candidate in their news. While in the second data is also indicated as the specification strategy represents in *his deputy candidate Ahmad Syaikh*. The writer use specification strategy in drawing who Ahmad Syaikh is in their news. The third data also indicates as the specification strategy represents in *PKS politician Mardani Ali Sera*. The writer use specification strategy in drawing who Ali Sera is as the politician. Then the fourth data also specification strategy represents in *his archrival Prabowo Subianto, the Gerindra*

patron. The writer use specification strategy in drawing who Prabowo Subianto is.

In NP 9 the writer shows the rise of political activities, and groups of political movements in the car-free day (CFD). The researcher found four sentences indicates as **specification strategies** and one sentence indicates as generalization strategy in NP 9. In NP 9 the writer almost uses specification strategy while use generalization strategy in their news. The first data as the specification represent in *to a woman sporting the anti-Jokowi T-shirt as she was entering the CFD area*. The writer use **specification strategy** in drawing who a woman is entering in the CFD area.

E. Indetermination

Indetermination is when the media often makes clear, but often unclear (anonymous) referers to actors and phenomena. This indetermination is because reporters have got insufficient information to write, so anonymous writing is safer. It may also be caused by structural concerns that the writing refers to a clear definition of a social actor. When the reader accepts, the formation of this uncertainty creates a distinct impression. The following cases represent social actors as an indetermination:

About 150 people claiming to be supporters of President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo tried to prevent Neno Warisman...,
The #2019ChangePresident campaign also deployed its own crowd,
estimated at about 500 people, to the airport. (NP 2),

Several guests took pictures with the board in the background, including Ahmadi from Medan. (NP 4),

To date, several names have been touted as potential presidential candidates, ...

The Islamist movement was massive online and offline and while its anti-Ahok message was loud and clear,... (NP 5),

Around 300 people had joined the event led by Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) politician Mardani Ali Sera. (NP 9)

In NP 2 the writer shows the clash between demonstrator and police that occurred in Surabaya and Pekanbaru was caused by the campaign event #2019change president. The researcher found two sentences indicates as **indetermination strategies** in NP 2. The first data as the indetermination represent in *About 150 people claiming*. The writer use indetermination strategy in drawing people who claim as the Jokowi supporters because the writer does not know clearly how many people there. While in the second data the indetermination represents in *estimated at about 500 people, to the airport*. The writer also uses indetermination strategy in drawing people who crowd in the airport cause Neno Warisman arrived at the airport.

In NP 4 the writer shows the #2019change president make the presidential candidate, Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto more heats up. The researcher found one sentence indicates as **indetermination strategies** in NP 4. The data as the indetermination represent in *several guests took pictures*. The writer use indetermination strategy in drawing there are guests that took a picture. The writer can not count clearly how many guests there.

In NP 5 the writer shows how about this movement, #2019change president becomes an interesting talk in online or offline. The researcher found two sentences indicates as **indetermination strategies** in NP 5. The first data as the indetermination represent in *To date, several names have been touted as potential presidential candidates*. The writer use indetermination strategy in drawing a potential name as the presidential candidates.

In NP 9 the writer shows the rise of political activities, and groups of political movements in a car-free day (CFD). The researcher found one sentence indicates as **indetermination strategies** in NP 9. The data as the indetermination represent in *Around 300 people*. The writer use indetermination strategy in drawing there are many people who joined in the event, and the writer can not count clearly how many people there.

F. Functionalization

This strategy occurs when social actors are described in terms of their activities, their behavior. A noun made out of verbs, suffixes, and nouns tightly interlinked with an operation linguistically results in functionalization. The following cases represent social actors as functionalization:

Police spokesperson Sr. Comr. Sunarto said on Sunday, as quoted by Antara when asked why they sent Neno home. (NP 1),

The police crackdown on the movement to unseat President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo, ... (NP 8)

In NP 1 the writer shows how the clashes #2019changpresident in Surabaya and Pekanbaru. The researcher found one sentence indicates as **functionalization strategy** in NP 1. The data as the functionalization strategy represent in *Police spokesperson Sr. Comr. Sunarto*. The writer use functionalization strategy in drawing who actually police spokesperson is. This strategy also uses give information to the reader.

In NP 8 the writer shows the emphasis of freedom by the police on the use of the #2019change president movement both at home and abroad. The researcher found one sentence indicates as **functionalization strategy** in NP 8. The data as the functionalization represent in *The police crackdown on the movement to unseat President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo*. The writer uses functionalization strategy in their news because the writer is drawing the activity of the police is in case what they show.

So in this case the Jakarta Post uses functionalization strategy to represent several social actor accordance with the profession and what job should be done and what the job of the social actor is.

G. Impersonalization

Impersonalization address whether or not social actors are represented as individuals. All the categories of representation of social actors mentioned above are impersonalization because it represents social actors with the quality of human beings. On the other hand, impersonalization is not a quality of human beings

representing social actors. The following cases represent social actors as impersonalization:

However, a crowd intercepted her at the airport and demanded that the authorities prohibit her from entering the city. (NP 2),

Some people wearing T-shirts bearing the “#2019GantiPresiden” (Change the President 2019) slogan..., In Medan, North Sumatra, *a number of people* ... (NP 9)

In NP 2 the writer shows the supporters of Joko Widodo try to prevent Neno Warisman entering Batam. In data above the researcher found one sentence indicates as **impersonalization strategy** in NP 2. The data as the impersonalization represent in *However, a crowd intercepted her at the airport*. The writer uses impersonalization in drawing a crowd, the actor does not clearly describe by the writer.

In NP 9 the writer shows the rise of political activities, and groups of political movements in the car-free day (CFD). The researcher found two sentences indicates as **impersonalization strategies** in NP 9. The first data as the impersonalization strategy represent in *Some people wearing T-shirts bearing* The writer use impersonalization strategy in drawing people who wear a t-shirt bearing #2019change president, the actor does not clearly describe by a writer who they are. While in the second data as the impersonalization also represent in *a number of people*. The writer use impersonalization strategy in drawing how many people who caused hubbub in Medan.

So in this case, the Jakarta Post use impersonalization strategy to represent the social actor as individuals but the Jakarta Post do not clearly mentioned who are the social actor in general way.

3.2 Discussion

After analyzing the data, from 9 articles of Jakarta Post published from April to September the researcher found both strategies, exclusion and inclusion used to be representing social actor. Based on Theo Van Leeuwen (2008) the researcher found several types of SAR in order to answer the first research question, ‘what kinds of exclusion SAR strategies are in the opinion column of Jakarta Post’. The use of exclusion strategy consist of backgrounding only in this study, for instance “A group of people claiming”. By using the backgrounding strategy, the social actor is hidden from the text. The social actor, Neno Warisman is hidden from the text because what considered as the important information. The Jakarta Post prefer to show ‘A group of people’s’ activity as the hater of Neno Warisman. According to Van Leeuwen’s framework that assumes the premise that *all discourses re-contextualize social practices* (Van Leeuwen, 2008: vii), and re-contextualizing principles are related to the basic units of social practice such as actors and their representations and identities. In this study, the Jakarta Post uses backgrounding to show that social actor is mentioned elsewhere in a text by its action. Neno Warisman is drawing as a figure opposition activist with #2019change-president campaign.

Beside, the Jakarta Post also use inclusion strategy in their report in order to answer the second research question, ‘what kinds of inclusion SAR strategies are in the

opinion column of Jakarta Post'. By using the inclusion strategy, the researcher found several social actor are openly shown to the reader in opinion column of Jakarta Post. In this study, the writer considered to explain the actor's actions clearly and explain the action without a clear actor. There are the actor who in the Prabowo Subianto sides or in the Joko Widodo sides, or we can call fans or hater of President Joko Widodo. The writer of Jakarta Post uses generalization or specification to show that is mostly depicted as a group or class and not as specific identifiable individuals for instance, 'An opposition activist with the #2019change-president campaign, Neno Warisman'. The media, Jakarta Post clearly show each social actor in their actor. It is because the media use the inclusion strategy to show who the social actor is. While indetermination strategy is used to be in the Jakarta Post for taking place when a social actor is represented as unspecified and anonymous individuals or groups. The Jakarta Post often clearly written of actors or phenomena but is also often unclear (anonymous), as journalists have not been given sufficient evidence to write.

In short, in opinion column focusing on #2019change-president movement the inclusion strategy was used more than the exclusion strategy. This is done by journalist because there are indications the Jakarta Post is protecting one side (Prabowo Subianto) in case #2019change-president movement. Jakarta Post and the prabowo side have the powerful to take care, to create someone's interpretasi using the text by online newspaper.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter summarizes the findings and discussion research on SAR strategy of Van Leeuwen's theory in Jakarta Post talk about #2019changeresident movement.

4.1 Conclusion

After investigating the data, SAR has an important position to know how powerful the social actor is. The actor has the higher position to arrange the discourse in the media. From the researcher findings, in the first question, the Jakarta Post uses exclusion strategy, Jakarta Post wants to exclude Neno Warisman as an important figure of #2019changeresident movement events. Neno Warisman is more often in drawing popularizes the #2019changeresident and never agree with current government policies. Jakarta Post leads the reader to hate Neno Warisman, and makes Neno Warisman as the figure who be responsibility of the movement againts event of current government.

While in the second research question, inclusion strategy, the researcher found almost all the strategies that is used in opinioun column of Jakarta Post except assimilation and association strategies. The Jakarta Post uses inclusion strategy in their way for writing the news and including the social actor from the text. Most of the findings, the Jakarta Post tends to support the current government and disagree with the againt movement campaign. Using inclusion strategy, Jakarta

Post is not sure how many people claiming as the fans or supporters. The Jakarta Post tends to select to be safe avoid errors in retrieving data.

From the result above, the researcher concludes that first, the Jakarta Post Newspaper tends to Prabowo sides who agrees with all the activities of the # 2019 changepresident movement. This is marked by the emphasis of the actors who influence this movement. The actors that are often emphasized in the Jakarta Post article, namely, Neno Warisman, and Mardani Ali. Secondly, the Jakarta Post presents Jokowi and current government sides as actors who must be overthrown in the next election period.

4.2 Suggestions

This exploration researches, the social actor representation strategy on opinion column in #2019changepresident movement. The researcher suggest first, for the reader, this study is suggested understanding base of critical discourse analysis first. Then, the reader can be more open-minded in reading and receiving news, especially about #2019changepresident.

In view of the discoveries over, the analyst gives a few proposals for follow-up research or further examinations. It is suggested for the next researcher who interests with this study to fill gap in other media and object as well. It much better if the next researcher can combine Van Leeuwen's theory of SAR with other theory of critical discourse analysis. It can also combine the Van Leeuwen's theory with micheal foucalt, Roger Fowler, Teun Van Dijk, or other critical discourse analysis's theory. The researcher hopes this study can help for adding a

little insight of social actor representation. And also the researcher hopes the next researcher can found the other findings in other critical views.



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CURRICULUM VITAE



Amalia Rosydiana was born in Jombang on February 4, 1996. She graduated from SMAN 1 Mojo Kediri. During her study at Senior High School, she actively participated in OSIS. She started her higher education in 2015 at the Department of English Literature UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang and finish in 2019. During her study at the University, she joined Koperasi Mahasiswa (KOPMA) and also joined volunteer of Romantic Tunes Malang with one of event organizer from

Yogyakarta, Secre Creative.

Appendix 1

TABLE OF FINDINGS

D A T A	TYPES								
	EXCLUSION		INCLUSION						
	SUPPRESSIO N	BACKGROUND NG	ACTIVATION/PAS SIVATION	GENERIZATION/S PECIFICATION	ASSIMILATION	ASSOCIATI ON	INDETERMIN ATION	FUNCTIONAL IZATION/IDE NTIFICATION	PERSONALIZ ATION/IMPE RSONALIZAT ION
N P 1		<p>✓ <u>A group of people claiming to be from the Islam Defenders Front (FPI) also came to the airport, saying they wanted to safeguard Neno.</u></p> <p>✓ Her plans were thwarted as hundreds of counterprotesters blocked the entrance to the airport, carrying banners denouncing the #2019ChangePresident campaign and</p>	<p>✓ <u>The #2019ChangePresident campaign once again made waves as planned events in Pekanbaru, Riau, and Surabaya, East Java, on Sunday were marked by clashes between</u></p> <p>protesters, counterprotesters, and police.</p> <p>✓ <u>A group of people claiming to be from the Islam Defenders Front (FPI) also came to the airport, saying they wanted to</u></p>	<p>✓ The clashes began on Saturday afternoon, as opposition activist Neno Warisman arrived at the Sultan Syarif Kasim Airport in Pekanbaru to attend a #2019ChangePresident event in the city on Sunday.</p> <p>✓ <u>East Java Police spokesperson Frans Barung Mangera</u> said the police had received complaints about the event</p>					<p>✓ <u>Police spokesperson Sr. Comr. Sunarto</u> said on Sunday, as quoted by Antara, when asked why they sent Neno home.</p>

		✓ urging Neno to “go home,” as reported by <i>kompas.com</i> .	✓ safeguard Neno. Police eventually <u>forcefully dispersed the crowd</u> and sent Neno on a plane back to Jakarta.						
N P 2			✓ He said groups <u>wanting to change the president</u> should air their grievances during the presidential election campaign. “Don’t push it now,” he said. ✓ Soeryo demanded <u>that the police prohibit Neno from entering Batam</u> , because that was “what the crowd wanted”. ✓ Neno’s friends, on the other hand, <u>demand that police escort Neno</u> out of the airport safely. ✓ The <u>#2019ChangePresident campaign</u> also <u>deployed its own crowd</u> , estimated at about 500 people, to the airport. ✓ When <u>Jokowi supporters</u> found	✓ About 150 people <u>claiming to be supporters of President Joko “Jokowi”</u> Widodo tried to prevent Neno Warisman, an <u>opposition activist with the #2019ChangePresident campaign</u> , from entering Batam, Riau Islands, on Saturday. ✓ Neno, who was a <u>famous singer in the 1990s</u> , had landed at Hang Nadim Airport to attend a #2019ChangePresident event on Sunday. ✓ The crowd, which <u>carried banners expressing their rejection of Neno</u> , said Neno often uttered hate speech against		✓ About 150 people <u>claiming to be supporters of President Joko “Jokowi”</u> Widodo tried to prevent Neno Warisman, an opposition activist with the #2019ChangePresident campaign, from entering Batam, Riau Islands, on Saturday. ✓ The #2019ChangePresident campaign also deployed its own crowd, <u>estimated at about 500 people, to the airport</u> .	✓		✓ However, a <u>crowd intercepted her at the airport</u> and demanded that the authorities prohibit her from entering the city. ✓

			<p>✓ <u>out that she had got out</u>, they shouted in anger and tried to hurl stones at the car transporting Neno.</p>	<p>✓ <u>Jokowi. Riau Islands Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P)</u> executive <u>Soeryo Respationo</u> told <i>The Jakarta Post</i> on Saturday that the people were hurt by Neno's behavior.</p> <p>✓ <u>Barelang Police chief Sr. Comr. Hengki</u> told the <i>Post</i> that his office would ensure Neno's safety in Batam.</p> <p>✓ <u>Neno, a prominent figure in the anti-Jokowi movement</u>, said next year was the right time to change the president.</p>					
N P 3			<p>✓ <u>President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo said he backed the police's decision</u> to restrict events of an anti-Jokowi movement known under its Twitter handle <i>#2019GantiPresiden</i> (Change the</p>	<p>✓ On a similar note, <u>NasDem Party chairman Surya Paloh</u> deemed the declaration to be "inappropriate to be expressed in public, because it could hurt the feelings of people with different</p>					

			<p>✓ president in 2019) in several cities.</p> <p>✓ <u>He said that, while Indonesia was a democratic country, there were some limitations to the freedom of expression.</u></p> <p>✓ <u>Jokowi lauded the police's decision to dissolve the #2019GantiPresiden declaration to maintain public order, as the event was deemed to have the potential to spark riots between supporters and opponents of the incumbent.</u></p> <p>✓ <u>Police officers dissolved events in several cities, including Pekanbaru in Riau and Surabaya in East Java, because of the risk of commotion.</u></p>	<p>✓ political preferences.”</p> <p>✓ Regarding a verbal attack on Jokowi by presidential hopeful Prabowo Subianto concerning the depreciating rupiah, Surya recommended that Jokowi simply respond to his critics with a smile.</p>					
N P 4			<p>✓ <u>Ahmadi said the flower board's political hashtag prompted him to take a selfie with it and upload the picture to his social media</u></p>	<p>✓ On Apr. 3, Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) politician Mardani Ali Sera was spotted on a <u>TV show wearing a rubber bracelet</u></p>			<p>✓ <u>Several guests took pictures with the board in the background, including Ahmadi from</u></p>		

			<p>account.</p> <p>✓ <u>#2019GantiPresiden</u> has appeared in memes circulating on various social media like Instagram and Facebook.</p> <p>✓ <u>President Jokowi delivered a fiery response</u> over the weekend on the campaign to unseat him in 2019, saying, “T-shirts cannot replace a president.”</p> <p>✓ He pointed out, however, that a mere hashtag would not succeed in replacing Jokowi “who still has huge support”.</p> <p>✓ <u>In February 2018, pollster Populi Center reported the results their electability survey,</u> which showed 52.8 percent of respondents favoring Jokowi and 15.4 percent for Prabowo.</p>	<p><u>with the hashtag on it.</u> “The #2019 GantiPresiden movement will provide data, analysis, to put forth a better candidate for the 2019 presidential election,” he said on Apr. 4 as quoted by <i>tempo.co</i>.</p> <p>✓ The hashtag has revved up the upcoming race between President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo and <u>his archrival Prabowo Subianto, the Gerindra Party’s general chairman and patron</u> who declared his presidential candidacy on Wednesday evening – albeit on the condition of support from “friendly parties”.</p> <p>✓ Crescent Star Party (PBB) politician <u>Yusril Ihza Mahendra</u> responded in kind, quipping, “I</p>		Medan.		
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			<p>✓ <u>The General Elections Commission (KPU)</u> has set Aug. 4-10 as the registration period for presidential candidates.</p>	<p>would say checkered shirts do not make a president, either.”</p> <p>✓ <u>Senior politician Akbar Tandjung of the Golkar Party, a member of the government coalition,</u> commented that <u>the #2019GantiPresident campaign was part of democracy.</u></p>					
N P 5		<p>✓ Before the official presidential campaign period begins, many presidential hopefuls and members of the anti-Jokowi camp will make use of <u>digital campaigns.</u></p>	<p>✓ <u>The hashtag, which began in early April,</u> is believed to have made its first public appearance when <u>Mardani Ali Sera, a politician from the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS),</u> distributed rubber bracelets with the hashtag on a TV show.</p> <p>✓ <u>T-shirts printed with the hashtag</u> have also begun to be sold everywhere.</p> <p>✓ <u>The offline campaign made</u></p>	<p>✓ The hashtag, which began in early April, is believed to have made its first public appearance when <u>Mardani Ali Sera, a politician from the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS),</u> distributed rubber bracelets with the hashtag on a TV show.</p> <p>✓ <u>Social media consultant PoliticaWave founder Yose Rizal</u> shared this sentiment, saying that the lack of</p>			<p>✓ To date, <u>several names have been touted as potential presidential candidates,</u> including Jokowi’s rival in 2014 Prabowo Subianto and former military commander Gatot Nurmantyo, but they have yet to officially declare their bids despite having made</p>		

			<p><u>headlines over the weekend</u> when a group of anti-Jokowi activists wore the t-shirts during the supposedly politics-free Car Free Day event on Sunday in Jakarta.</p> <p>✓ In the first two weeks of April, at least 110,000 mentions of the hashtag were recorded on Twitter, far exceeding the 18,000 mentions of the counter-hashtag #Jokowi2Periode (#Jokowi2Terms), according to big data company Drone Emprit.</p> <p>✓ Jokowi initially <u>downplayed the campaign</u>, suggesting in an April 7 speech that such smear campaigns alone were not enough to challenge him.</p> <p>✓ The statement, however, <u>backfired as big data analysis</u></p>	<p>one uniting hashtag was the main factor behind the pro-Jokowi camp's failure to counter the latest anti-Jokowi campaign before it snowballed.</p> <p>✓ To date, several names have been touted as potential presidential candidates, including Jokowi's rival in 2014 Prabowo Subianto and former military commander Gatot Nurmantyo, but they have yet to officially declare their bids despite having made their aspirations public.</p> <p>✓ However, social media-driven campaigns have proven effective in taking down politicians, as shown by the <u>defeat of former Jakarta governor Basuki "Ahok" Tjahaja Purnama,</u></p>		<p>their aspirations public.</p> <p>✓ The <u>Islamist movement</u> was massive <u>online and offline and while its anti-Ahok message was loud and clear,</u> the movement never clearly declared its affiliation to either Anies or Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, the other contender in the 2017 gubernatorial election.</p>		
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			<p><u>showed it only triggered</u> more use of the hashtag.</p> <p>✓ On the back of the hashtag's popularity, <u>#2019GantiPresiden</u> t-shirts also <u>sold quickly</u> on online marketplaces and offline.</p> <p>✓ <u>Ismail said the hashtag created an effective anti-Jokowi narrative</u> because it served as a uniting language for those opposed to Jokowi, regardless of their political affiliations or other intellectual backgrounds.</p> <p>✓ <u>Yose added that it was only natural for the Jokowi camp</u> and its supporters to try to promote different messages at the same time, using different hashtags.</p> <p>✓ <u>Those hoping to see a change in</u></p>	<p><u>who lost to rival Anies in the second round of the election,</u> despite garnering the most votes in the first round.</p>					
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			<p>the <u>presidency</u> would eventually want more than just an emotional anti-Jokowi campaign, Yose said.</p> <p>✓ <u>Jokowi</u> is <u>currently</u> <u>considered</u> the <u>strongest</u> <u>contender</u> in the 2019 presidential election.</p> <p>✓ <u>Anies</u> began with an <u>unconvincing</u> <u>electability</u> record but came out victorious after he, in the words of political analysts, “rode the wave of the Islamist movement”.</p> <p>✓ <u>Observers</u> have <u>warned</u> about the <u>influence</u> of <u>social</u> <u>media-driven</u> <u>campaigns</u>.</p>						
N P 6			<p>✓ <u>Immanuel</u> said <u>#2019GantiPresiden</u> was viral in social media, but <u>#2019TetapJokowi</u> would be “massive in the real world”.</p> <p>✓ <u>Jo-Man</u> plans to</p>	<p>✓ <u>Political</u> expert and <u>Lingkar</u> <u>Madani</u> director <u>Ray</u> <u>Rangkuti</u> urged the campaigners to ensure the <u>hashtags</u> were more than just</p>					

			<p><u>mobilize</u> volunteers to carry out offline campaigns in their respective neighborhoods</p> <p>✓ <u>Political expert and Lingkar Madani director Ray Rangkuti urged the campaigners to ensure the hashtags were more than just brands.</u></p>	brands.					
N P 7			<p>✓ <u>West Java gubernatorial candidate Sudrajat made a controversial remark related to next year's presidential election during the third round of public debates for the province's governor and deputy governor election on Monday evening.</u></p> <p>✓ <u>The closing statement sparked strong reactions from supporters from other candidate pairs, hindering other candidate pair</u></p>	<p>✓ <u>West Java gubernatorial candidate Sudrajat made a controversial remark related to next year's presidential election during the third round of public debates for the province's governor and deputy governor election on Monday evening.</u></p> <p>✓ <u>After addressing the remarks, his deputy candidate Ahmad Syaikh immediately showed a T-shirt emblazoned with a message that</u></p>					

			<p>Deddy Mizwar and Dedi Mulyadi, who were backed by Golkar and the Democratic Party, from sending their closing statement.</p> <p>✓ <u>Sudrajat's controversial remarks were based on the political hashtag recently made famous by PKS politician Mardani Ali Sera, which some considered to be intended to rev up President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo and his archrival Prabowo Subianto, the Gerindra patron, during the 2019 presidential election.</u></p>	<p>read "<i>Gubernur 2018 Asyik, 2019 Ganti Presiden</i>" (Asyik for 2018 Governor, 2019 Change President). Asyik is the nickname for the candidate pair.</p> <p>✓ <u>Sudrajat's controversial remarks were based on the political hashtag recently made famous by PKS politician Mardani Ali Sera, which some considered to be intended to rev up President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo and his archrival Prabowo Subianto, the Gerindra patron, during the 2019 presidential election.</u></p> <p>✓ <u>Sudrajat's controversial remarks were based on the political hashtag recently made famous by PKS politician Mardani Ali Sera,</u></p>					
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				<p>which some considered to be intended to rev up President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo and his archrival Prabowo Subianto, the Gerindra patron, during the 2019 presidential election.</p>					
N P 8		<p>✓ Rather than providing protection for those wishing to exercise their freedoms as guaranteed by the Constitution, police are taking the easy solution by shutting them down to prevent conflict.</p>	<p>✓ The bans on meetings of the hashtag proponents in several cities in Indonesia in the past week are already being portrayed, at home and abroad, as suppressing free speech. As far as freedom of expression, and hence our democracy, is concerned, this is nothing but a huge setback.</p> <p>✓ The last thing he needs is this sort of helping hand from the police.</p> <p>✓ The hashtag emerged as far back as early 2017, maybe even before,</p>	✓				<p>✓ The police crackdown on the movement to unseat President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo, through the use of the hashtag #GantiPresiden2019 (Change President 2019), may be intended to shield him, but the police are doing a great disservice to their President and to the nation.</p>	

			<p>during the height of the Jakarta gubernatorial elections</p> <p>✓ <u>The opposition had used this occasion to start its campaign early</u>, even when it had no clue then who would run against the President.</p> <p>✓ <u>Police should move on</u> from the comfort of their analog world.</p> <p>✓ <u>The police claim they stopped these meetings</u> to prevent potential conflicts, because Jokowi supporters had plans to disrupt them.</p> <p>✓ In recent years, <u>we have seen time and again when police</u>, citing law and order, curtailed freedom of speech and also freedom of religion.</p>						
N P 9			<p>✓ <u>Regional authorities have taken unusual measures to clear</u></p>	<p>✓ “You can’t wear that T-shirt here. Do you want to change your</p>			<p>✓ <u>Around 300 people</u> had joined the event led by</p>		<p>✓ <u>Some people wearing T-shirts</u></p>

			<p><u>Car Free Day (CFD)</u> from political activities following a commotion in late April when opposing political movements confronted one another at the weekly event.</p> <p>✓ Jakarta Public Order Agency (Satpol PP) personnel were deployed along the CFD area on the thoroughfares of Jl. Sudirman and Jl. MH Thamrin in Central Jakarta on Sunday morning to make sure neither political activities nor political standpoints expressed on T-shirts had any place at the CFD.</p> <p>✓ Some people wearing T-shirts bearing the “#2019GantiPresiden” (Change the President 2019) slogan were told to change into plain white T-shirts provided by the Satpol PP officers.</p>	<p>✓ clothes now?” said a Satpol PP officer to a woman sporting the anti-Jokowi T-shirt as she was entering the CFD area.</p> <p>✓ Around 300 people had joined the event led by Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) politician Mardani Ali Sera.</p> <p>✓ Jakarta Public Order Agency head Yani Wahyu said the distribution of the T-shirts was conducted to uphold the gubernatorial decree.</p> <p>✓ Adi, 40, a resident of Palmerah in West Jakarta, who sold T-shirts and hats, said the officers had asked the vendors to move to an area in front of the southern gate to the National Monument (Monas) area.</p> <p>✓ Hendra Febrizal,</p>		<p>Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) politician Mardani Ali Sera.</p>		<p>✓ bearing the “#2019GantiPresiden” (Change the President 2019) slogan were told to change into plain white T-shirts provided by the Satpol PP officers.</p> <p>✓ In Medan, North Sumatra, a number of people caused some hubbub by refusing to change out of their anti-Jokowi T-shirts.</p>
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			<p>✓ The officer then informed the woman about Jakarta Gubernatorial Decree No. 12/2016 on the CFD, explaining that people were only allowed to conduct activities related to the environment, sport, art or culture at the event.</p> <p>✓ The regulation forbids any political campaigning or activities that may stir up ethnic, religious, racial and social (SARA) sentiment at the CFD events.</p> <p>✓ The woman nodded and took the T-shirt from the officer.</p> <p>✓ Satpol PP officers were well prepared with five sacks of white T-shirts to supply to people wearing political T-shirts in the CFD area, just a few meters away from the Arjuna Wijaya Monument, where</p>	<p>one of the residents banned from joining CFD because of his anti-Jokowi T-shirt, said the Medan administration's decision was politically driven.</p>						
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		<p>a movement opposed to President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo’s bid for reelection was holding a public declaration.</p> <p>Satpol PP officers were well prepared with five sacks of white T-shirts to supply to people wearing political T-shirts in the CFD area, just a few meters away from the Arjuna Wijaya Monument, where a movement opposed to President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo’s bid for reelection was holding a public declaration.</p> <p>Around 300 people had joined the event led by Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) politician Mardani Ali Sera.</p>						
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Appendix 2: Article on #2019change president

DATUM 1

#2019ChangePresident events in Pekanbaru and Surabaya lead to clashes

The #2019ChangePresident campaign once again made waves as planned events in Pekanbaru, Riau, and Surabaya, East Java, on Sunday were marked by clashes between protesters, counterprotesters and police.

The clashes began on Saturday afternoon, as opposition activist Neno Warisman arrived at the Sultan Syarif Kasim Airport in Pekanbaru to attend a #2019ChangePresident event in the city on Sunday.

Her plans were thwarted as hundreds of counterprotesters blocked the entrance to the airport, carrying banners denouncing the #2019ChangePresident campaign and urging Neno to “go home,” as reported by *kompas.com*.

A group of people claiming to be from the Islam Defenders Front (FPI) also came to the airport, saying they wanted to safeguard Neno.

The mob then started throwing missiles at the former pop singer’s car, which was trying to exit the airport.

Police eventually forcefully dispersed the crowd and sent Neno on a plane back to Jakarta.

“The police and TNI [Indonesian Military] attempted to prevent clashes between supporters and opponents [of the #2019ChangePresident campaign],” Riau

Police spokesperson Sr. Comr. Sunarto said on Sunday, as quoted by Antara, when asked why they sent Neno home.

A similar protest also occurred against Neno several weeks ago in Batam, Riau Islands.

Similar scenes occurred in Surabaya on Sunday, as musician Ahmad Dhani was blocked from leaving his hotel to attend a #2019ChangePresident event.

An organization calling itself the Surabaya People’s Movement held a demonstration outside the Hotel Majapahit, where Dhani was staying.

The police dispersed the #2019ChangePresident event held near the Surabaya Heroes Monument, citing security concerns.

East Java Police spokesperson Frans Barung Mangera said the police had received complaints about the event.

“For safety reasons and to avoid untoward incidents, we dispersed the event,” Frans said, as quoted by *kompas.com*. (kmt)



DATUM 2

Jokowi supporters try to prevent anti-Jokowi activist from entering Batam

About 150 people claiming to be supporters of President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo tried to prevent Neno Warisman, an opposition activist with the #2019ChangePresident campaign, from entering Batam, Riau Islands, on Saturday.

Neno, who was a famous singer in the 1990s, had landed at Hang Nadim Airport to attend a #2019ChangePresident event on Sunday. However, a crowd intercepted her at the airport and demanded that the authorities prohibit her from entering the city.

Neno found herself stuck inside the airport for six hours, before the committee for the #2019ChangePresident event escorted her out. The crowd, which carried banners expressing their rejection of Neno, said Neno often uttered hate speech against Jokowi.

Riau Islands Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) executive Soeryo Respationo told *The Jakarta Post* on Saturday that the people were hurt by Neno’s behavior.

“If you criticize his performance, that would not be a problem. But they malign him much, and our friends here could not accept that,” he said.

He said groups wanting to change the president should air their grievances during the presidential election campaign. “Don’t push it now,” he said.

Soeryo demanded that the police prohibit Neno from entering Batam, because that was “what the crowd wanted”.

Neno’s friends, on the other hand, demanded that police escort Neno out of the airport safely. The #2019ChangePresident campaign also deployed its own crowd, estimated at about 500 people, to the airport.

After six hours at the airport, Neno finally got out, escorted by people wearing her campaign’s T-shirts. When Jokowi supporters found out that she had got out, they shouted in anger and tried to hurl stones at the car transporting Neno.

Barelang Police chief Sr. Comr. Hengki told the *Post* that his office would ensure Neno’s safety in Batam.

On Sunday, the anti-Jokowi event passed without any significant trouble in the yard of Batam’s Grand Mosque. Neno, a prominent figure in the anti-Jokowi movement, said next year was the right time to change the president.

“Why? Because of our economic woes, as prices are rising and eggs are very expensive. How could this happen,” said Neno.

Not far from the mosque, Jokowi's supporters held an event of their own on Sunday, which also remained calm. (evi)



DATUM 3

Jokowi lauds police on restricting anti-Jokowi declaration

President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo said he backed the police’s decision to restrict events of an anti-Jokowi movement known under its Twitter handle *#2019GantiPresiden* (Change the president in 2019) in several cities.

He said that, while Indonesia was a democratic country, there were some limitations to the freedom of expression.

“Yes, this country is a democratic country. Everyone has the right to assemble and have their own opinion, but remember that there are limitations to it and rules to follow, okay”, he told reporters after attending a NasDem Party event in Jakarta on Saturday, as quoted by *tempo.co*.

Jokowi lauded the police’s decision to dissolve the *#2019GantiPresiden* declaration to maintain public order, as the event was deemed to have the potential to spark riots between supporters and opponents of the incumbent.

Police officers dissolved events in several cities, including Pekanbaru in Riau and Surabaya in East Java, because of the risk of commotion.

On a similar note, NasDem Party chairman Surya Paloh deemed the declaration to be “inappropriate to be expressed in public, because it could hurt the feelings of people with different political preferences.”

Regarding a verbal attack on Jokowi by presidential hopeful Prabowo Subianto concerning the depreciating rupiah, Surya recommended that Jokowi simply respond to his critics with a smile.

“If the [opposition candidate] was the leader today, would the US dollar fall today? I’m not so sure,” he said in response to Prabowo’s comment about the rupiah falling in value to Rp 14,700 per US dollar recently. (ris)

DATUM 4

#2019ChangePresident heats up Jokowi-Prabowo race

A flower board that drew the attention of wedding guests at a reception on Wednesday in Binjai, North Sumatra, with its unusual message “Gina & Heru Ganti Status / #2019GantiPresiden”, or “Gina & Heru Change Their Status / #2019ChangePresident”, has gone viral on social media.

Several guests took pictures with the board in the background, including Ahmadi from Medan. Ahmadi said the flower board’s political hashtag prompted him to take a selfie with it and upload the picture to his social media account.

“I’ve gotten positive responses,” said Ahmadi, who added that he did not know who had sent the board.

#2019GantiPresiden has appeared in memes circulating on various social media like Instagram and Facebook. Several T-shirt printing businesses are now offering T-shirts printed with the hashtag. One online shop is selling #2019GantiPresiden T-shirts for Rp 95,000 (US\$6.90) each, and is also offering mugs and cell phone cases bearing the political hashtag.

On Apr. 3, Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) politician Mardani Ali Sera was spotted on a [TV show wearing a rubber bracelet with the hashtag on it](#). “The #2019 GantiPresiden movement will provide data, analysis, to put forth a better candidate for the 2019 presidential election,” he said on Apr. 4 as quoted by *tempo.co*.

The hashtag has revved up the upcoming race between President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo and his archrival Prabowo Subianto, the Gerindra Party’s general chairman and patron who declared his presidential candidacy on Wednesday evening – albeit on the condition of support from “friendly parties”.

The PKS has traditionally been a close Gerindra ally, but it had yet to make an official decision on endorsing Prabowo by noon on Thursday, although its politicians have expressed their support for Prabowo in the media.

President Jokowi delivered a fiery response over the weekend on the campaign to unseat him in 2019, saying, “T-shirts cannot replace a president.”

Crescent Star Party (PBB) politician Yusril Ihza Mahendra responded in kind, quipping, “I would say checkered shirts do not make a president, either.” Yusril was referring to the checkered shirts Jokowi supporters wore during the incumbent’s 2014 presidential campaign.

For the 2019 presidential race, Jokowi supporters have their own hashtag: #Jokowi2Periode (second term for Jokowi).

Senior politician Akbar Tandjung of the Golkar Party, a member of the government coalition, commented that [the #2019GantiPresident campaign was part of democracy](#). He pointed out, however, that a mere hashtag would not succeed in replacing Jokowi “who still has huge

support”. “They need to put forth a figure who has high electability,” he said in Malang, East Java, as *kompas.com* reported on Wednesday.

In February 2018, pollster Populi Center reported the results their electability survey, which showed 52.8 percent of respondents favoring Jokowi and 15.4 percent for Prabowo.

The General Elections Commission (KPU) has set Aug. 4-10 as the registration period for presidential candidates. Besides Jokowi and Prabowo, other possible candidates touted for the presidency include former Indonesian Military commander Gen. (ret) Gatot Nurmantyo and Jakarta Governor Anies Baswedan.



DATUM 5

Why an anti-Jokowi hashtag could be his strongest foe so far

The #2019GantiPresiden (#2019ChangePresident) campaign has been the talk of the town both online and offline and is set to become President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo’s strongest faceless enemy in his reelection bid next year.

The hashtag, which began in early April, is believed to have made its first public appearance when Mardani Ali Sera, a politician from the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), distributed rubber bracelets with the hashtag on a TV show. Mardani was part of the success team for incumbent Jakarta Governor Anies Baswedan and his deputy Sandiaga Uno, while his party, PKS, is one of Jokowi’s strongest opponents.

T-shirts printed with the hashtag have also begun to be sold everywhere. The offline campaign made headlines over the weekend when a group of anti-Jokowi activists wore the t-shirts during the supposedly politics-free Car Free Day event on Sunday in Jakarta.

In the first two weeks of April, at least 110,000 mentions of the hashtag were recorded on Twitter, far exceeding the 18,000 mentions of the counter-hashtag #Jokowi2Periode (#Jokowi2Terms), according to big data company Drone Emprit.

Jokowi initially [downplayed the campaign](#), suggesting in an April 7 speech that such smear campaigns alone were not enough to challenge him.

“...can a t-shirt unseat a president?” Jokowi asked around one thousand of his supporters in Bogor, West Java, adding that, “Only God and the people can do so.”

The statement, however, backfired as big data analysis showed it only triggered more use of the hashtag.

“Before [the April 7] statement, the hashtag [#2019GantiPresiden] was mentioned a maximum of 7,000 times a day. But a day after the statement, the number surged to 37,000, a 300 percent increase,” Drone Emprit founder Ismail Fahmi told The Jakarta Post on Monday.

On the back of the hashtag’s popularity, #2019GantiPresiden t-shirts also sold quickly on online marketplaces and offline. The prices of the t-shirts vary, from Rp 60,000 (US\$4.32) to Rp 125,000.

More politically apathetic netizens jumped on the heated campaign, popularizing satire hashtags such as #2019GantiBojo (#2019ChangeSpouse), #2019GantiRakyatnya (#2019ChangeThePeople). One parody contains the anagram of “ganti”: #2019GiantPresident (#2019GiantForPresident), referring to Giant, a character from Japanese cartoon Doraemon.

1!1!1!1!1! [#2019giantpresiden](https://pic.twitter.com/d0AdIOBV1f)

Ismail said the hashtag created an effective anti-Jokowi narrative because it served as a uniting language for those opposed to Jokowi, regardless of their political affiliations or other intellectual backgrounds.

“Jokowi’s supporters also created hashtags to counter the #2019GantiPresiden campaign. But they weren’t as effective because they didn’t create a single and strong hashtag,” Ismail said, citing pro-Jokowi tags such as #Jokowi2Periode, #2019TetapJokowi (#2019StillJokowi) and #DiaSibukKerja (HeIsBusyWorking).

Social media consultant PoliticaWave founder Yose Rizal shared this sentiment, saying that the lack of one uniting hashtag was the main factor behind the pro-Jokowi camp’s failure to counter the latest anti-Jokowi campaign before it snowballed.

Yose added that it was only natural for the Jokowi camp and its supporters to try to promote different messages at the same time, using different hashtags.

“As an incumbent, [Jokowi’s camp] has different programs and activities to promote. He also speaks different ‘languages’ in his official visits to different regions in Indonesia. Meanwhile, the opposition only has one single agenda: to defeat Jokowi in the 2019 presidential election,” Yose told the Post.

However, there is a limitation to the anti-Jokowi campaign.

“Their campaign stops at #2019GantiPresiden. They have yet to offer anything other than that, such as an alternative candidate or alternative programs for example. They also can’t claim any achievements now of course. The presidential election is one year away, so anything could change,” he said.

Those hoping to see a change in the presidency would eventually want more than just an emotional anti-Jokowi campaign, Yose said.

To date, several names have been touted as potential presidential candidates, including Jokowi’s rival in 2014 Prabowo Subianto and former military commander Gatot Nurmantyo, but they have yet to officially declare their bids despite having made their aspirations public.

Jokowi is currently considered the strongest contender in the 2019 presidential election. The former Jakarta governor has topped popularity surveys and holds an over 50 percent approval rating.

However, social media-driven campaigns have proven effective in taking down politicians, as shown by the defeat of former Jakarta governor Basuki “Ahok” Tjahaja Purnama, who lost to rival Anies in the second round of the election, despite garnering the most votes in the first round.

Anies began with an unconvincing electability record but came out victorious after he, in the words of political analysts, “rode the wave of the Islamist movement”. The Islamist movement was massive online and offline and while its anti-Ahok message was loud and clear, the movement never clearly declared its affiliation to either Anies or Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, the other contender in the 2017 gubernatorial election.

Observers have warned about the influence of social media-driven campaigns. In Indonesia, which has a population of 250 million people, more than 100 million citizens have access to the internet, with about 90 percent regularly using social media platforms to express themselves and to communicate.

“Social media-driven campaigns are the easiest. You could create something in Jakarta and see the message reverberate in Aceh, Papua and other regions. It’s simply borderless,” Yose said.

Before the official presidential campaign period begins, many presidential hopefuls and members of the anti-Jokowi camp will make use of [digital campaigns](#).

“It’s not necessarily about hashtags, but an effective and consistent idea as a mass communication tool,” Yose said.



DATUM 6

War of hashtags: #2019StillJokowi vs #2019ChangePresident

As next year's presidential election draws closer, volunteer supporters of President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo have launched a social media campaign under the hashtag #2019TetapJokowi to counter the viral hashtag #2019GantiPresiden.

The former could be translated to English as #2019StillJokowi, while the latter would be #2019ChangePresident.

"[The hashtag] #2019TetapJokowi will counter any hoaxes and intimidation [against Jokowi] in social media," Immanuel Ebenezer, who heads volunteer group Jokowi Mania (Jo-Man), declared on Saturday, as reported by tempo.co.

Immanuel said #2019GantiPresiden was viral in social media, but #2019TetapJokowi would be "massive in the real world". Jo-Man plans to mobilize volunteers to carry out offline campaigns in their respective neighborhoods.

"We're ready to deploy thousands of volunteers to introduce the campaign to the people," he added.

Political expert and Lingkar Madani director Ray Rangkuti urged the campaigners to ensure the hashtags were more than just brands. Both the #2019TetapJokowi and the #2019GantiPresiden campaign should offer substantial information for the upcoming presidential election in 2019.

"Whoever uses the hashtags should emphasize the rationale behind it. Why do we need to replace Jokowi, or why do we still need Jokowi as president?" he told tempo.co. (vla)

DATUM 7

Stop, in the name of free speech

The police crackdown on the movement to unseat President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo, through the use of the hashtag *#GantiPresiden2019* (Change President 2019), may be intended to shield him, but the police are doing a great disservice to their President and to the nation. If they are not careful, their actions could contribute to his defeat in the April 2019 election.

The bans on meetings of the hashtag proponents in several cities in Indonesia in the past week are already being portrayed, at home and abroad, as suppressing free speech. As far as freedom of expression, and hence our democracy, is concerned, this is nothing but a huge setback.

There is absolutely no need for the police to do this. Their boss Jokowi is leading in all the surveys, he has all the advantages any incumbent could ask for. The successful Asian Games, in terms of hosting it and the nation’s performance, has added to his credentials going into the race.

Jokowi is doing alright. The last thing he needs is this sort of helping hand from the police.

The hashtag emerged as far back as early 2017, maybe even before, during the height of the Jakarta gubernatorial elections. The opposition had used this occasion to start its campaign early, even when it had no clue then who would run against the President.

But that was just the point. The incumbent is too strong that the only democratic way to unseat him is to discredit his performance. That is the theme of the campaign, but we have seen the counter campaign, equally aggressive, using the hashtag *#Jokowi2Periode* (Jokowi two terms) for much of the past year.

Indeed, democracy in the end is a war of words. Neither side really needs police protection or support. This is digital democracy in the 21st century, through hashtag wars. Police should move on from the comfort of their analog world.

Now that the opposition already has a candidate to rally around in Prabowo Subianto, its campaign is getting more aggressive as we get closer to the election date. The *#GantiPresident2019* meetings are picking up pace, but so are the activities supporting the incumbent.

The police claim they stopped these meetings to prevent potential conflicts, because Jokowi supporters had plans to disrupt them. Once again, security and order trumps free speech, the sort of excuse popularly used by the Soeharto regime, then to suppress dissenting voices.

In recent years, we have seen time and again when police, citing law and order, curtailed freedom of speech and also freedom of religion. Rather than providing protection for those wishing to exercise their freedoms as guaranteed by the Constitution, police are taking the easy solution by shutting them down to prevent conflict.

This sort of overreaction on the part of the police against the *#GantiPresiden2019* movement is

unnecessarily elevating the hashtag and its proponents, giving them a new platform and a new cause to rally: Free speech.



DATUM 8

Vote for us for new President, W. Java gubernatorial candidate says

West Java gubernatorial candidate Sudrajat made a controversial remark related to next year's presidential election during the third round of public debates for the province's governor and deputy governor election on Monday evening.

"If we win, we will change the Indonesian president in 2019," Sudrajat said in his closing statement, as quoted by [Antara](#) on Monday.

After addressing the remarks, his deputy candidate Ahmad Syaikhul immediately showed a T-shirt emblazoned with a message that read "*Gubernur 2018 Asyik, 2019 Ganti Presiden*" (Asyik for 2018 Governor, 2019 Change President). Asyik is the nickname for the candidate pair.

The closing statement sparked strong reactions from supporters from other candidate pairs, hindering other candidate pair Deddy Mizwar and Dedi Mulyadi, who were backed by Golkar and the Democratic Party, from sending their closing statement.

The incident prompted the debate committee to quickly move to calm down supporters of each candidate pair.

Sudrajat and Ahmad are backed by three parties in the upcoming election, namely the opposing Gerindra Party and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), as well as the National Mandate Party (PAN). The Peaceful and Benign Islam Party (Idaman) led by *dangdut* singer Rhoma Irama later declared its support for the pair.

Sudrajat's controversial remarks were based on the political hashtag recently made famous by PKS politician Mardani Ali Sera, which some considered to be intended to rev up President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo and his archrival Prabowo Subianto, the Gerindra patron, during the 2019 presidential election.

The hashtag became the politician's expression of support for Prabowo, even though the PKS had not yet officially announced its endorsement for any presidential candidate. (kuk/ebf)

DATUM 9

Free T-shirts handed out to keep Car Free Day politics-free

Regional authorities have taken unusual measures to clear Car Free Day (CFD) from political activities following a commotion in late April when opposing political movements confronted one another at the weekly event.

Jakarta Public Order Agency (Satpol PP) personnel were deployed along the CFD area on the thoroughfares of Jl. Sudirman and Jl. MH Thamrin in Central Jakarta on Sunday morning to make sure neither political activities nor political standpoints expressed on T-shirts had any place at the CFD.

Security was backed up by 5,000 Jakarta Police officers and Jakarta Military District Command (Kodam Jaya) personnel.

Some people wearing T-shirts bearing the “#2019GantiPresiden” (Change the President 2019) slogan were told to change into plain white T-shirts provided by the Satpol PP officers.

“You can’t wear that T-shirt here. Do you want to change your clothes now?” said a Satpol PP officer to a woman sporting the anti-Jokowi T-shirt as she was entering the CFD area.

The officer then informed the woman about Jakarta Gubernatorial Decree No. 12/2016 on the CFD, explaining that people were only allowed to conduct activities related to the environment, sport, art or culture at the event.

The regulation forbids any political campaigning or activities that may stir up ethnic, religious, racial and social (SARA) sentiment at the CFD events.

The woman nodded and took the T-shirt from the officer.

Satpol PP officers were well prepared with five sacks of white T-shirts to supply to people wearing political T-shirts in the CFD area, just a few meters away from the Arjuna Wijaya Monument, where a movement opposed to President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo’s bid for reelection was holding a public declaration.

Around 300 people had joined the event led by Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) politician Mardani Ali Sera.

Jakarta Public Order Agency head Yani Wahyu said the distribution of the T-shirts was conducted to uphold the gubernatorial decree.

“We offered white T-shirts to participants of the declaration who wanted to enter the CFD area. We didn’t force them but persuaded them to wear the white T-shirts to comply with the gubernatorial decree,” Yani told *The Jakarta Post* on Sunday.

Satpol PP officers also asked sellers of T-shirts, caps, shawls and pins bearing the hashtag to stay out of the CFD area.

Adi, 40, a resident of Palmerah in West Jakarta, who sold T-shirts and hats, said the officers had

asked the vendors to move to an area in front of the southern gate to the National Monument (Monas) area.

“I was upset, because the officers told us to move here. Last week, I could sell a great number of T-shirts at the CFD, more than I could sell today,” he said.

After the declaration, Adi said he had sold 200 of the anti-Jokowi T-shirts. The T-shirts and hats were priced at Rp 60,000 (US\$4.31) and Rp 35,000 respectively.

In Medan, North Sumatra, a number of people caused some hubbub by refusing to change out of their anti-Jokowi T-shirts.

They were subsequently banned from entering Merdeka Medan Square, where a CFD event was being held.

The ban was implemented in accordance with a Medan administration order dated May 4.

Hendra Febrizal, one of the residents banned from joining CFD because of his anti-Jokowi T-shirt, said the Medan administration’s decision was politically driven.

People who were wearing anti-Jokowi T-shirts were banned from the event, while people were wearing T-shirts expressing support for Jokowi were allowed to the CFD. “We were banned by the Satpol PP officers, while the others were not. What is wrong with this?” Hendra said.